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THE

HISTORY OF PERSIA,

FROM THE

MOST EARLY PERIOD

TO

THE PRESENT TIME:

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

Religion, Government, Usages, and Character

OF THE

INHABITANTS OF THAT KINGDOM.

BY

COLONEL SIR JOHN MALCOLM, K.C.B., K.L S.

LATE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE COURT OF PERSIA
FROM THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

WHILST the Annals of almost every Nation that can boast of any political importance have been illustrated by eminent British Writers, Persia seems hitherto to have been generally neglected. It must, therefore, be allowed to be highly desirable that this blank in our Literature should be filled up, and that the English reader should be made acquainted with the history and condition of a people, who have in most ages acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of the world; and who have of late acquired peculiar claims to our attention, from the nature of their relations to British India, and from the renewal of their intercourse with the States of Europe. Though I have for many years contemplated such a Work as an object of utility and importance, a sense of my own want of qualifications as an Author long deterred me from undertaking it. I had left my native country and entered the army of India

at an age when those who aim at literary eminence are only commencing their studies: and when I first had opportunities of collecting the materials which form the basis of my present Work, I neither enjoyed, nor had any prospect of enjoying, the necessary leisure for putting them into a form to meet the public eye. A number of advantageous circumstances, however, concurred by degrees in ultimately removing the doubts which these difficulties had at first excited in my mind. During the last fifteen years, I have three times visited Persia in the charge of political missions; and I have for almost the whole of that period been intrusted with the conduct of the negotiations between that State and the British Government in India. The nature of my public employment, which led to my travelling over almost all the provinces of Persia, gradually improved the knowledge I had before possessed of that kingdom and its inhabitants; and a sense of duty, as well as the natural curiosity which I felt of investigating the state of a country so imperfectly known to Europeans, equally urged me to endeavour to amass useful information of every description; whilst it may be easily conceived, that the diplomatic character

with which I was invested greatly facilitated my progress in the attainment of this object.

What I have now said will show that I do not come forward, as an Author, with those pretensions which belong to men of high literary attainments; but that the prosecution of my public duties first led me to feel the want of a History of Persia, and subsequently involved me in an effort, which, under other circumstances, I should never have contemplated. I do not, however, state this fact with a view of deprecating criticism, or of claiming indulgence: I am fully aware that the fate of every work must be determined by its own merit; and have, therefore, laboured to render that which I have undertaken as complete as possible. I have studied perspicuity; I have sought truth: and my opinions, which are invariably expressed with freedom, may perhaps have some value from being those of a man whose only lessons have been learned in the school of experience.

The History of Persia may be divided into two parts: the ancient and the modern. The former, which commences in the fabulous ages, terminates in the conquest of that country by the Caliph Omar, in

the thirty-first year of the Hejirah. Throughout this period the Persians come in frequent contact with the great European nations of antiquity: but as my principal object in undertaking this Work was to supply information that could not be obtained from the historians of Greece and Rome, I have in general followed Eastern authors: and their narrations of the events of these distant periods will at least be deemed, by the European reader, a subject of just literary curiosity. The materials from which this part of my Work is composed, are fully stated in the seventh chapter, which is in fact a dissertation upon the ancient history of Persia. I almost fear that this chapter may be deemed too long. It necessarily recapitulates many events that had been previously stated: but I was more willing to meet the charge of tautology, than to run the risk of not rendering complete in itself this difficult and interesting branch of my subject.

In the modern parts of the History of Persia I have studied brevity, as far as was consistent with the introduction of every fact that appeared of importance: but the subject was so copious and diverging, that it required a constant effort to confine myself within

the proposed limits. In one point I have perhaps indulged in a greater latitude than has usually been assumed by writers of history. I have not unfrequently endeavoured to enliven and to illustrate my subject by the relation of occurrences in which I was personally concerned. This I did under an impression that the character of nations, as well as individuals, may often be better appreciated from anecdotes, than from a mere narration of events: and when such passages occur, they will, in addition to that light which they throw upon facts and observations, serve to remind the reader of what I before stated, that if I had not been a traveller I should never have been an historian.

In the course of this Work I have carefully consulted every European Author of eminence who has investigated the history and literature of the oriental nations. But as I have always quoted, in my notes, the names of those by whose labour I have profited, it would be superfluous to mention them here, the more especially as their well-established reputation could derive no increase from my eulogiums.

I have to acknowledge, with sincere gratitude, the aid of those whom motives of personal friendship have induced to promote the success of this Work.

To the kindness of Sir James M'Intosh, and to that interest which he takes in every effort to illustrate Eastern history, I owe the greatest obligations. I am also much indebted to Mr. William Erskine* of Bombay, from whom I received several valuable communications: and I feel, that if my attempt to throw light upon the more remote periods of Persian history should prove satisfactory to the reader, I shall, in a very considerable degree, owe my success to Mr. Alexander Hamilton, of Hertford College, whose superior knowledge of every branch of oriental literature enabled him to give me the most essential assistance in this difficult and important part of my Work.

Before I left India I was indebted to Mr. N. H. Smith, late Envoy to the Court of Scind, for the communications of his Journals, and for remarks upon the character of the Arabian tribes settled on the shores of the Persian Gulf. I was also under obligations to

* Since my return to England, I received a very interesting communication from Mr. Erskine on two sepulchral urns, found near Abousheher, which had been sent to him by Mr. Bruce, the British Resident at that place. My observations on similar urns (Vol. I. p. 198) had been printed before I received Mr. Erskine's letter: but it was with the greatest satisfaction I found the opinions I had expressed upon this subject correspond with those of one, on whose learning and judgment I place great reliance.

Mr. Bruce, the present Resident of Abusheher, for observations upon the constitution of the Persian army, and the customs* of the wandering tribes; and I have received, since my return to England, some valuable information, upon the same subjects, from Mr. Cormick, Surgeon to the late Embassy in Persia, and from Mr. Willock, who has recently been appointed Charge d'Affaires at the Court of Teheran.

It remains to speak of those Officers who accompanied me to Persia, and who were alike led by zeal in the public service, and by personal regard for me, to assist in my researches to obtain information. To Captains Grant and Christie†, and Lieutenant Pottinger, who were deputed by me to explore and

* I have received communications upon similar subjects from my friend, Jaaffer Aly Khan, an Indian nobleman, who has long resided at Shiraz: and I have, at different periods, obtained valuable memoirs, containing historical facts and anecdotes, from several Persians of rank and reputation, and who are at present residing in that country, and some in high employment. When such information is referred to in the History, it is always marked Persian MS., as many reasons prevented my giving publicity to the names of those by whom it was given to me.

† Captain Grant of the Bengal Establishment, and Captain Christie of that of Bombay, were employed by me, on account of their knowledge of the native languages, and the high reputation they had in the armies to which they belonged. Their success justified the selection: but I had soon afterwards to regret the loss

report upon the provinces of Mekran, Baloochistan, and Seistan, which divide India from Persia, and who executed that difficult task with a spirit of enterprise that must ever reflect the highest honour on their characters, I owe information, which is the more valuable as it could have been derived from no other source. I am also much indebted to the reports and communications of Captains Frederick and Josiah Stewart, Mr. Henry Ellis, Captain John Briggs, and Captain John M'Donald Kinnier. The latter Officer has since acquired a just reputation by the publication of a Map and Geographical Memoir* on Persia, which is partly compiled from his own surveys and observations, and partly from those of the other Officers who were

of Captain Grant, who was murdered by a banditti on his journey from Bagdad to Kermanshah; and Captain Christie lately fell in a contest between the Persians and Russians, in which he gallantly supported the reputation of British valour. Lieutenant Pottinger, who is now Assistant to the Resident at Poonah, has, I am happy to hear, prepared a Work upon the countries through which he travelled; and I have no doubt, from the nature of the subject, and the talents of this Officer, that it will be highly deserving the attention of the public.

* Captain John M'Donald Kinnier has, since the publication of his Memoir, been employed in Asia Minor, and has traversed some of the least known parts of that celebrated country. It is to be hoped that we shall ere long profit by the additional information which this able and enterprising Officer must have acquired in this arduous and dangerous enterprise.

employed in my several Missions to that country, and which I put into his hands with a confidence in his talents that has not been disappointed.

To my relation, Major Pasley, who accompanied me on all my Missions to Persia, and who early acquired an intimate knowledge of the language and character of the inhabitants of that country, I am indebted for important aid in every stage of this Work. To Mr. Andrew Jukes my obligations are equally great. That gentleman, whose long residence in Persia was passed in the attainment of useful knowledge, communicated to me all the information he possessed; and I owe to his learning and research many important facts illustrative of the science and manners of the people I have endeavoured to describe.

I could dwell more than I have done upon this subject, as there is no circumstance connected with my Work so pleasing to my mind as the recollection of the assistance which I have received from those friends whose names have been mentioned. I might indeed swell this list, but I fear that I have already too far intruded my feelings upon the reader. I shall, therefore, content myself with adding, that the Map prefixed to this History may almost be termed a

reduction of that of Captain John M'Donald Kinnier; and that the Prints are either taken from original Persian Paintings in my possession, or from Drawings* made on the spot.

In a Work of this nature, I felt it of importance that it should be as correct as possible with respect to the spelling of proper names and Persian words. To accomplish this, I have used that orthography which seemed best adapted to convey to an English reader the sound of the words as pronounced by a native Persian. Attention to this mode has often obliged me to vary from the best oriental scholars, who have only learnt to pronounce Persian proper names from the study of that language in Europe, or in India. I have not, however, altered the orthography of those words which common usage has made familiar to the English reader, and some of which have been adopted† into our language.

* Some of these Drawings I owe to Mr. Jukes; the remainder were made by Mr. Webbe and Mr. Sundt, two young men who accompanied my last Mission to Persia: the former in the quality of Surveyor, the latter as Draughtsman.

† I have, for example, followed the common writing of the Arabian title of Caliph; and I have spelt Caravansary as it is in English dictionaries, though I do not think that orthography very correct.

TO

The Most Noble

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.G.

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

To the flattering partiality with which you regarded and encouraged my efforts in the Public Service, I owe those opportunities which have enabled me to write the History of Persia. In dedicating it to your Lordship, therefore, I follow the impulse both of gratitude and of duty: but had these considerations not prompted me to offer you this sincere token of my respect and attachment, I might have claimed, on other grounds, the right of prefixing to this Work the Name of one, whose Administration of the British Possessions in India has connected his Fame with the History of almost every Kingdom of Asia.

I have the honor to be,

MY LORD,

With the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And obedient Servant,

JOHN MALCOLM.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT boundaries.—Description of the country.—Mountains.—Salt deserts.—Valleys.—Rivers.—Climate and productions. ..... page 1—6

CHAPTER II.

Mahabad, the first king.—Thirteen monarchs of the race of Mahabad.—Dynasties of Jy-Affram.—Shah Kuleev.—Mahabool.—Yessan. ..... 7—11

CHAPTER III.

The Paishdadian dynasty.—Kaiomurs.—Houshung.—Tahamurs.—The worship of idols first introduced—Its origin.—Jemsheed—Divides his subjects into four classes—Introduces the solar year.—Zohauk invades Persia.—Feridoon raised to the throne.—Succeeded by Manucheher.—Birth of Roostum.—Nouzer ascends the throne.—Afrasiab invades Persia—Takes Nouzer prisoner, and puts him to death.—Zoo raised to the throne.—Succeeded by Kershasp. ..... 12—30

CHAPTER IV.

The Kaianian dynasty.—Kai Kobad.—Kai Kaoos.—Afrasiab invades Persia—Is expelled by Roostum.—Birth of Kai Khoosroo—He is raised to the throne—His war with Afrasiab.—Lohrasp succeeds to the crown.—Reign of Gushtasp—Zoroaster introduces the worship of fire.—Arjasp declares war against Persia—Is defeated by Isfundear—The standard of Persia taken—Recovered by Isfundear—His combat with Roostum.—Bahman, the son of Isfundear, succeeds to the crown.—Roostum

is slain.—Bahman resumes the government of Babylon.—Homai.—Birth of Darab —His war with Philip.—Darab the Second.—Alexander invades Persia.—Darab is slain. ..... page 31—74

CHAPTER V.

Murder of Philip.—Alexander raised to the throne—Invades Persia—Marches to India —Proceeds to Tartary—His death.—Seleucus seizes the government of Persia.—Is succeeded by Antiochus Soter.—Dynasty of the Arsacides.—The Mulook-u-Tuaif. —Shahpoor succeeds to the throne.—Baharam Gudurz.—Volas.—Hoormuz.—Narsi. —Firoze.—Khoosroo.—Volas.—Volasin.—Arduan.—Arduan, son of Ashg, founds a dynasty. ..... 75—88

CHAPTER VI.

The Sassanian dynasty.—Ardisheer Babigan attains the throne of Persia.—Shahpoor —His wars with the Romans.—Hoormuz.—Baharam—Puts Mani, and all his disciples, to death.—Baharam the Second.—Baharam the Third.—Narsi—His war with the Emperor Galerius.—Hoormuz the Second.—Shahpoor the Second—His wars with the Romans.—Ardisheer the Second—Deposed by Shahpoor the Third.—Baharam the Fourth.—Yezdijird Ulathim—His character by oriental writers—By western writers.—Obstacles to the succession of Baharam the Fifth.—Another prince raised to the throne.—Baharam the Fifth ascends the throne.—The Khan of Transoxania invades Persia—Is defeated and slain.—Baharam is successful against the Romans and Arabs—His love of the chase—His death.—Yezdijird the Second.—Hoormuz. —Account of the Scythians or Tartars.—Getæ and Massagetæ.—The Nomades.— The Hiatilla.—Firoze flies to Khoosh Nuaz, King of Tartary.—Hoormuz dethroned, and put to death.—Firoze invades Tartary—Is killed.—Palasch.—Birth of Nousheerwan.—Kobad crowned.—The tenets of the impostor, Mazdak.—Kobad dethroned, and Jamasp attains the crown.—Kobad restored to the throne—His death. —Nousheerwan—Puts Mazdak, and all his followers, to death—Divides his empire into four great governments—His wars with the Romans—His internal government, military discipline, and character.—Hoormuz the Third.—The Romans and Tartars advance into Persia—The Tartars defeated, and their leader slain.—The army hail their general, Baharam, king.—Hoormuz murdered.—Baharam Choubeen assumes the government—Is defeated, and escapes to Tartary.—Khoosroo Purveez raised to the throne—War with the Romans.—Heraclius invades Persia. —Death of Khoosroo Purveez.—Reign of Schiroueh.—Ardisheer.—Pooran-dokht. —Shah Shenendeh.—Arzem-dokht.—Kesra.—Ferokhzad.—Yezdijird.—Description of Arabia—Its independence—Inhabitants—Religion.—The doctrine of Mahomed prevails—Its tenets.—The first attack of the Arabs on the Persians.—Yezdijird's

conference with the envoys of Saad-ben-Wakass.—War renewed with the Arabs.—The Durufsh-e-Kâwânee, or standard of Persia, taken.—Yezdijird escapes to Hulwan—Assembles a large army.—The caliph reinforces his army in Persia.—The Persians are attacked and defeated.—Yezdijird murdered.....page 89—179

CHAPTER VII.

Remarks on the Dabistan.—Primeval religion of Persia.—Worship of fire introduced by Houshung.—Worship of the planets.—Comparison between the ancient religion of Persia and that of the Sabians.—Similarity of the ancient religions of Persia and India.—Birth of Zoroaster—His doctrines.—Destruction of the ancient records of Persia—Rescue of what remained of them—They are given to Dukiki to form into an epic poem—He is assassinated, and the task devolves on Ferdosi.—Remarkable agreement between Herodotus and Ferdosi in their account of the reigns of Kai Kobad and Kai Kaoos.—History of Cyrus, according to Herodotus—According to Ctesias—According to Xenophon.—History of Kai Khoosroo, according to eastern authors.—General remarks on the coincidence of eastern and western writers.—Lohrasp's reign supposed to include those of Cambyses and Smerdis Magi.—Gushtasp supposed to be Darius Hystaspes.—Isfundear conjectured to be Xerxes.—Ardisheer Dirazdust, or Artaxerxes Longimanus, puts Artabanus to death.—The similarity of the histories of Artabanus and Roostum.—Observations on the history of Ardisheer.—Artaxerxes Mnemon.—Ochus.—Xerxes the Second, and Sogdianus.—Homai.—Darab the First.—Darab the Second, or Darius Codomanus.—The reign of Alexander the Great.—The Arsacides.—The Parthians.—The Sassanian dynasty.—Ruins of Persepolis.—Sculpture on the rocks near Shahpoor.—City of Shuster.—The dyke in its vicinity.—Ruins of Shus or Susa.—Tomb of Daniel the prophet.—Sculptures of the Tauk-e-bostan.—Ruins of Babylon.—Arch of Ctesiphon.—Oroomia.—Tauris, the modern Tabreez.—Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan.—Rhe.—Ancient temples at Sari.—Places of worship at Baku.—Ruins of Seistan.—Character and manners of the ancient inhabitants of Persia.—Ancient government.—Observations on the progress of civilization.—Morals of the ancient Persians.—Learning..... 180—274

CHAPTER VIII.

Character of eastern history.—Conquest of Persia by the Arabs—Their government.—Life and reign of Yacoob-ben-Leis—Is succeeded by his brother, Amer, who is defeated and made prisoner by Ismail Samanee.—Reigns of Ahmed—Nasr—Ameer Noah—Abdul Malick—Munsoor—Abdul Kassim Noah—Munsoor—Abdul Malick.—Origin of the family of Dilemee.—Abul Shujah-ul-Buyah.—Aly Buyah.—Rukun-u-doulah.—Azud-u-doulah.—Mujid-u-doulah.—An account of the family of Shemgur.—Kaboos.—Manucheher..... 275—312

CHAPTER IX.

An account of the monarchs of Ghizni.—Abustakeen.—Isaak.—Subuctageen—His wars with the Indian Prince Jypaul—Succeeded by Ismail, who is dethroned.—Reign of Mahmood—His conduct towards the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt—His expeditions to India—Defeats Illij Khan—His wars against the Hindoos—Defeats the Turks of the Seljookee tribe—His death and character—Extent of his dominions.—Rule of Massoud—His wars with the Tartar tribe of Seljookee—His troops mutiny, and place his brother, Mahomed, on the throne—Massoud is assassinated.—His son, Madood, proclaims himself king, and defeats Mahomed's army.—Ghizni taken by Souri, a prince of Ghour—Recovered by Byram—Souri murdered—His death revenged by his brother.—Byram escapes to India—His grandson, Khoosroo, attacked and slain.....page 313—347

CHAPTER X.

Observations on the Tartar tribes—Their habits, character, and condition.—An account of the tribe of Seljookee.—Conquests made by Toghrul—His death and character.—Reign of Alp Arselan—His war with the Romans—Invasion of Tartary—His death.—Succeeded by Malik Shah.—Mahmood.—Burkyaruk.—Mahomed.—Mahmood.—Reign of Sultan Sanjar.—General observations on the Seljookian dynasty.....348—381

CHAPTER XI.

Rule of the Atta-begs.—Life of Illij Guz, the founder of the Atta-begs of Aderbijan.—Mahomed.—Kizel Arselan.—Aboubeker.—Muzuffer.—The Atta-begs of Fars.—Sulghour.—Sunkur.—Muzuffer-u-deen Zenghi.—Tochlah.—Saad.—Aboubeker.—Saad the Second—His infant son placed on the Musnud.—Mahomed.—Seljook.—Aish Khatoon.—Origin of the Atta-begs of Laristan.—Abou Taher.—Hazar Asp.—Tokhlah.—Oulub Arghoun, and his descendants.—Life of Hussun Subah, chief of the mountains—His successes—Religious doctrines—An account of his successors.—Keah Buzoorg Oomeid.—Mahomed.—Hussein-ebn-Nasser.—Allah-u-deen Mahomed.—Jellal-u-deen Hussein.—Allah-u-deen Mahomed.—Ruken-u-deen.....382—408

CHAPTER XII.

Conquest of Persia by the Moghuls.—Life of Chenghiz Khan—Extent of his dominions.—Rule of his son, Joujee Khan.—Octai, the son of Chenghiz, crowned emperor.—Hulakoo Khan—Conquers Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria.—An account of his

successors.—Abaka Khan.—Neekoudar.—Arghoun Khan.—Key Khatou.—Baidu Khan.—Ghazan Khan.—Sultan Mahomed.—Abou Seyd.—Hussein Buzoorg, an immediate descendant of Arghoun, founds a dynasty.—Aweis.—Hussein.—Rule of the dynasty of Muzuffer. ..... page 409—448

CHAPTER XIII.

Birth of Timour—His early life—His elevation to the throne of Tartary—Conquests made by him in Persia, Turkey, and India—Meditates the invasion of China—His death and character.—Rule of his successors.—Peer Mahomed.—Khulleel Sultan.—Sultan Shah Rokh.—Ulugh Beg.—Baber.—Abou Seyd.—An account of the chiefs of the tribe of Kârâ-Koinloo.—Kârâ Mahomed.—Secunder.—Jehan Shah.—Hussun Aly.—Causes of the feud between the tribes of Kârâ-Koinloo and Ak-Koinloo.—An account of the dynasty of Ak-Koinloo—Its founder.—Kârâ Osman.—Uzun Hussun's war with Abou Seyd.—Death of Uzun Hussun. ..... 449—494

CHAPTER XIV.

An account of the ancestors of Shah Ismail, the founder of the Suffavean dynasty.—Observations on the rise of this family to power.—Conquests made by Shah Ismail.—Is succeeded by Tâmâsp—His war with the Usbegs and Turks—His noble reception of Hoomayoon, Emperor of Delhi—His death.—Hyder Meerza proclaimed king—He is slain by Ismail Meerza—Cruelty of that prince—His death.—Mahomed Meerza raised to the throne—Deposed by his son, Abbas, afterwards surnamed the Great—Reign of that sovereign—His wars with the Usbegs and Turks—His reception of Sir Anthony Shirley—His conquest of the Island of Ormus.—Sir Robert Shirley deputed to England as ambassador from Abbas.—Sir Dodmore Cotton appointed ambassador to Persia—His reception and entertainment—Failure of the mission.—Death of Abbas the Great—His character, and government. ..... 495—567

CHAPTER XV.

Sâm Meerza succeeds Shah Abbas—Takes the name of Shah Suffee—His reign, and death.—Succeeded by Abbas the Second—His death and character.—His eldest son, Suffee Meerza, is elevated to the throne, and takes the title of Shah Solimân—His character and government.—Sultan Hussein—His character.—Origin and early history of the Affghan tribes.—Goorgeen Khan appointed to the government of Candahar, to check the insurrection of the tribe of Ghiljee—His severe treatment of the Affghans.—Meer Vais, a chief of that nation, is sent prisoner to Isfahan—His intrigues at court—He is released—Slays Goorgeen Khan, and makes himself

master of the town and province of Candahar—Death of Meer Vais.—Is succeeded by his brother, Meer Abdûllah, who sends deputies to conclude a peace with Persia.—The Affghan chiefs are discontented.—Meer Abdûllah is put to death.—Mahmood, the son of Meer Vais, proclaimed ruler of Candahar—Invades Persia—Is defeated—Again invades Persia—Defeats the Persian army—Takes Isfahan—Receives the crown of Persia from Shah Sultan Hussein—His death and character.....page 568—644

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 8, line 2, note, *for* Zemarawatseer, *read* Temarawatseer.
—— 35, — 1, note, *for* It was, *read* It is.
—— 47, — 6, note, *for* Pehliva *read* Pehlwan.
—— 73, — 4, note, *for* to its, *read* to their.
—— 77, — 13, *for* Poor, *read* Foor.
—— 101, — 3, note, *for* Sir William Jones's Works, Vol. VI. *read* Sir William Jones's Works, Vol. V.
—— 113, — 6, note, and page 258, line 7, note, *for* Sylvester de Sacey, *read* Sylvestre de Sacy.
—— 173, — 5, note, *for* a tenth, *read* two and a half per cent.
—— 183, — 2, note, *for* Shâher, *read* Shâer.
—— 281, — 3, note, *for* Ambodexter, *read* Ambidexter.
—— 285, — 16, page 304, line 14, and line 1, note, *for* Hassan, *read* Hussun.
—— 290, marginal note, *for* A. D. 903, and A. H. 290, *read* A. D. 964, and A. H. 353.
—— 331, line 8, *for* describe, *read* ascribe.
—— 371, — 3, note, and Index; *for* Kululmush, *read* Kutulmush.
—— 375, — 6, and 9; *for* Baharam, *read* Byram.
—— 383, — 1, *for* Illij Guz, a Turkish slave, whom a merchant brought with forty others, *read* Illij Guz, who was one of forty slaves whom a merchant brought.
—— 410, — 9, note, *for* Keraik, *read* Keraite.
—— 423, — 14, *for* Sakund, *read* Sahund.
—— 447, — 1, note, *for* the founder, *read* the son of the founder.
—— 460, — 9, *for* Kara Mahomed, *read* Kara Yusoof.
—— 462, — 12, *for* was, *read* were.
—— 543, — 14, *for* which are, *read* which would appear.
—— 557, — 2, note, *for* Jumadee-ul-Soonnee, *read* Jumadee-ul-akhur.

N. B. The tomân, a nominal coin, which is frequently mentioned in this work, has had a different value at different periods in the history of Persia. It may at present be estimated at one pound sterling. It was formerly at double this value, and is still so in Khorassan and Affghanistan.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

VOL. I.

	Page
Map of Persia, to face the Title Page.	
Images, taken from a Drawing in the Dabistan.	186
Sculpture on the Face of a Mountain near the Ruins of Shahpoor:—Two Plates	254
Front View of the Excavation called Tauk-e-bostan.	257
Sculpture on the northern side of the Interior of the Cave of Tauk-e-bostan.	258
Sculpture on the southern side.	
Sculpture on the Interior of a small Arch near the Tauk-e-bostan.	
Sculpture on the Face of the Rock near the Tauk-e-bostan.	
View of the City of Maragha.	423
Shah Tâmâsp.	505
Shah Abbas the Great.	525

VOL. II.

Nâdir Shah.	44
Kurreem Khan.	115
View of the Town of Yezdikhaust.	160
Aga Mahomed Khan.	262
Futteh Aly Shah.	314
Front View of a Palace at Isfahan.	522
Private Palace in the Châr-Bâgh.	
Tombs of Esther and Mordecai, and Tomb of Avicenna.	524
View of the Mountain of Kaufelan Kôh, and the Bridge over the River Koozuloozun.	525
View of the Encampment of a Wandering Tribe near the Mountains of Kurdistan.	596
Sketch of some Families of the Ghishkee Tribe in their Summer Huts.	602

Map of
PERSIA,
and
ADJACENT COUNTRIES,
FOR
Sir John Malcolm's
HISTORY OF PERSIA.
English Miles
TATARIA
KHAURIZM
KOUKAN
KHORASSA
Great Salt Desert
IRAK
SEISTAN
KERMAN
MEKRAN
INDIAN OCEAN
CABUL
PERSIAN GULF
Longitude East from Greenwich

THE

HISTORY OF PERSIA.

CHAPTER I.

General Introductory Observations on the Boundaries, Mountains, Deserts, Forests, Rivers, and Climate of the Kingdom of Iran, or Persia.

Boundaries.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of a people, it appears necessary to say a few words respecting the extent and nature of the country in which they dwell. The boundaries of Iran, which Europeans call Persia*, have undergone many changes. The limits of this kingdom, in its most prosperous periods,

* This word is generally supposed to be derived from Fars or Pars, a division of the empire of Iran, and applied by Europeans to the whole of that kingdom. It is certainly a word unknown, in the sense we use it, to the present natives of Iran, though some Asiatic writers contend that Pars formerly meant the whole kingdom. In proof of this assertion a passage of the Koran is quoted, in which one of Mahomed's companions, who came from a village near Isfahan, is called Selman of Fars or Pars.

CHAP. I.

Description of Persia.

may however be easily described. The Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean* to the south, the Indus and the Oxus to the east and north-east, the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus to the north, and the River Euphrates to the west. The most striking features of this extensive country, are numerous chains of mountains, and large tracts of desert: amid which are interspersed beautiful valleys and rich pasture lands. From the mouths of the Indus, to those of the Karoon and the Euphrates, the narrow tract of arid and level country which lies between the mountains and the sea, bears a greater resemblance in soil and climate to Arabia, than to Persia. Though this tract extends in length a distance of more than twenty degrees, it cannot boast of one river† that

We have also the authority of the Scripture for the name of this kingdom being Paras[1] or Phars. The authors of the Universal History[2], on what authority I know not, state, that the word Iran is not a general name of Persia, but of a part of that country. This is certainly erroneous: Iran has, from the most ancient times to the present day, been the term by which the Persians call their country; and it includes, in the sense they understand it, all the provinces to the east of the Tigris, Assyria Proper, Media, Parthia, Persia, and Hyrcania or Mazenderan. The whole of this country has probably been styled Pars or Persia in the Bible, and by Greek and Roman writers since Cyrus.

* Persian geographers assume more magnificent limits for their ancient empire: they say it included four seas and six great rivers: the Black Sea, the Red Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the Persian Gulf; the Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, Phasis, Indus, and Oxus.

† The Zab, which divides the province of Fars from Khuzistan, is navigable for boats as far as the town of Endian, a distance of sixteen miles from the sea.

[1] It is so named in Daniel, Esdras, &c.

[2] Vol. V. p. 50.

is navigable above a few miles from the ocean. The appearance of this coast is almost every where the same—a succession of sandy plains: in viewing which, the eye is occasionally relieved by large plantations of date trees, and by patches of cultivation that are found near the wells, and fresh water rivulets, which are thinly scattered over this extensive but barren region. Inland, from the chain of mountains nearest the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, to the Oxus in one direction, and to the Caspian Sea in another, the most marked features of the country are nearly the same. These are, a succession of mountains and valleys of different elevation and extent. There are only a few of the former which can be termed of very extraordinary height, though many ranges have continual snow upon their summits. None of the valleys are broad; but some are of great length, often exceeding one hundred miles. The only tracts within this empire which spread wide, without the interruption of mountains, are salt deserts, of which there are several: one of the most remarkable is that which extends from the banks of the Heirmund River* in Seistan to the range of hills which divide that province from lower Mekran, a distance of about four hundred miles. This may be deemed the extreme length of the desert. Its breadth from Noosky, a village in Sarawan†, to Jalk, in upper or northern Mekran, is near two hundred miles. The salt

Mountains.

Salt deserts.

* I have written its name Heirmund because it is generally so termed by Persian authors; but it is also called Helmund. This fine river, (the Etymander of the ancients,) which takes its rise in the mountains of Hazara, to the north of Cabul, flows through Seistan, part of which arid province is fertilized by its streams, and empties itself into the Lake of Zerah.

† A district in Mekran.

CHAP. I.

desert, which extends from the vicinity of the cities of Koom and Kashan to the provinces of Mazenderan and Khorassan, is as long, and some miles broader, than that of Seistan, with which it unites. The exact nature of the vast waste which these form is but little known. It abounds with salt marshes, and encircles the Sea of Zerah, or Lake of Seistan. In many of its dry parts this desert presents to the eye either a crusted coat of brittle earth, or a succession of sand hills. The latter have, in general, the shape of waves, and consist of particles of red sand, so light as to be hardly palpable, which, when scattered by the violent north-west winds that prevail throughout the summer months, form a moving cloud, which often proves alike destructive to animal and to vegetable life.

The influence of this great desert on those countries which are in its vicinity, and upon the same level with it, is very great. These are subject to extreme heats: the temperature of Kashan was found, by observations made by Fahrenheit's thermometer, to be about twenty degrees warmer than that of Kohrood, a village situated twenty-five miles from it, in a small valley, on the top of a range of hills, which were certainly not of a height to account for this great difference of temperature, on any calculation that has reference only to elevation. The hills in the interior of Persia are not quite so barren as the ranges which meet the eye of the navigator of the Indian Sea and the Persian Gulf: but none, except those of Mazenderan and of Georgia, are covered with forests. In the north-western parts of Kurdistan, in parts of Fars, and of Khorassan, there are woods intermixed with large trees; but the generality of mountains in Persia are either bare, or thinly clad with underwood.

Valleys.

The valleys of the centre provinces of Persia abound with all the rarest and most valuable vegetable productions, and might be cultivated to any extent. The pasture grounds of that country are not surpassed by any lands in the world. Trees are seldom found except near the towns or villages: but the luxuriance with which they grow wherever planted, shews that the climate is quite congenial to them. The orchards of Persia produce all the fruits of the temperate zone; and its wilds abound with flowers that can only be reared by care and cultivation in the gardens of Europe. Though there is a resemblance in the principal features of the surface of this kingdom, some of its provinces are marked by a very distinct appearance. In Fars, Irak, and Khorassan, the valleys are generally level. In Aderbijan they appear like a succession of eminences between hills; and Kurdistan may be almost termed one immense cluster of small mountains, occasionally intersected by loftier ranges; on the top of which, as in every other part of Persia, there are table lands, which, from their great elevation, are subject to extreme cold*.

Rivers.

Persia has hardly one river which can be termed navigable, unless the Euphrates and the Tigris may be considered as belonging to that empire. The Karoon in Khuzistan, the Arras or Araxes in Aderbijan, and the Heirmund, which flows through the province of Seistan, are the largest within its ordinary limits. The rains, except in Mazenderan, are neither frequent nor heavy; and a

* In the year 1810, when encamped on the plain of Hubatoo in Kurdistan, the water in my tent froze to near half an inch thick on the 17th of August. The latitude was thirty-six degrees north, and Fahrenheit's thermometer, at 6 a. m., stood at thirty-four.

CHAP. I.

want of water is undoubtedly to be deemed the great obstacle to the general fertility of the country. In its more prosperous days*, astonishing efforts were made by its inhabitants to overcome this natural defect: but the local situation of Persia was unhappy; and the ravages of barbarous invaders often destroyed in a day the labours of a century, and made a nation recede in despair from its progress in improvement.

Climate and Productions.

The climate of this kingdom is very various. It is not more affected by the difference of latitude, than by the opposite nature of the soil, and by the remarkable inequalities of the surface of almost all its provinces. The greater part of the country, as has been stated, is a succession of plains at the base of those ridges of hills by which it is intersected, and of table lands nearly on a level with their tops. To pass from the lower valleys to the higher, is to change the temperature of summer for that of winter. But the climate, though various, is healthy; and few countries can boast a more robust, active, and well-formed race of men. Its animals (particularly horses and dogs) are of uncommon size, strength, and beauty. Its vegetable productions have been noticed. In its mountains some valuable minerals are found, but none in any abundance; and Persia has consequently been always indebted to foreign countries for lead, iron, silver, and gold.

* In the small, but fine, district of Nishabore in Khorassan, there are said to have been twelve thousand water-courses.

CHAPTER II.

An Account of the Dynasty of Mah-abad and other Fabulous Kings of Persia before the Period of Kaiomurs.

If we desire to be fully informed of a nation's history, we must not reject the fables under which the few traces that remain of its origin are concealed. These, however extravagant, always merit attention. They have an influence on the character of the people to whom they relate. They mix with their habits, their literature, and sometimes with their religion. They become, in short, national legends, which it is sacrilege to doubt: and to question the deeds of a Roostum would raise, in the breast of a Persian, all those feelings which would be excited in that of an Englishman if he heard a foreigner detract from the great name of Alfred. Such heroes often rise in importance (as far as their example is of value) in proportion as their real history is lost in obscurity: they are adopted as models by the painters and the poets of their country: every human virtue is ascribed to them: and men are taught their duty from fables decorated with names which they have learnt to venerate from their cradle, and the love of which is cherished with all the enthusiasm of national pride.

In almost all modern accounts of Persia which have been translated from Mahomedan authors, Kaiomurs is considered the

CHAP. II.

first king of that country: but the Dabistan*, a book professedly compiled from works of the ancient Guebers, or worshippers of fire, presents us with a chapter on a succession of monarchs and prophets who preceded Kaiomurs. According to its author, the Persians, previous to the reign of Kaiomurs, and consequently long before the mission of Zoroaster†, venerated a prophet called Mah-abad, (or the great Abad,) whom they considered as the father of men. We are told in the Dabistan, that the ancient Persians deemed it impossible to ascertain who were the first parents of the human race. The knowledge of man, they alleged, was quite incompetent to such a discovery: but they believed, on the authority of their books, that Mah-abad was the person left at the end of the last great cycle‡; and, consequently, the father of the present world. The only particulars they relate of him are, that he and his wife, having survived the former cycle, were blessed with a numerous progeny, who inhabited caves and clefts of rocks, and were uninformed of both the comforts and luxuries of life: that they were at first strangers to order and government, but that Mah-abad, inspired and aided by Divine Power, resolved to alter their condition; and, to

Mah-abad, the first king.

* The doubtful authority of this work has received some support from the recent discovery of a volume in the ancient Pehlivi, (called the Dussateer, or Temarawatseer,) to which its author refers.

† The Persian name of this prophet of the Guebers is Zerdosht. I have thought it right to adopt, in names so familiar to the English reader, the common etymology.

‡ They believe time to be divided into a succession of cycles or periods, to each of which they allot its own people, believing that a male and female are left at the end of every cycle, to be the parents of the population of the next. This appears to be a copy of the Yugs of the Hindoos.

effect that object, planted gardens, invented ornaments, and forged weapons. He also taught men to take the fleece from the sheep, and to make clothing: he built cities, constructed palaces, fortified towns, and introduced among his descendants all the benefits of art and commerce.

He introduces civilization.

Mah-abad had thirteen successors of his own family; all of whom are styled Abad, and deemed prophets. They were at once the monarchs and the high priests of the country; and, during their reigns, the world, we are informed, enjoyed a golden age; which was, however, disturbed by an act of Azer-abad, the last prince of the Mahabadian dynasty, who abdicated the throne, and retired to a life of solitary devotion

Thirteen monarchs of the race of Mah-abad.

Azer-abad, the last prince, abdicates the throne.

By the absence of Azer-abad his subjects were left to the free indulgence of their passions, and every species of excess was the consequence. The empire became a scene of rapine and of murder. To use the extravagant expression of our author*, the mills, from which men were fed, were turned by the torrents of blood that flowed from the veins of their brothers; every art and science fell into oblivion; the human race became as beasts of prey, and returned to their former rude habitations in caverns and mountains. Some sages, who viewed the state of the empire with compassion, entreated Jy-affram†, a saint-like, retired man, to assume the government. This holy man, who had received the title of Jy‡, from his pre-eminent virtues, refused to attend to their request, till a divine

* Dabistan.

† Jy-affram was called the son of Azer-abad, not from his kindred to that monarch, but from his resemblance to him in goodness and piety.

‡ This word means *pure*, in Pehlivi, as well as in Shanscrit.

CHAP. II.

command, through the angel Gabriel*, led him to consent to be the instrument of restoring order, and of reviving the neglected laws and institutions of Mah-abad. Jy-affram founded a new dynasty, which was called the Jy-anian. The name of the last king of this race was Jy-abad; who, after a long and prosperous reign, suddenly disappeared, and the empire fell again into confusion. Order was restored by his son Shah Kuleev, who was with difficulty prevailed upon to quit his religious retirement to assume the reins of government. His successors were prosperous, till the elevation of the last prince of the dynasty, whose name was Mahabool†. This monarch, we are told, was compelled, by the increasing depravity of his subjects, to resign his crown. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Yessan, who, acting under divine influence, supported himself in that condition which his father had abandoned. This prince founded a new dynasty, which terminated in his descendant Yessan-Ajum. At the end of his reign the general wickedness of mankind exceeded all bounds, and God made their mutual hostility the means of the Divine vengeance, till the human race was nearly extinct. The

Jy-affram raised to the throne, establishes a new dynasty.

Shah Kuleev establishes a dynasty.

Mahabool.

Yessan establishes a dynasty.

The world reverts into a savage state.

* I am following a Mahomedan author, who has certainly made a free translation of the Pehlivi text; and the introduction of the angel Gabriel appears of itself enough to discredit his whole work.

† The similarity of this name to the Belus of the Egyptians, and the Mahabali, or great Bali of the Hindoos, will strike every learned reader. This agreement may either form an argument for or against the authenticity of the text, as we are disposed to give the author of the Dabistan credit for correctness, or otherwise. If he actually writes from Pehlivi authorities, it must be received as a proof of correspondent history between the Hindoos and Persians; but if, on the contrary, he has built up his hypothesis with a disposition to approximate the history of ancient Persia and India, this similarity of names must detract from his credit.

Order restored by Kaiomurs.

few that remained had fled to woods and mountains, when the all-merciful Creator called Kaiomurs, or Gilshah, to the throne. But, before I proceed to an account of his reign, which is the epoch at which all histories of Persia (hitherto published) commence, it will be necessary to say a few words regarding Mah-abad and his descendants.

The period of years* ascribed to each of the dynasties which I have noticed, is so far beyond all bounds of credibility, that they would appear more like calculations applicable to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, than dates referrible to real history. If we could rely upon the authenticity of the Dabistan so far, as to be satisfied that those parts of this work which relate to Persia were actually composed from the ancient Pehlivi books, to which its author so frequently refers, it would prove, beyond further discussion, that one of the most ancient and sacred institutions of the Hindoos, the classification of the society into casts, if it did not originate in Persia, was known in that country before the introduction of the worship of Zoroaster. But this subject, as well as the religion of Mah-abad and his successors, will be noticed hereafter. All that we yet possess relative to this remote period is quite obscure, and merits but a cursory notice: it is too general and indistinct to possess even that interest which belongs to those periods of a nation's history where truth and fable mix, and from which we often derive amusement, and sometimes instruction.

* The dynasty of the Jy-anians is stated to have endured one aspar; which, according to the computation made from a Pehlivi work, is a term denoting a thousand millions of years.

CHAPTER III.

The Paishdadian Dynasty of Kings.

CHAP. II.

Kaiomurs, the first king.

According to all Mahomedan writers, except the author of the Dabistan, Kaiomurs* was the first monarch of Persia. They follow the chronology of the Jews, and trace his descent to Noah. This king is stated† to have reclaimed his subjects from a state of the most savage barbarity. He was, we are told by one author‡, the son of Yessan-Ajum, while others call him the grandson of Noah‖: all agree in acknowledging him as the founder of a dynasty, which is known in history as that of the Paishdadian, or first distributers of justice.

Kaiomurs labours to civilize his subjects.

The efforts of Kaiomurs to civilize mankind were, in the beginning, only successful with his own family; the rest remained in their savage habits, and carried on a war with this monarch, whose son, Siamuck, was slain in one of his battles with them.

* He is also known by his title of Gilshah, or King of the Earth.

† Ferdosi. ‡ Dabistan. Zeenut ul Tuarikh.

‖ Zeenut ul Tuarikh. The author of this work states, that the word Kaiomurs is Syriac, and signifies Hy-Natuck, or the Living Word. I confess my entire ignorance of this derivation.

The first of the poets* of Persia has described these wars in a work written, no doubt, from the most ancient histories and traditions, but heightened by his own rich imagination, and clouded by a thousand fables. In his page, these barbarous enemies of Kaiomurs are termed deevs† or magicians; and when that monarch carried Houshung, the infant son of Siamuck, to share in the revenge he meant to take upon his enemies, his army was, according to the poet‡, joined by all the lions, tigers, and panthers, in his dominions; and the deevs were routed and torn to pieces in their flight by the auxiliaries, who had left their native forests to aid the just king‖. After this victory, Kaiomurs retired to his capital of Bulkh§, where, according to one author, he resigned his crown to his grandson, Houshung; while another¶ asserts, that he died and was succeeded by that prince. Both state that he reigned thirty years.

* Ferdosi.

† Deev means magician; and in Shanscrit it means a brahmen, perhaps from some of that tribe pretending to be sorcerers: but, speaking generally, it is the term which barbarous men in all ages have applied to their enemies or neighbours who had more art or knowledge than themselves. The rude inhabitants of Tartary, at the present day, will gravely assure you, that the Chinese are deevs or magicians.

‡ Ferdosi.

‖ In another account of this war, his army is said to have suffered greatly from the unhealthiness of the country into which he marched; but he was relieved by a divine revelation, made through a voice which spoke from the mountain and told him his enemies were asleep in a neighbouring forest, where he instantly marched and destroyed them.—*Zeenut ul Tuarikh.*

§ This city, which lies in 36° 28′ of north latitude, and in 65° 16′ of east longitude, appears to have continued for a long period the capital of the ancient kings of Persia.

¶ Zeenut ul Tuarikh.

CHAP. III.

Houshung succeeds to the throne.

Houshung, the second ruler of the Paishdadian dynasty, was a prince renowned for justice and wisdom: but we find a great difference among Persian authors, both as to the events and the period of his reign. He is said to have founded some noble cities,

He invents many useful arts.

and to have invented* many useful arts; and his name is perpetuated in Persia as the first who constructed aqueducts†. A work‡ of some merit, which has been quoted by Persian authors, is ascribed to this prince. He reigned forty years, and was succeeded by his

Tahamurs succeeds to the throne.

son, Tahamurs, commonly called Deev-bund, or the Magician-binder‖; a title he derived from the success with which he warred against the enemies of his family. He was, according to Persian fable, aided in those wars by the supernatural wisdom of his prime minister, Sheerasp, who, we are informed, used all kinds of spells and enchantments to entrap the deevs. These, however, would appear to have been superior to their conquerors in knowledge; for

* Ferdosi states that this king first discovered fire by the collision of flint stones, and ordained its worship as the Nour-e-Khodah, or Light of God.

† These aqueducts are made by a succession of small wells at the distance of a few yards from each other, and of such depth as the level and soil require: they are connected with each other at the bottom by a channel, large enough for a man to pass to clear it. These wells commence at a spring, and not only convey its waters, but that of such other springs as are found in the course of the canal: they are common through all Persia: the water they convey is applied to irrigation.

‡ The Jauveedan Khird, or Eternal Wisdom.

‖ The Greeks termed all others barbarians; and many of the Asiatic nations represent the enemies of their earlier power as demons and giants. When Buddu and his successors conquered Ceylon, they are stated in the Cingalese Records to have extirpated the devils by which that island was then possessed.

it is confessed* that a number of them who were prisoners, redeemed their lives from Tahamurs by teaching that monarch to read and write. We learn from the same author who records these events, that the worship of idols was first introduced under this prince, and the account of its origin appears very natural. A malignant disease had raged for so long a time in Persia, that men, distracted at losing many of their dearest friends and relations, desired to preserve the memory of them by busts and images, which they kept in their houses, as some consolation under their affliction. These images were transmitted to a posterity by whom they were still more venerated: and, in the course of time, the memorials of tender regard were elevated into objects of adoration†.

The worship of idols first introduced.

Its origin.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The following passage from the authentic Travels of William de Rubruquis, a monk, who was sent, in A. D. 1253, by Louis the Ninth of France, (commonly called St. Louis,) to the Court of Mangou Khan, the grandson of Chenghiz, is a remarkable illustration of this passage. The author writes from the City of Cailac, in Tartary. "After I had sat awhile," he observes, "with these priests, and entered into their "temple, and seen many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them, "What they believed concerning God? They answered, We believe that there is "only one God. Whether do you believe that he is a spirit or some bodily "substance? They said, We believe that he is a spirit. Then said I, Do you "believe that God ever took man's nature upon him? They answered, No. Again "I said, Since you believe that he is a spirit, to what end do you make so many "bodily images to represent him? Since also you believe that he was not made man, "why do you rather represent him by the image of a man than of any other "creature? Then they answered, We frame not these images to represent God; "but when any rich man amongst us, or his son, or his wife, or any of his friends "dieth, he causeth the image of the dead person to be made, and to be placed here; "and we, in remembrance of him, do reverence thereunto. I replied then, Do you

CHAP. III.

He is succeeded by Jemsheed.

Tahamurs governed Persia thirty years. He was succeeded by his nephew, the famous Jemsheed*, a prince who is celebrated as the founder of Persepolis†, which is to this day called Tukht-e-Jemsheed,

" these things only for friendship and out of flattery to man? No, said they, but out " of regard to their memories.

" And again," this author observes, " the Moals [Moghuls] or Tartars are, in this " regard, of their sect; that is to say, they believe there is but one God; yet they " make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, covering them with " five most rich and costly garments, and putting them in one or two carts, which " carts no man dare touch; and these are in the custody of their soothsayers, who are " their priests, concerning whom I will give your highness an account more at length " hereafter[3]."

* Jemsheed was the first who discovered wine. He was immoderately fond of grapes, and desired to preserve some, which were placed in a large vessel and lodged in a vault for future use. When the vessel was opened, the grapes had fermented: their juice, in this state, was so acid, that the king believed it must be poisonous: he had some vessels filled with it, and poison written upon each: these were placed in his room. It happened that one of his favourite ladies was affected with nervous headachs: the pain distracted her so much, that she desired death: observing a vessel with poison written on it, she took it and swallowed its contents. The wine, for such it had become, overpowered the lady, who fell down into a sound sleep and awoke much refreshed. Delighted with the remedy, she repeated the doses so often, that the monarch's poison was all drank. He soon discovered this, and forced the lady to confess what she had done. A quantity of wine was made: and Jemsheed, and all his court, drank of the new beverage, which, from the circumstance that led to its discovery, is to this day known in Persia by the name of zeher-e-khoosh, or the delightful poison.—Moullah Ackber's MSS.

† This city is called both Istakhr and Tukht-e-Jemsheed by the Persians.

[3] Harris's Travels, Vol. I. p. 570.

or the Throne of Jemsheed. To this monarch, Persian authors attribute the invention of many useful arts; and to him they refer the first great reform in the manners and usages of his countrymen. He divided, they inform us, his subjects into four classes. The first was formed of learned and pious men, devoted to the worship of God: and the duty ascribed to them was to make known to others what was lawful, and what otherwise. The second were writers, whose employment was to keep the records and accounts of the state. The third soldiers, who were directed to occupy themselves in military exercises, that they might be fitted for war. The fourth class were artificers, husbandmen, and tradesmen*. Jemsheed also introduced the solar year: and ordered the first day of it, when the sun entered Aries, to be celebrated by a splendid festival†. The early part of the reign of this prince was prosperous beyond all example: but, immersed in luxury, he at last forgot that Source from whence his good fortune flowed, and proclaimed himself a deity: directing his statues to be multiplied, that the Persians might adore the image of their king, as the dispenser of all earthly good. This act of daring impiety disgusted his subjects, and encouraged the Syrian prince, Zohauk‡, to invade Persia. The unfortunate Jemsheed fled before a

He divides his subjects into four classes.

Introduces the solar year.

Proclaims himself a god.

His country invaded by Zohauk.

* The authorities on which we give the history of Jemsheed make no mention of Mah-abad: but if we are to give any credit to the Dabistan, the institutions of Jemsheed can only be deemed a revival of those of that lawgiver.

† It is called Nouroze, or new year's day, and is still the greatest festival in Persia. Some of the sculpture of Persepolis is supposed to represent the processions at this festival.

‡ This prince was the descendant of Shedad, and, agreeably to some authors, the nephew of Jemsheed.

CHAP. III.

conqueror, who was deemed by all, the instrument of divine vengeance. The wanderings of the exiled monarch are wrought into a tale, which is among the most popular in Persian romance. His first adventure was in the neighbouring province of Seistan*, where the only daughter of the ruling prince was led, by a prophecy of her nurse, to fall in love with him, and to contract a secret marriage: but the unfortunate Jemsheed was pursued through Seistan, India, and China, by the agents of the implacable Zohauk, by whom he was at last seized, and carried before his cruel enemy like a common malefactor. Here his miseries closed: for, after enduring all that proud scorn could inflict upon fallen greatness, he was placed† between two boards, and sawn asunder‡ with the bone of a fish.

His marriage.

He is taken and brought before Zohauk.

Is put to death.

Zohauk sovereign of Persia.

There are various accounts of the descent of Zohauk, who now became the sovereign of Persia. According to some historians‖, he was an Arabian, but descended from Kaiomurs: others trace his descent to Shedad, and term him a Syrian; and it has even been conjectured that he was the Nimrod of the Hebrews. All agree in one fact, that he was of a cruel and sanguinary temper. He is described as having had two dreadful cancers on his shoulders,

His descent.

Supposed to be the Nimrod of the Hebrews.

* Called also Zabulistan, which is the ancient name of this province.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Such is the most popular account of the reign of this prince; regarding whom, however, authors differ very widely. We are told by Ferdosi, that his reign lasted seven hundred years. The same author adds, that when the news of his death reached the Court of Seistan, his distracted widow put an end to her existence with poison: but she left a son, whose descendant, Roostum, became the boast and glory of his native country.

‖ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

which the Persian fabulists have changed into snakes*, whose hunger nothing could appease but the brains of human beings. Two of Zohauk's subjects were slain daily to furnish the horrid meal: till the manly indignation of Kâwâh, a blacksmith of Isfahan, whose two sons were on the point of being sacrificed, relieved the empire from this tyrant, and raised Feridoon, a prince of the Paishdadian dynasty, to the throne.

Feridoon is raised to the throne.

Feridoon was the son of Abten, an immediate descendant of Tahamurs. He had escaped, in almost a miraculous manner, from Zohauk, when that prince had seized and murdered his father†. At the age of sixteen he joined Kâwâh, who had collected a large body of his countrymen: these fought with enthusiasm under the standard

* The whole of Zohauk's history is a fable, and the story of the snakes is evidently allegorical, and was probably designed to represent the fatal consequences of yielding to evil temptation. We are told by Ferdosi, that the Devil first persuaded Zohauk to murder his virtuous father, Murdas: and afterwards tempted him to eat flesh, which was, in those days, considered a great sin. As a reward for the enjoyments he had obtained him, Satan entreated Zohauk to permit him to kiss his shoulders; which his lips no sooner touched, than a hissing serpent appeared on each. These were expected to produce his immediate death: but the monarch was assured by the Devil, who had assumed the garb of a physician, that if the voracious serpents were fed with the brains of human beings, he need apprehend no danger. The remedy was tried, and proved successful; and Persia, but for the courage of Kâwâh, would have been depopulated by this diabolical device.—FERDOSI.

† He also slew the peasant who had sheltered Feridoon in the mountains, and the cow which had nourished him with her milk. The name of this cow was Poormaiah; and Feridoon, in honour of its memory, carried an iron mace with a cow's head on it, as his weapon in battle. It was called the gurz gowesir, or the club with the cow's head.

CHAP. III.

of the blacksmith's apron*, which continually reminded them of the just cause of their revolt: and the presence of their young prince made them invincible. Zohauk, after numerous defeats, was made prisoner, and put to a slow and painful death, as some punishment for his great crimes.

Zohauk's death.

A Persian poet†, alluding to the victories which the youthful Feridoon obtained over Zohauk, and to those enchantments by which the latter was guarded, and the manner in which they were overcome by his virtuous antagonist, beautifully exclaims‡: "The happy Feri-"doon was not an angel; he was not formed of musk or of amber: "it was by his justice and mercy that he gained good and great ends. "Be thou just and merciful, and thou shalt be a Feridoon."

The crimes of his elder sons, which embittered the latter years of Feridoon, have given rise to one of the most affecting tales in Persian romance; and it is indeed only in that form that there remains any trace of these events. This virtuous monarch had, we are told, three sons, Selm, Toor, and Erij. The two former were

* Feridoon's first act was to convert the celebrated apron into the royal standard of Persia. As such, it was richly ornamented with jewels; to which every king, from Feridoon to the last of the Pehlivi monarchs, added. It was called the Derufsh-e-Kawanee, (the standard of Kawa,) and continued to be the royal standard of Persia till the Mahomedan conquest, when it was taken in battle by Saad-e-Wukass, and sent to the Caliph Omar.

† Sadi.

‡ "Feridoon e ferokh, ferishta na boud;
"Z-mishk, ou z-amber, serishta, na boud:
"Be dad ou dahish, yaft an neekoee;
"Tu-dad, ou dahish kun, Feridoon touee."

Gulistan.

by one mother, the daughter of Zohauk; the latter by a princess* of Persia. After these three princes had been united in marriage to three daughters of a king of Arabia, Feridoon determined to divide his wide dominions among them. To Selm he gave the countries comprehended in modern Turkey; to Toor†, Tartary and part of China; and to Erij‡, Persia. The princes departed for their respective governments; but the two elder were displeased that Persia, the fairest of lands, and the seat of royalty, should have been given to their junior, and they combined to effect the ruin of their envied brother. They first sent‖ to their father, to reproach him with his partiality and injustice, and to demand a revision of his act, threatening an immediate attack if their request was refused. The old king was greatly distressed. He represented to them that his days were drawing to a close, and entreated that he might be allowed to depart in peace. Erij discovered what was passing, and resolved to go to his brothers and to lay his crown at their feet, rather than continue to be the cause of a dissension that afflicted his father. He prevailed upon the old king to consent to this measure, and

Feridoon divides his dominions among his three sons.

Their discontent.

* Her name was Irandocht, or daughter of Iran: her father was Shah-murd.

† From this prince's name Persian authors derive Turan; which was formerly the appellation by which all the countries between the Jaxartes and the Oxus in one direction, and the Caspian and boundaries of China in another, were known to the natives of Persia.

‡ Many Persian historians derive the name of Eeran from that of this prince. Moullah Firoze, an excellent Pehlivi scholar, tells me it is the plural of Eir, and means the country of believers: but Erij might have taken his name from the same term. Eeron or Aron signifies, I am told, mountainous in Hebrew; and the face of the country certainly favours this etymology.

‖ Ferdosi.

CHAP. III.

carried a letter from their common parent to Selm and Toor; the purport of which was, a solicitation that they should live together in peace. This appeal had no effect, and the unfortunate Erij was slain* by his brothers†; who had the barbarity to embalm his head and send it to Feridoon. The old man is said to have fainted at the sight. When he recovered, he seized with frantic grief the head of his beloved son, and, holding it in his raised hands, he called upon Heaven to punish the base perpetrators of so unnatural and cruel a deed. "May they never more," he

Erij is slain by his brothers.

* Ferdosi.

† The remonstrance of Erij to his brothers, when they resolved to slay him, is given by Ferdosi in some very fine and affecting lines. He makes that prince exclaim:

"Pussundee, ou hem dastanee koonee,
"Ke jan daree, ou jan sitanee koonee:
"My azar moree, ka dana kush est:
"Ka jan darid, ou jan shereen, ou khoush est."

"Will you ever allow it to be recorded
"That you, possessing life, deprive others of that blessing?
"Pain not the ant that drags the grain along the ground;
"It has life, and life is sweet and delightful to all to whom it belongs."

The last couplet has been translated by Sir William Jones into English verse, and is introduced by Sadi into his epitaph on the poet by whom it was written. We are told, in a Persian work of celebrity[4], that a person dreamt he saw Ferdosi composing, and an angel was guiding his pen: he looked near, and discovered that he had just written the above couplet, in which he so emphatically pleads for humanity to the smallest insect of the creation.

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[4] The Attash Kuddah.

exclaimed, " enjoy one bright day! may the demon Remorse tear " their savage bosoms*, till they excite compassion even in the " wild beasts of the forest! As to me," said the afflicted old man, " I only desire from the God that gave me life, that he will continue " it till a descendant shall arise from the race of Erij to revenge " his death; and then this head will repose with joy on any spot " that is appointed to receive it."

The daughter† of Erij was married to the nephew of Feridoon; and their young son, Manucheher, proved the image of his grandfather. This child became the cherished hope of the aged monarch: and when the young prince attained manhood, he made every preparation to enable him to revenge the blood of Erij. Selm and Toor trembled as they saw the day of retribution approach: they sent ambassadors with rich presents to their father, and entreated that Manucheher might be sent to them, that they might stand in his presence like slaves, and wash away the remembrance of their crimes by tears of contrition. Feridoon returned their presents; and, in his reply to their message, expressed his indignation in glowing terms. " Tell the merciless men," he exclaimed, " that they shall never see Manucheher but attended by armies, and " clothed in steel‡."

Manucheher's birth.

A war commenced; and, in the first battle, Toor was slain by the lance of Manucheher. Selm retired to a fortress, from whence he was drawn by a challenge from the youthful hero, who was victo-

Toor and Selm slain by Manucheher.

* This passage is almost literal from the page of Ferdosi.

† The name of the lady was Peri-cheher, or Fairy-face; that of her husband, Pushung.

‡ Ferdosi.

CHAP. III.

rious in this combat; and the event restored tranquillity to the empire. When Manucheher returned in triumph, the venerable Feridoon advanced on foot to meet him: the prince dismounted when he approached, and, after kissing the ground*, received his congratulations. Feridoon soon afterwards died; but, before he expired, he placed his crown on the head of the grandson of Erij, advising him to attend to the council of Sam†, a nobleman of great wisdom and high birth, who was hereditary Prince of Seistan. Persian authors inform us, that Feridoon reigned five hundred years. They add, that he was the first monarch that ever rode upon an elephant, or brought those animals into use in war‡. His wisdom and goodness have been universally celebrated. His testament, which was addressed to his descendants, contained the following admirable lesson to monarchs: "Deem every day in your life as "a leaf in your history: take care, therefore, that nothing be "written in it that is not worthy of posterity."

Feridoon's death.

Manucheher.

Manucheher‖ was a good and pious monarch: but the great prosperity which attended his reign was chiefly owing to the wisdom and courage of his prime minister, Sam, whose descendants, even

* Kissing the ground appears to have been a very ancient usage in Persia. In the Battle of the Chase, (a canto in the Shah Nameh,) Roostum and his heroes are represented as drinking the health of Kai Kaoos, the reigning monarch, in bumpers of Zabul wine, before the action commenced. "They first," the poet says, "repeated "the name of their king, then drank, and, falling prostrate, kissed the ground."

† The son of Jemsheed, by the beautiful Princess of Seistan, was called Atrut; his son was Gurshasp, whose son was Neriman, the father of Sam, whose son Zal was the father of Roostum.

‡ Ferdosi. ‖ This prince is supposed to be the Mandauces of the Greeks.

during this reign, obtained a celebrity which has led Persian historians and poets to speak only of those events that are connected with their biography. The eldest son of Sam, we are informed, was born with white hair, which greatly distressed his father, who in consequence named him Zal, or the aged. Sam was, soon after his birth, persuaded that this infant was not his own, but that of some deev, or magician; and, under that impression, he sent it to be exposed on Elburz*, a lofty mountain, which the Persian historian describes as "near the sun, and far from mankind." Here fabulists relate that the young Zal was nurtured by a simurgh†, or griffin. But Sam was soon induced to repent of his unnatural conduct; for he heard a divine voice exclaim: "That infant, which a father abandoned, is now the care of the universal Protector‡." He went to Elburz, where he humbled himself before God; and his son was restored. They embraced, and Zal went with him to the Court of Manucheher, by whom the father was, soon after his return, appointed governor of Seistan, Cabul, and all the

Birth of Zal.

He is exposed on the mountain of Elburz.

Zal goes to the Court of Manucheher.

* Ferdosi. This mountain (or rather range of mountains) is near the modern city of Teheran.

† It is possibly to this fable that Grecian historians allude when they relate that Achæmenes was nurtured by an eagle. He is termed the founder of the greatest family in Persia: some authors state that he was the second of this family. Supposing Sam (who is, according to Persian authors, the founder of the greatest family in their country,) the Persis of the Greeks; Zal, who was nursed by a siamurgh, a fabulous bird, was his son. It is certain, that all of these heroes had many names or titles. Persis, and some word like Achæmenes, might have been those of Sam and Zal: but I am very little inclined to venture on this field of endless conjecture.

‡ Ferdosi.

CHAP. III.

countries to the northward of the Indus*; to which he immediately proceeded, accompanied by his newly discovered son.

The first adventure which the poet† records of Zal, was that which has led to all his renown, as it made him the father of the hero of his country, the great Roostum, whose name occupies so large a space in Eastern history, or rather romance, that it must prove an excuse for the narration of those fabulous particulars which are connected with his birth.

Zal's first meeting with Roudabah.

It is related that Zal, when taking the amusement of the chase, came to the foot of a tower, on one of the turrets of which he saw a young damsel, of the most exquisite beauty. They mutually gazed and loved; but there appeared no mode of ascending the battlement. After much embarrassment‡, an expedient occurred to the fair maiden: she loosened her dark and beautiful tresses, which fell in ringlets to the bottom of the tower, and enabled the enamoured prince to ascend. The lady proved to be Roudabah, the daughter of Mehrab, king of Cabul, a prince of the race of Zohauk. The love which this extraordinary interview gave rise to, ended in a marriage, which was approved both by Sam and the royal father of the princess: and we are assured all was happiness, till the pains of Roudabah threatened her husband with the loss of his beloved. The griffin, who had nurtured Zal on the mountain of Elburz, had given him, at parting, some of her feathers, and directed him to burn one whenever he was in extreme distress. He did so at this

* There appears no authority from which we can conclude that the possessions of the ancient kings of Persia were ever permanently extended beyond the Indus.

† Ferdosi.

‡ Ferdosi.

moment, and his kind nurse appeared. She told him that it was necessary to make an incision in the side of Roudabah, and gave him some intoxicating drugs*, which, when administered to the princess, would make her insensible to pain. Zal did as he was directed, and the giant child was cut from the side of his mother, who was soon restored to perfect health. The infant was named Roostum. Seven nurses† were assigned for his support, but proved insufficient: and, indeed, nearly as many sheep were soon required for his daily sustenance. Such is the fabulous account of the birth of the hero of Persia. His deeds have been magnified into miracles by the poet who describes them: and his history is, in consequence, enveloped in romance. One of the principal of his achievements, during the reign of Manucheher, was the conquest of the Kullah Suffeed‡, in the province of Fars. This fort lies about seventy-six miles north-west of the City of Shiraz; is situated on a high hill, that is almost perpendicular on every side. It is of an oblong form, and encloses a level space at the top of the mountain, which is covered with delightful verdure, and watered by numerous springs. The ascent is near three miles: and, for the last five or six hundred yards, the summit is so difficult of approach, that the slightest opposition, if well directed, must render it impregnable‖. In

Birth of Roostum.

Roostum's conquest of the fort of Kullah Suffeed.

* Agreeably to one copy, they gave her wine. † Ferdosi.

‡ This means the White Fort; given, no doubt, from its appearance. It has still the same name.

‖ I am indebted, for this description, to Lieutenant M'Donald, who visited this fort in 1810. It was then in possession of the tribe of Mumasenni, one of the aboriginal tribes of Persia. Their means of defence, at this period, were probably the same as in the days of Roostum:—a line of large stones ranged in regular order

CHAP. III.

the rude state of military science, it cannot be surprising, that the prowess of Roostum even, failed in subduing by force such a fortress. After a tedious blockade, he had recourse to stratagem. Having disguised himself as a dealer in salt, of which he knew the garrison was much in want, he put bags upon his camels, and, in place of the article in which he pretended to trade, he concealed an armed man in each bag. No suspicion was excited. The attack commenced after it was dark. The garrison, though surprised, made a desperate resistance: and it was not till daylight that Roostum obtained possession of the fort, in which he is said to have found immense treasure*.

Manucheher's death.

Manucheher died, after a reign of one hundred and twenty years. When on his death-bed, he entreated his son, Nouzer†, to trust to

Nouzer succeeds Manucheher.

Sam and his descendants as the best supporters of his throne. But that prince forgot his father's advice almost as soon as he obtained the crown, and never even consulted with the advisers of his father, until he saw his subjects on the point of rebellion, from their resentment of his cruel and oppressive rule. He then sent for Sam, who, the moment he arrived at court, was solicited‡ to take upon himself the government of the country. This he refused; but promised his efforts to reclaim the unworthy monarch, whose vices and weakness

Afrasiab invades Persia.

had led Pushung, the King of Turan||, to threaten an attack of Persia with a force of thirty thousand men, commanded by his son,

around the edges of the precipice. Each stone is wedged in by one of smaller dimensions: when that is removed, the large stone, or rather rock, is hurled down, and sweeps every thing before it with irresistible force.

* Ferdosi. † The Sosarmes of Greek history. ‡ Ferdosi. || Scythia.

Afrasiab. The pretext of this war was, to revenge on the Persians the death of Selm and Toor. The real cause was the distracted state of that kingdom; and the troops of Turan were encouraged as they advanced, by hearing of the death of Sam, an event from which they anticipated every success. Nor were they mistaken: two engagements and two single combats,—in one of which, Kobad, the son of the famous Kâwâh, was killed; and in the other, Nouzer himself was discomfited by Afrasiab,—placed the diadem of Persia upon the head of the latter prince, who soon afterwards took Nouzer prisoner and slew him. This happened in the seventh year of the reign of that unfortunate monarch, who exhibited in his combat with the Tartar prince a personal courage, which redeemed his memory from contempt.

Afrasiab usurps the crown, takes Nouzer prisoner, and puts him to death.

After the death of Nouzer, Afrasiab ruled Persia twelve years. Having seized all the chief nobles of that country, he determined to put them to death; but was diverted* from this purpose by his brother, Agrarees, who persuaded him to rest satisfied with confining them in the fortress of Sari†, in Mazenderan. About this period, Zal, the son of Sam, who commanded the army of his father-in-law, Mehrab, the King of Cabul, made head against Afrasiab, and endeavoured to gain Agrarees to his cause, by an offer (if he could effect the release of the Persian nobles) to raise him to the throne of Persia. It is stated, that Zal justified this

Zal marches against Afrasiab.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The present capital of Mazenderan. This town was visited by Jonas Hanway in A. D. 1743; and there were then standing four ancient temples, built in the shape of rotundas, about thirty feet in diameter, and near one hundred and twenty feet high.

CHAP. III.

measure, on the ground of the two sons* of Nouzer being, from weakness of character, totally unfit to govern the empire: but it is more probable he saw no hopes of relieving his country, but in creating dissensions among its enemies. The Tartar prince agreed to the proposal; and desired Zal to send a force against him of sufficient strength to afford him a fair pretext for retreating to defend Rhe†, the seat of his government. It was at the same time settled, that a body of men should march to Sari. This plan was executed: and the small detachment that went to that city succeeded in releasing the Persian nobles. The treachery of Agrarees was discovered, and his punishment was signal. His justly incensed brother slew him with his sabre, in presence of the assembled chiefs of Turan‡.

Afrasiab kills Agrarees.

Zal, the moment he heard of this event, raised a person of the name of Zoo||, or Zoowah, to the throne. Zoo, according to some authorities, was descended from Selm: others trace him to Manucheher. He died after he had conquered Fars, and was succeeded by his son, Kershasp§. That prince, who was soon set aside as incompetent by Zal, is considered by Persian authors as the last of the Paishdadian dynasty: who, according to their computation, governed Persia two thousand four hundred and fifty years. The names of twelve kings only of this race have been preserved: and of them, we have hardly one fact, except that of the revolt of Kâwâh¶, which can be deemed historical.

Zoo is raised to the throne of Persia.

Is succeeded by his son, Kershasp.

* Their names were Toos and Gushtashem.

† The Rhages of the ancients.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

|| The Artiâ of Greek writers.

§ The Arbiânes of Ctesias, and Cardicias of Mosés of Chorone.

¶ The conversion of his blacksmith's apron into an imperial standard, has been related. Its falling into the hands of the Caliph Omar, is a fact of undoubted authority, and confirms the truth of this event in the remote history of Persia.

CHAPTER IV.

The Kaianian Dynasty of Kings.

Kai Kobad is invited to take the crown.

KAI KOBAD, the founder of the Kaianian dynasty of kings, was a lineal descendant of Manucheher; according to some accounts, he was his great-grandson. This prince had retired to the mountain Elburz: but his retreat was known; and we are informed*, that when Zal found that Kershasp was unequal to the duties of sovereignty, he sent his son, Roostum, to invite Kai Kobad to mount the vacant throne. The young warrior met the prince at the foot of Elburz. Kai Kobad, after hearing his errand, told him, that he had descended the mountain in consequence of having dreamed that the Crown of Persia was placed upon his head by two white hawks†. The royal youth and Roostum feasted together: and, according to the usage of those days, the goblet was freely circulated. They proceeded to the camp of Zal, who, however, did not proclaim Kai Kobad‡ till he had assembled the chiefs

* Ferdosi.

† This allusion is not explained. The hawks are conjectured, by some Persian writers, to have been Zal and Roostum.

‡ There can be no doubt that the Kai Kobad of the Persians is the Dijoces of the Greeks: but this will be hereafter noticed.

CHAP. IV.

of the empire, and obtained their assent to that measure. When the ceremony of crowning him was over, the new king, as was to be expected, withdrew to his palace, and committed the administration of the government into the hands of Zal, whose son, Roostum, was appointed to lead the Persians against the dreaded Afrasiab, who had again passed the Oxus and invaded Persia. The first field of Roostum is a theme of glory with his countrymen. The youth had received from his father the club of his ancestor, Sam. This tremendous weapon, which had long been the terror of the enemies of his country, was soon perceived by the Tartars*; and in answer to their prince, Afrasiab, when he demanded who that boy was that made such havock in his ranks, one of them exclaimed: "Seest "thou not that he wields the club of the mighty Sam? that he is "a youth, the object of whose soul is renown†?" Afrasiab, who despised his years, hastened to attack him. Roostum, perceiving his intention, and that he was almost unarmed, threw aside his club and rushed to the combat. After a short but violent contest‡, the Persian hero, who had seized the prince, bore him off his saddle: but the girdle, by which he held him, broke: Afrasiab fell to the ground, and his soldiers crowded to his defence in such numbers, that it became impossible for Roostum to recover his prisoner. But the rich crown and girdle of the Tartar prince remained in the possession of the victor, whose triumph was

Roostum is appointed to command an army against Afrasiab.

The combat of Roostum and Afrasiab.

* I have in this place and others used the European terms of Tartary and Tartars. These terms are unknown to the natives of the East. Tartary was formerly known to them by the name of Turan, and is now called Turkistan.

† Ferdosi.

‡ Ferdosi.

completed by the entire defeat of the enemy; of whom, according to Persian authors*, Roostum slew, in this engagement, no less than eleven hundred and sixty with his own hand. Afrasiab, immediately after this action, retreated across the Oxus, and advised his father to make peace with a nation whom he could no longer hope to subdue. A negotiation was opened, and, notwithstanding the decided opposition of Roostum, a peace was concluded, by which it was agreed, that the Oxus should remain, as it had been heretofore, the boundary between the two kingdoms.

Afrasiab retreats.

Kai Kobad lived some time after this peace: he is said† to have reigned one hundred and twenty years‡. This prince was remarkable for his justice, which was so great, that men ceased to lament his virtuous ancestor, Feridoon. He left four sons: Kai Kaoos, Arish, Room, and Armen. To the former he bequeathed his throne, and enjoined all the others to obey him.

End of Kai Kobad's reign.

The commencement of the reign of Kai Kaoos‖ was most prosperous: but he was deluded by the representations which a favourite mistress made to him, of the delightful climate and fertility of Mazenderan, to resolve on the conquest of that province. All his nobles were averse to this enterprise, as that country (the ancient Hyrcania) was inhabited by barbarians§, whom they

Is succeeded by Kai Kaoos.

* Ferdosi.

† Shah-Namah.

‡ Ferdosi assigns an antediluvian age to Zal and Roostum, who are the heroes of this most fabulous part of his history.

‖ The reign of Phraortes, the son of Dijoces, is omitted by Persian authors. It is probably included in the incredible period they assign to Kai Kobad. Kai Kaoos is Cyaxares; and his son and successor, Astyages, is also omitted.

§ They are termed deeves or demons by Persian writers.

CHAP. IV.

thought it impolitic to disturb or to irritate. They entreated Zal to hasten to court, in the expectation that he might prevail upon the king to abandon his intention*: but the sage counsels of the old minister were vain. Kai Kaoos, however, had wisdom enough to entreat Zal to govern his kingdom in his absence: but that chief would only consent to give his aid to a noble of the name of Meelad, who was appointed to the great charge, and directed not to act in any affair of importance without the concurrence of the Prince of Seistan.

His invasion of Mazenderan is unsuccessful.

The King of Mazenderan, the moment he heard of the approach of Kai Kaoos, solicited aid from the Deev-Suffeed, or White Demon†: and their combined troops defeated Kai Kaoos in a great battle; during which, that monarch and his army were struck with a sudden blindness‡: and all that were not slain, were made captives. Kai Kaoos was among the latter. He was confined in a strong fort, under the custody of a chief called Arjung, who used often tauntingly to ask the royal prisoner, what he thought of that delightful climate he had been so anxious to enjoy||.

Kai Kaoos and his army struck blind, and made prisoners.

Roostum is sent to release Kai Kaoos.

The news of this great disaster filled Persia with dismay. Zal immediately sent his son, Roostum, to attempt the release of his king; which that hero effected through the double means of force and stratagem, though opposed, according to the fabulists of

* Ferdosi.

† This was probably some northern prince, whose colour and prowess had obtained him this name from his Persian enemies.

‡ This, as will be hereafter shown, was the eclipse, foretold by Thales, of Miletus, which occurred during the battle between Cyaxares and the Lydians.

|| Ferdosi.

Kills the Deev-Suffeed and the King of Mazenderan.

Persia*, by all the efforts of valour and of enchantment. The death of the Deev-Suffeed, whom Roostum slew in single combat, terminated this enterprise. All the subjects of this deev that survived him, submitted to Kai Kaoos, to whom they presented a golden throne, on which the monarch seated himself, while his brave deliverer occupied a golden chair on his right hand. The King of Mazenderan continued, we are told, for some time to resist, but he was at last conquered, and fell by the lance of Roostum†: his country was made one of the subordinate governments of Persia, and granted, in feudal tenure, to Awlad, a deev or barbarian chief, who had first opposed, and afterwards aided, Roostum in his expedition to release his sovereign.

Kai Kaoos returns to Isfahan.

Kai Kaoos returned to Isfahan, where he remained for a short time inactive: but in an attempt which he made to compel the King of Hamaveran to give him his daughter in marriage, he fell into a snare laid by that monarch, who having invited him to a feast, treacherously made him prisoner. This event threw Persia into confusion: and Afrasiab immediately crossed the Oxus to invade that kingdom‡.

Treachery of the King of Hamaveran.

Afrasiab invades Persia.

* It was on this occasion that Ferdosi celebrates the stages of Roostum: in which, with the aid of his good horse, Ruksh, he prevails over a lion, a serpent, a sorceress, a giant, an army of deeves, and at last the Deev-Suffeed, or White Demon, himself.

† That hero is said to have killed a number of elephants in this action. We must conclude from both the ancient history and the sculpture of Persia, that this animal once abounded in that kingdom. The province of Mazenderan is, from climate and abundance of vegetation, more favourable for their support than any other in the empire.

‡ The inroads of the armies of Tartary in this quarter, on the occurrence of any confusion in Persia, have been constant, from the Mahomedan conquest till the present date: and that includes a period of twelve centuries, of which we have authentic

CHAP. IV.

Roostum marches to the release of his king.

Roostum saw, with regret, the situation of his country. His first effort was to release his sovereign: and, with that view, he marched as large a force as he could assemble against the King of Hamaveran*, who was aided by the Kings of Egypt and of Barbary. Both of these princes fell prisoners into the hands of Roostum: who not only compelled the King of Hamaveran to release Kai Kaoos, but to grant that monarch his aid, and that of his auxiliaries, to expel Afrasiab from Persia: and the Tartar prince was obliged to fly before their combined forces, which were conducted by the genius, and animated by the valour, of his former vanquisher. Kai Kaoos, we are told, was vain and proud†: and he appears to have been in continual distress from the unfortunate result of schemes that his ambition led him to form, but which he wanted ability to execute. This monarch, however, is obviously thrown into these situations by the poet, that he may introduce his heroes to relieve him. His life is consequently connected with a thousand fables, which, though improper in this place, form excellent materials for Ferdosi, who has given, in his history of this period, the extraordinary and affecting tale of the combat between Roostum and his unknown son, Sohrab‡: in which, the Persian hero is described

The Kings of Egypt and Barbary taken by Roostum.

Release of Kai Kaoos.

Afrasiab is expelled from Persia.

Battle between Roostum and Sohrab.

histories. And we must therefore deem that constant mention of these invasions at similar periods of the ancient history of Persia, as some proof of the general truth of the accounts we possess of these times.

* He is generally termed the sovereign of Arabia: but the author of the "Ferhung Iehangheree" says he was King of Syria.

† Ferdosi.

‡ The poet commences this episode with a beautiful line, that truly characterizes the story which he relates. It is, he observes, "*Ekee dastan pur abe cheshum*,"—"A tale

as having gained a victory that embittered all the joys of his future life. CHAP. IV.

An event occurred during the reign of Kai Kaoos, which, as it involved the Persians and Tartars in long and bloody wars, merits

" full of the waters of the eye."—The young Sohrab was the fruit of one of Roostum's early amours. He had left his mother, and sought fame under the banners of Afrasiab, whose armies he commanded, and soon obtained a renown beyond that of all cotemporary heroes but his father. He had carried death and dismay into the ranks of the Persians, and had terrified the boldest warriors of that country, before Roostum encountered him, which at last that hero resolved to do, under a feigned name. They met three times. The first time they parted by mutual consent, though Sohrab had the advantage. The second the youth obtained a victory, but granted life to his unknown father. The third was fatal to Sohrab, who, when writhing in the pangs of death, warned his conqueror to shun the vengeance that is inspired by parental woes, and bade him dread the rage of the mighty Roostum, who must soon learn that he had slain his son Sohrab. These words, we are told, were as death to the aged hero; and when he recovered from a trance, he called in despair for proofs of what Sohrab had said. The afflicted and dying youth tore open his mail, and showed his father a seal which his mother had placed on his arm, when she discovered to him the secret of his birth, and bade him seek his father. The sight of his own signet rendered Roostum quite frantic: he cursed himself, attempted to put an end to his existence, and was only prevented by the efforts of his expiring son. After Sohrab's death, he burnt his tents, and all his goods, and carried the corpse to Seistan, where it was interred. The army of Turan was, agreeably to the last request of Sohrab, permitted to cross the Oxus unmolested. It was commanded by Haman: and Zoarrah attended, on the part of Roostum, to see that this engagement was respected by the Persians. To reconcile us to the improbability of this tale, we are informed that Roostum could have no idea his son was in existence. The mother of Sohrab had written to him her child was a daughter, fearing to lose her darling infant if she revealed the truth; and Roostum, as before stated, fought under a feigned name, an usage not uncommon in the chivalrous combats of those days. In the account of this combat,

CHAP. IV.

particular notice. The Persian monarch* had married a niece† of Afrasiab, by whom he had a son, called Siawush, whom he intrusted to Roostum to educate. This prince is said to have been alike remarkable for his mental endowments and his personal beauty. The fair Sudaba, the daughter of the King of Hamaveran, was not restrained by her marriage with his father from becoming enamoured of Siawush. She made every effort to seduce the young prince, but in vain. Resentful of the reproach which his virtue cast upon her conduct, she accused him to Kai Kaoos of an attempt to violate her person. The old king, judging from the contrast in their appearance, the queen being dressed in a rich and voluptuous manner, and the prince in his usual plain and unadorned attire, deemed her the tempter, and refused to listen to her complaint. The irritated Sudaba soon afterwards made another endeavour to ruin the prince, who had, she said, by his intimacy with one of his father's ladies, disgraced the Haram. From this second charge, Siawush cleared himself by passing through fire‖. He not only came out unhurt from this dangerous ordeal, but had

Sudaba becomes enamoured of Siawush.

Ferdosi has even excelled himself. In the whole of this passage, there is no part more beautiful than the picture of the distraction of the mother of Sohrab, who set fire to her palace, meaning to perish in the flames, but was prevented by her attendants. These, however, could not console her. She became quite frantic: her wild joy was to clothe herself in the bloody garment in which he had been slain; to kiss the forehead of his favourite horse; to draw his bow; wield his lance, his sword, and his mace: and, at last, to use the words of the poet, "she died, and her soul fled to that of her heroic "son."

* Ferdosi. † This princess had fled from her native country into Persia.

‖ This custom, which still prevails with many barbarous nations, seems, at one period, to have been common in almost every country in the universe.

the generosity to intercede with his father in behalf of his guilty accuser.

Afrasiab's dream.

Afrasiab, who had long threatened another invasion of Persia, was, at this period, alarmed for his own safety. A numerous Persian army had assembled: and his mind was shaken by a portentous dream, which some astrologers advised him to disregard, as such visions, they contended, were always to be interpreted by contraries*: but others, on whom he had more reliance, told him it foreboded evil, and earnestly entreated him not to prosecute the war. He attended to the advice of the latter, and made overtures for a peace, which were acceded to by Roostum and Siawush, who commanded the army appointed to act against him. They, however, dictated very hard terms, having compelled him to make great cessions†, and to give one hundred hostages for the faithful performance of his engagement.

Concludes a peace with Roostum and Siawush.

Kai Kaoos displeased with the peace.

Kai Kaoos, who had heard of Afrasiab's dream‡, and expected nothing less than the head of that prince, was displeased at the peace: and after ordering Siawush to send the hostages he had received to court, he gave the command of the army to Toos, whom he directed to recommence the war. Siawush was so indignant at this dishonourable conduct, that he sent back all the hostages to Afrasiab, and joined that prince himself, declaring he would never be a party to so faithless and shameless a proceeding. The monarch

Command of the army given to Toos.

Siawush becomes indignant, and joins Afrasiab.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. The Persian Meerza, who assisted in making the translation, assures me, these astrologers were wrong. It is only, according to him, the dreams of women that go by contraries.

† Among these were the Cities of Bokharah, Samarcund, Chack, and Sanjam.

‡ This is not extraordinary in a superstitious age, where dreams are often deemed certain indications of good or bad fortune.

CHAP. IV.

of Tartary received the young prince with joy, called him his son, and vowed eternal war against the tyrant, Kai Kaoos. Siawush, in a letter to his father, ascribed this act to his dread of the intrigues of his mother-in-law, Sudaba, whose active resentment, he said, rendered it impossible for him to preserve his honour and life at the Court of Persia. The self-exiled prince first married the daughter of Peeran-Wisa*, the vizier of Afrasiab; and afterwards, Feringees, the beautiful daughter of that monarch. With this princess, he received the countries of Cheen† and Khoten as a dowry. To these he retired, to await patiently the death of his father. Siawush made the City of Kung‡ his capital, and employed himself in improving the state of his dominions: but his success only excited the envy of several of the nobles of Tartary, and particularly of Gurseevas, the brother of Afrasiab, who incessantly endeavoured to injure Siawush, by trying to persuade his brother that the Persian prince aimed at independence. Afrasiab‖ was alive to the feelings of honour and of hospitality, and it was long before he could be induced to lift his hand against a guest that had sought his protection. He even desired, after he believed him guilty, to allow him to depart: but

* Peeran-Wisa. This chief may, with great propriety, be termed the Nestor of the Tartars. His reputation for wisdom and goodness is such, that over all Asia, those that are sage in council, are, to this day, compared by flatterers to Peeran-Wisa.

† I imagine, wherever this term occurs, it means Chinese Tartary: and is here evidently used to signify a province.

‡ The description which Ferdosi gives of the climate of this city is very happy. "Na gurmish gurm, ou na surmaesh serd."—"Its warmth was not heat its coolness "was not cold."

‖ Ferdosi.

Gurseevas represented the impolicy of such clemency; and, indeed, its cruelty to the royal family of Tartary, which would, he urged, be exposed to the future attacks of a powerful monarch, who was not only thoroughly acquainted with every part of their dominions, but popular with their subjects. These arguments at last prevailed: and the brave and generous Siawush was treacherously murdered by Afrasiab. Feringees, who was pregnant at this period, was doomed to death by her father, in order to avert that vengeance which he had such just cause to dread from her offspring: but the nobles of the court combined to prevent the execution of this horrid purpose. She was delivered over to Peeran-Wisa, who, however, was directed to destroy her child the moment it was born. But the heart of the minister revolted at such an act. And when Feringees was delivered of a son, Peeran-Wisa made it over to a shepherd, informing Afrasiab that he had directed it to be exposed in a desert. He named the child Kai Khoosroo*, and took care that it should have, in a secret manner, an education suited to its high birth and future destiny. Rumours of his grandson being alive reached the ear of Afrasiab, who questioned Peeran-Wisa on the subject. The minister said he had heard that a shepherd had found the child, and brought it up, but that it had proved an idiot. The king desired to see it, and Kai Khoosroo made his appearance, after being instructed by Peeran-Wisa as to his behaviour. "Conduct yourself," said he to the royal boy, "before Afrasiab as a stranger, and let "folly only escape from your lips†." The young prince acted his

Siawush murdered by Afrasiab.

Birth of Kai Khoosroo.

He is brought before Afrasiab.

* The grounds upon which we may conclude the Kai Khoosroo of Persian writers was the Cyrus of the Greeks, will be stated hereafter.

† Ferdosi.

CHAP. IV.

part to admiration. To every question he returned an answer so nonsensical and ridiculous, that the court was convulsed with laughter. Afrasiab even ceased to have alarms. "That poor foolish "child," said he, "and its mother, may hereafter live in peace "at the Mausoleum of Siawush*."

Kai Kaoos collects an army to revenge the blood of his son.

The murder of Siawush excited the most lively indignation in Persia. Kai Kaoos collected an army to revenge the blood of his son, and sent to solicit Roostum to take the command of his troops. The only condition upon which that chief would accede to this proposal was, the death of Sudaba, to whose wicked passion he ascribed all the misfortunes of the brave, but unfortunate Siawush. With this demand Kai Kaoos was compelled, though reluctantly, to comply†: and Roostum marched towards the enemy. Afrasiab sent his general, Soorkhe, with thirty thousand men, to oppose him. This force was defeated by the advanced guard of the Persian army under Feramurz, the son of Roostum. The general of the army of Tartary was slain, and his head‡ sent to Kai Kaoos. Afrasiab, on hearing of this event, took the field in person, and in the first battle, a celebrated combat took place between Roostum and a hero called Peelsoom, who had overthrown two Persian chiefs‖. This champion, to whom Afrasiab had promised half his dominions if victorious, was discomfited with disgrace, and thrown amid his own ranks from the point of Roostum's spear, which, however, had only pierced his girdle, as that hero, we are told, disdained the easy conquest of his life. After this combat, it was in vain that Afrasiab called upon his nobles

Combat between Roostum and Peelsoom.

* Ferdosi.

† Ferdosi.

‡ This inhuman mode of treating the slain prevails to this day in Persia.

‖ Geeve and Feramurz.

to enter the lists against Roostum. Maddened by their refusal, he determined on a trial of his own prowess, but was unhorsed, and his life only preserved by the most desperate efforts of his troops. Subsequent to this combat, a general engagement took place, in which the Persians were victorious, and pursued their enemies nine or ten miles from the field of battle. Afrasiab, in his retreat, sent for Kai Khoosroo, and, we are told, desired to slay him: he was, however, prevented by the suggestions of Peeran-Wisa, who represented, that such an act would tarnish all the glory he had acquired, and prevailed upon him to adopt the more moderate course, of sending the royal youth beyond the sea of China*, a country from whence he could never expect to return. Afrasiab was compelled to fly his own dominions, over which Roostum exercised sovereign sway for seven years. After that period, he committed the charge to his son, Feramurz, and returned to the Court of Kai Kaoos.

Afrasiab attacks Roostum, and is overcome.

Kai Khoosroo is banished.

We are informed, that every effort was made to discover Kai Khoosroo: and Geeve †, one of the most renowned of the Persian warriors, travelled over all China, defeated numerous armies, and performed a thousand wonders before he completed this great adventure. When the young prince was at last restored to his aged grandfather, the latter, overcome with joy, descended from his throne, placed Kai Khoosroo upon it, and directed all to pay him their homage. This mandate was obeyed by every one but Toos, who, turning to Feriburz, the son of Kai Kaoos, said, he would

Returns to the Court of Kai Kaoos.

* This would imply that Turan or Scythia, to its furthest bounds, was under Afrasiab; but it is quite impossible to say to what country the young Kai Khoosroo was sent.

† Ferdosi.

CHAP. IV. never bow the head to any other but him after the reign of his father was over. "If the throne is resigned," said he, "let it "be to a son, not to a grandson, whose blood, we must remember, "is contaminated by having been mixed with that of Afrasiab." This speech produced a warm altercation between Toos and Gudurz*, which was only terminated by Kai Kaoos declaring he had resolved to send his son and grandson against the deeves, (or magicians,) and that he should make him his heir, who, by his exploits, showed himself most worthy of the throne. The result† was favourable to Kai Khoosroo, who was crowned when he returned victorious from an enterprise in which Feriburz had failed.

Is crowned.

Though Kai Khoosroo was now King of Persia, he paid as much attention to his grandfather as if that monarch had not resigned his power. Persian authors state, that his conduct in this, as in every other instance, gladdened the hearts of his subjects. Zal and Roostum, who had retired to Seistan, hastened to pay their respects, and to offer presents ‡ to the young king, who

* The father of Geeve, and grandson to Kâwâh the celebrated blacksmith.

† Feriburz found the deeves in a castle, which appearing suspended in the air, he could not attack them; but an arrow (on which the name of the Almighty was written) from the bow of Kai Khoosroo destroyed this charm, and brought the deeves within reach of his conquering sword.—FERDOSI.

‡ This custom of approaching superiors with presents has been the habit of the countries of Asia from the most ancient ages. It is indeed the fee which barbarous despotism exacts from petty rulers and governors under their authority; and in feudal governments these presents form a principal part of the revenue of the paramount prince.

Resolves to revenge the death of his father.

received these heroes with rapture, and immediately assembled an army to attack Afrasiab, and revenge the murder of his father. Though the king went in person to this war, the chief command was given to Roostum, and the advance was intrusted to Toos; who, however, was particularly instructed to respect the territories of Ferood, the brother of Kai Khoosroo*, who had settled in Khorassan †. As Toos passed near this country, Ferood conceiving his intentions hostile, made preparations to oppose him. This induced the Persian chief to send his son and nephew to desire Ferood to wait upon him: an insulting message, that enraged the prince so much, as to make him slay the messengers. Toos ‡, upon hearing of this act, immediately marched against Ferood, who fell in a vain attempt to defend his castle. The Persian army advanced, but were surprised by a body of Tartars under Peeran-Wisa; and after losing great numbers, were obliged to save themselves by an ignominious flight; and their chief, in consequence of his disobedience of orders and subsequent defeat, suffered a temporary disgrace and confinement. The corps in advance, which

* The son of Siawush, by the daughter of Peeran-Wisa.

† His residence was Killaat Jy Jerme, a place in Khorassan, now known by its name of Killaat-e-Naderee. Nadir Shah, who was born at the small village of Abuver in its vicinity, desired to make Killaat the strong hold, if not the capital of his dominions. The fort of Killaat is situated about thirty miles N. E. of Musched. It is upon a very high hill, only accessible by two narrow paths. An ascent of six or seven miles terminates in a plain about twelve miles in circumference, watered by several fine streams, and covered with verdure and cultivation. A second ascent, by a route of ten or eleven miles, leads to another plain of greater elevation, but of equal richness. Since the death of Nadir this place has been neglected.

‡ Ferdosi.

CHAP. IV.

had been placed under the command of Feriburz, was again defeated by Peeran-Wisa; and that able leader gained a third victory, after a most sanguinary battle, over the Persians under Gudurz, who, we are told, lost seventy of his sons and grandsons in this hard-fought action *. The joy of Afrasiab at these successes knew no bounds: he resolved upon an attack of the main body of the Persians, which was commanded by Kai Khoosroo and Roostum, who on their part adopted every means they could to repair their misfortunes. Toos was released from his confinement, and sent at the head of a fresh army to meet Peeran-Wisa, with whom he had an action which lasted for seven days, but terminated unfavourably. He was forced to retreat to the mountain of Hamavai, where his force was surrounded and in great danger, until relieved by Roostum, who, after a number of single combats, in all of which he was successful, obtained a great victory, and made prisoner the Emperor of China †, one of Afrasiab's chief allies. The Chinese army ‡, upon the occurrence of this event, dispersed, and Roostum immediately marched in pursuit of Afrasiab, who fled to his capital: the conquest of which was only retarded for a short time by the arrival of Pouladwund, the chief of Khoten, who fought with great valour, and discomfited several of the most renowned among the Persians, but was at last overthrown by Roostum. Afrasiab, destitute of all

Peeran-Wisa gains a battle over the Persians under Gudurz.

Roostum takes the Emperor of China prisoner.

* Ferdosi states, that nine hundred of the most distinguished of the heroes of Turan fell in this action: but this is a poetical manner of saying nine hundred of the enemy were slain.

† This monarch is represented as riding on a white elephant. ‡ Ferdosi.

Returns to the Court of Kai Khoosroo.

resource and support, fled from his territories, which were divided by Roostum among the leaders of the Persian army. The hero himself returned to the Court of Kai Khoosroo.

Afrasiab appears soon to have recovered his kingdom; and the next enterprise of any consequence in which Roostum engaged, was the release of Beejun, the son of Geeve*, who, in consequence of a love affair with Mooneeja, the daughter of that monarch, had been made captive, and, as a punishment for his temerity, suspended

* The events that led to his confinement are related in the Shah Namah nearly as follow:—

One day some peasants appeared before Khoosroo, and complained that wild hogs were laying waste their cultivation, and that they would all be ruined. Beejun volunteered to go and extirpate them. On account of his extreme youth, Goorgin, a celebrated pehliva, or hero, was sent to accompany him.

After they had hunted for some time, they set fire to the low wood of the forest: they then retired to a pleasant spot, where they drank and amused themselves for several days. But Goorgin having killed few hogs, and consequently acquired but a small number of tusks, resolved to lay some trap for Beejun to get him out of the way, that he might not return in disgrace to the presence of Khoosroo: and his envy was increased by Beejun's telling him that he meant to have the boars' tusks set in gold, and suspended as trophies round the neck of his charger.

Goorgin now flattered the pride of Beejun by telling him, that he was the most valiant of heroes, and described a delightful valley at some distance, where Mooneja, the beautiful daughter of Afrasiab, held her court. He proposed that they should proceed to the spot, and endeavour to seize her. The youth was tempted, and his adventure ended in his being made prisoner. The description by Goorgin of this terrestrial paradise is a good example of the stlye of Persian poetry:—

"Seest thou yonder valley of variegated hues, What a scene to fill the heart "of a valiant man with joy! Behold these sweet groves, beautiful gardens, and "flowing streams; Is it not a spot for the abode of heroes? The ground resembles

CHAP. IV.

by the heels in a pit, where his life was only preserved by the secret attentions of his mistress. The success of this enterprise would appear to have depended more on stratagem than force; the Persian hero went to the capital of Afrasiab in the disguise of a merchant. Beejun was freed from his melancholy prison; and the troops of Afrasiab that were sent in pursuit of the Persians who had performed this service, were defeated. The young Beejun * was a great favourite of Kai Khoosroo; and that monarch,

" velvet, and the air breathes perfume. You would say the rose had imparted its " sweets to the water of that rivulet. The stalk of the lily bends under the weight " of the flower, and the whole grove is charmed with the fragrance of the rose- " bush. See how that graceful pheasant moves among the flowers, while the " dove and the nightingale warble from the branches of the cypress. From this " moment, till time is no more, may the borders of these banks resemble the bowers " of Paradise! Cast your eyes on every plain and hill, and you will see cheerful " circles of sweet damsels, more blooming than the lovely fairies. Behold " Mooneja, daughter of Afrasiab, who, like the sun, irradiates all the garden. " There too is her sister Sitara, seated like a queen, a tended by handmaids, and " resplendent with glory. This lovely fair is the ornament of the grove: the " rose and the jessamine yield to her in beauty. Behold also these Turkish maids, " who have their charms veiled: Each one equals the cypress in form, and has " ringlets like musk. Their cheeks are full of roses, their eyes of sleep; their lips " are vermilioned with the juice of the grape, and sweetened with the fragrant " water of the rose. If we should only make one day's journey forwards, we shall " reach this beautiful valley; and seizing some of these fair angels, we would carry " the glorious prize to the royal Khoosroo."

* Kai Khoosroo, we are told, was in great distress when this hero first disappeared; and not being able to discover him by any other means, he had recourse to the Jam-e-Jehan-numai, or the mirror showing the universe, which had descended from Jemsheed, and in it he saw Beejun suspended in a pit at the capital of Afrasiab.

overjoyed at the result * of this expedition, when he met Roostum, threw himself upon the ground, and returned thanks to the Creator of the world for the success which had attended that hero, upon whose head he placed a regal crown, as a just reward for his great exploits.

Roostum's conflict with his grandson Boorzoo.

We find Roostum next engaged in a series of conflicts with his unknown grandson, Boorzoo. This chief, who was a leader in the army of Afrasiab, was the son of the unhappy Sohrab, who had fallen by the sword of his father. The fate of Boorzoo might have been similar, had not an explanation taken place, which revealed his birth, and led to the establishment of friendship between him and his renowned grandfather. The despair of the Prince of Tartary at the occurrence of an event which rendered his most able leader his enemy, induced him to adopt an unworthy stratagem to delude Roostum and the chief heroes of Persia into his power. He employed, to effect this purpose, the wiles and beauty of a dancing girl: but the artifice had only a partial success, and ended in bringing on a general action, in which the Persians were again victorious. Peeran-Wisa, after this battle, advised Afrasiab to retreat: but that monarch, irritated by his misfortunes, refused to attend to the counsel of his wise minister, and challenged Kai Khoosroo to single combat. The Persian king, we are informed, was only withheld from accepting this challenge by the united prayers and entreaties of his warriors, who represented the madness of giving away the great advantages his arms had obtained, by engaging personally with a prince whom misfortune had rendered

A general action, in which the Persians are victorious.

* Ferdosi.

CHAP. IV.

Boorzoo advances against Afrasiab.

desperate. During the conferences that took place at this period, Boorzoo advanced to meet Afrasiab, who, mad with rage at the sight of an opponent that he deemed a deserter, exclaimed:— "Vile upstart! knowest thou thy father, that thou presumest to "enter the lists with a monarch who gave thee bread? Let Kai "Khoosroo advance. Thy punishment shall be the wrath of God, "which always falls upon the ungrateful." The young warrior, enraged at these reproaches, rushed to the assault. The combat was however prevented by the advance of both armies, and the occurrence of a general action, which was only terminated by the approach of night. The troops of Afrasiab retreated; but, we may conclude, were not defeated, as they were not pursued.

General action.

This battle was fought in Seistan, and Kai Khoosroo complied with the entreaty of Roostum, that he would honour his humble dwelling with his presence. The monarch was sumptuously entertained for a week by his general; who, on this occasion, requested that he might, in consideration of his great age*, be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in retirement; while his son Feramurz, and grandson Boorzo, should serve in his place. The monarch consented, and gave the governments of Ghour and Heri† to Boorzoo, while he sent Feramurz on an expedition to Hindostan, with orders, after he had subdued that country, to co-operate with a force under Gudurz, which had been appointed to invade Tartary. Gudurz was opposed in this expedition by Peeran-Wisa;

* Roostum is made to state that he is four hundred years of age: but the poet seems reluctant to allow his great hero to quit the scene even at this advanced period of life; and he is soon brought forward again.

† The ancient name of Herat.

and, after some operations of little consequence, the Tartar general sent the following message to the Persian leader*:—"Can the "life of Siawush, for whom so much blood has already been "shed, be restored by the further destruction of armies? Let us "close this sanguinary contest by combats between heroes, and "spare the further effusion of the blood of the soldiers." His proposal was accepted; and ten heroes, including the two generals, were chosen from each army†. All these combats terminated, according to Persian historians‡, favourably to the champions of their country. That between Gudurz and Peeran-Wisa was dreadful, as was to be expected from the skill and valour of the combatants. Peeran-Wisa's horse was at last killed, and the fall broke his right arm. Unable to continue the conflict, he endeavoured to escape to some neighbouring hills; but Gudurz pursued, and, as he approached near, called to his opponent to yield, and that his life should be spared. "I cannot purchase a few hours of "ignoble existence," said the old man, "at the expense of my

Combat between Gudurz and Peeran-Wisa.

* Ferdosi.

† Their names were as follow:—

PERSIANS.	TARTARS.
GUDURZ.	PEERAN-WISA.
GEEVE.	GOOROOZ, the murderer of Siawush.
FERABURZ, uncle to Kai Khoosroo.	GULBAUD, the brother of Peeran-Wisa.
ROHAN, son of Gudurz.	BURMAUN.
GOORGEEN.	ANDEREMAN.
GOORAZEH.	SIAMUCH.
BEEJUN, son of Geeve.	CHOUBEEN, son of Peeran.
ZUNKAY-SHAHWERAN.	AUKHAST.
GEHROOM.	BAWTA.
FEROOHUL.	ZENKULA.
HUJEER, son of Gudurz.	SEHERHUN.

‡ Ferdosi.

CHAP. IV.

" honour." With these words he turned, and darted his lance with his left arm: it inflicted a slight wound on Gudurz, who immediately threw his javelin, which pierced the heart of Peeran-Wisa. The aged hero fell lifeless to the ground. Gudurz caught the blood, as it gushed from the wound, in his hand, and with streaming and uplifted eyes drank it off to the memory of Siawush and his own children*, who had fallen in this long and dreadful war. Gudurz† covered his face with the blood of Peeran-Wisa, and raised his sword to sever the head from the body; but a consideration of the virtue and dignity of the vanquished arrested the blow. When he returned to camp, he was hailed with shouts of joy, and found all the other combatants had been victorious, each having slain his adversary, and dragged his body, at the tail of his horse, into the camp. The son of Gudurz was sent to bring the corpse of Peeran-Wisa, which was laid before Kai Khoosroo, who forgot the murder of his father, Siawush, in mourning over the remains of the preserver and protector of his youth. He ordered‡ the body to be embalmed, and placed in a mausoleum, with the throne‖, the mace, the cap, and all the insignia of honour that were usual at the obsequies of the greatest heroes.

Peeran-Wisa's death.

* He had lost, as has been stated, seventy sons and grandsons in one action. This is not an overcharged picture of the effects of those feelings which are cherished by races of men, who, from being in a country without laws, are in the habit of seeking blood for blood. The scene here described would not be unlikely to occur at this period in a contest between two tribes in Persia who have a blood feud.

† Ferdosi.

‡ Ferdosi.

‖ In the original of Ferdosi, he is said to have been buried with the tucht, goorz, kullah, &c. I have literally translated these terms, as they relate to an ancient usage in funeral rites.

Kai Khoosroo makes further conquests.

Kai Khoosroo pursued the advantage he had obtained: and having crossed the Oxus, took possession of the Cities of Samarcand and Bokhara. Afrasiab made an ineffectual effort to obtain peace, by sending his son, Sheydah, as ambassador to Kai Khoosroo. This impatient youth, who appears to have been ill-suited to the office he filled, delivered his father's message in the most arrogant style, and finished by challenging the Persian monarch to meet him in single combat. His manner and insolence provoked Kai Khoosroo to such a degree, that it was quite impossible to prevent his accepting this challenge. They fought, and Sheydah fell. The afflicting intelligence of his death no sooner reached Afrasiab, than he precipitated another engagement, in which his troops fought with all the courage that rage and despair could inspire: but they were defeated, and the unfortunate Afrasiab was, after some further resistance*, taken in the mountains, and brought to Kai Khoosroo. That monarch commanded that he should suffer the same death to which he had doomed the innocent Siawush: to revenge whose blood, this long and sanguinary war had been undertaken.

Afrasiab is taken.

And killed.

Soon after these events, Kai Khoosroo resolved to devote the remainder of his life to religious retirement: he delivered over Cabul, Zabulistan, and Neemroz†, to Roostum, as hereditary possessions;

* His capital of Behesht Gung stood a siege, which is described by Ferdosi.

† Neemroz is part of the modern Seistan. The Persians have a fabulous tradition, that this country was formerly covered with a lake, which was drained by some genii in half a day, whence the name of Neemroz or half-day: but as Neemroz means mid-day, it is, in all probability, metaphorically used in Persian, as in French, German, and several other languages, to designate the south: and this province lies direct south of Bulkh, the ancient capital of Persia.

CHAP. IV.

Lohrasp succeeds Kai Khoosroo.

and resigned his throne to Lohrasp, the son-in-law of Kai Kaoos, and his own son of adoption and of affection. Khorassan was delivered over to Toos: to whom, and to Feraburz, the son of Kai Kaoos, he gave the strictest charge to preserve their allegiance to Lohrasp. After these arrangements, he went, accompanied by some nobles*, to a spring†, which had been fixed upon as the place of his repose. Here, according to the author‡ I have hitherto followed, he disappeared, and all those that went with him were destroyed on their return by a violent tempest.

Kai Khoosroo disappears.

Kai Khoosroo lived ninety years, and reigned sixty. He was a prince of the highest qualities, and his name is still cherished by his countrymen. Some authors‖ state that he is not dead, but concealed§; and the tradition elevates this monarch into the rank of a prophet.

Lohrasp.

Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khoosroo, met at first with some opposition: but his virtues, the excellence of his civil institutions, and the discipline he introduced into the army, soon established his authority.

Extends his dominions.

This prince obliged both the rulers of Tartary and of China¶ to do him homage. Raham Gudurz, more commonly known

* Toos, Geeve, and Gushtahem, were the nobles that accompanied him.

† This retirement to a teerut or spring argues the belief of a religion not dissimilar to that of the Hindoos, among whom springs are peculiarly sacred, and are generally fixed on by those who resolve on a religious retirement.

‡ Ferdosi. ‖ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

§ Ghaib is the Persian phrase, and is applied to such of their prophets as they believe are not dead, but will reappear.

¶ This term describes the country we term Chinese Tartary.

by his title of Bucht-ul-Nasser*, the governor of Irak, was commanded to extend the empire to the West: and we are told by a Mahomedan author†, that an army was detached by this chief against Jerusalem, which was then ruled by a descendant of David; who submitted, on its advance, and gave up one of the principal men among the Children of Israel as a hostage for the faithful performance of the engagement into which he had entered, to pay tribute to his conqueror. The Persian army had, however, only marched a short distance on its return, when the general who commanded it learnt that the Jews had risen, and put their ruler to death, as the author of a compact which they deemed disgraceful. He sent an account of what he had heard to Bucht-ul-Nasser, who immediately marched in person to Jerusalem, which he took, and plundered; carrying away into bondage such of its inhabitants as were not put to the sword.

An army is sent against Jerusalem.

The Jews rise on the Persians.

Bucht-ul-Nasser marches in person to Jerusalem.

It has been asserted‡, that the Bucht-ul-Nasser of the Asiatic historian is the Nebuchadnezzar of Jewish writers; and there is, no doubt, a near agreement between the relation of the Mahomedan author I have followed and the Scriptures: but many facts must be reconciled before we can grant our belief to such a conclusion. This subject will be considered, with others of a similar nature, in a subsequent chapter.

He is supposed to be the Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in the Scriptures.

* The meaning of this title is, the "Fortune of Victory."

† Tarikh Tubree.—Abou Jaaffer, inhabitant of Tubreez, wrote this History of the World in Arabic. The author was born in 224 of the Hejerah. In 310 of the Hejerah this work was translated in Persian, by Abou Aly Mahomed Aldagamee. It is one of the best and most authentic of oriental histories. The Persian work is more valuable than the Arabic, many additions and amendments having been made by the able translator.

‡ Richardson.

CHAP. IV.

Gushtasp goes into Asia Minor.

The preference which Lohrasp showed to the children of Kai Kaoos offended his own son Gushtasp; who, on the failure of a plot against his father's power, into which he had entered, fled into the territories of the West*; where he lived for some time in disguise. The Persians† are too much addicted to embellishment, to permit one of their royal race to wander without adventures: and, according to popular accounts, the elegant figure of Gushtasp caused the Emperor of the West's daughter, the beautiful Kattyoon‡, to neglect all the noble youth of her own country, (who had been commanded to display their figures under her balcony, in order that she might select a husband,) and to throw the orange, which marked her election, at the graceful stranger. The emperor was enraged at what he deemed her mean choice; and, though forced to comply with what had been an established usage of the empire, he abolished it from that instant, and expelled his daughter to the low dwelling of her husband. The same fable states‖, that the emperor proclaimed that the hands of his two remaining daughters should be given to whoever slew a lion and a dragon, which were, at that period, the terror of the kingdom. Two princes, who loved the princesses, but dreaded the conflict with such monsters, applied to Gushtasp, whose fame for courage had spread around, and that hero overcame both the lion and the dragon; while the lovers, assuming the merit of these actions, married their mistresses. The emperor, we are told§,

* The Persian word is Room, a term which has been adopted since the establishment of the eastern empire of the Romans. It may always be considered as a general and indefinite name by which Persian authors describe the provinces west of the Euphrates, to the shores of the Euxine and Mediterranean.

† Ferdosi.

‡ Probably a corruption of Khatoon, which signifies lady.

‖ Ferdosi.

§ Ferdosi.

soon afterwards discovered the truth, and showered favours upon Gushtasp, whom he appointed the leader of his forces. The fame of the young prince spread to Persia: and Lohrasp, alarmed at the approach of a foreign army, headed by the heir of the throne, gave the command of his troops to his second son, Zurreer: to whom he also intrusted his crown, and directed him to place it upon the head of his brother whenever they met. Gushtasp, when the armies approached, did not hesitate to visit the camp of his countrymen: he was instantly hailed as their king, and informed, by Zurreer, of the commands of his father. He wrote to the emperor he served to entreat his presence, and assured him that every thing should be settled to his wish. The monarch came, and found his son-in-law seated on a throne, the acknowledged Sovereign of the Empire of Persia. After this interview, at which peace between the two nations was concluded, Gushtasp marched with his princess to Persia, and became a faithful servant to his father; who declared him his successor, and, in a short time, gave over to him the charge of the empire; choosing to end his own days in pious retirement. It is stated by Persian authors, that this monarch sat upon the throne one hundred and twenty years*.

Returns to Persia with an army, and is hailed king.

The reign of his son and successor, Gushtasp†, owes much of its celebrity to the circumstance of its being the period at which the

* The reign of this prince probably includes those of Cambyses and Smerdis Magi.

† The Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks. This sovereign, according to Greek writers, was the first who coined gold in Persia: the coins which he struck were called, after his name, Darics, in the same manner as the gold coins of Philip, the father of Alexander, were called Philips.

CHAP. IV.

Zoroaster introduces the worship of fire.

Persians were converted to the worship of fire. Zoroaster*, who effected this change in the religion of his country, is termed a prophet or an impostor, as the events of his life happen to be drawn from Pehlivi or Mahomedan authors. The former pretend that he was every thing that was holy and enlightened: while the latter assert†, that he was only a good astrologer, who was himself deceived by the Devil into becoming the teacher of a new and impious doctrine. All seem agreed that he lived in the time of Gushtasp, and that he led that monarch, either by his arts or his miracles‡, to become a zealous and powerful propagator of the faith which he had adopted. The royal bigot not only built temples of fire in every part of his kingdom, but compelled his subjects to worship in them. It is stated in one work‖, that Isfundear, the son of Gushtasp, was the first convert made by Zoroaster: and that his father was persuaded, by the eloquence of the prince, to follow his example. This doctrine, which was first taught in the province of Aderbijan§, spread rapidly over the whole empire. The king, we are informed, ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned fine, that the precepts of his new faith might be written upon

Gushtasp compels his subjects to adopt the new religion.

Zoroaster's precepts written on cow-

* The Persian name of this prophet is Zerdosht: I shall always call him Zoroaster, as I deem that name, however incorrect, to have become, from usage, an English word.

† Ferdosi informs us, that the Devil spoke to Zoroaster from the midst of a flame.

‡ It is related, that Gushtasp for a period resisted the truth of Zoroaster's mission, and once confined the prophet's person for seven years.

‖ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

§ The Pehlivi name of this province is Azerbijan, or the House of Fire; an appellation probably given to it from the worship of fire originating in the province of which Zoroaster was a native: he was born at the town of Uremeea.

CHAP. IV.

them. These parchments were deposited in a vault*, hewn out of the rock at Persepolis. Holy men were appointed to guard them: and it was commanded, that the profane should be kept at a distance from the sacred records.

hides, and deposited in a vault.

The first result of this change of religion in Persia, was a war with Arjasp, King of Tartary†: who wrote to Gushtasp‡, to warn him against the error into which he had fallen, and to desire he would

Arjasp declares war against Persia.

* Some vaults, or dukhmahs, as they are termed in Pehlivi, which answer this description, are still to be seen at the ruins of Persepolis.

† He is oftener called King of China: but the fact is, the monarch with whom the Persians warred appears to have ruled over those countries we now call Chinese Tartary, and probably a considerable part of China.

‡ Translation of this letter, and of the answer sent to it, as given by Ferdosi, may be seen by the English reader in the volume of the Asiatic Miscellany, published at Calcutta in 1786.

The following extract from the Shah-Namah, will show the feelings excited at the Court of Tartary, by this change of the national religion of Persia.

" Know ye," (said Arjasp to his assembled chiefs,) " that glory, wisdom, and the " pure religion, have fled from Persia. A certain sorcerer, styling himself a prophet, " hath appeared in that region, and introduced a new form of worship among the " people; to whom he hath said — ' I am come from above: I am come from the God " of the world: I have seen the Lord in Heaven: and, lo! here are the Zund and the " Osta, as written by himself. I also saw Aherman in the midst of Hell, but was " unable to compass the circle that enclosed him. And, behold! I am deputed by the " Almighty to preach the true faith to the king of the earth.' — And now all the " most renowned warriors of Persia, (continued the Sovereign of China,) with the son " of Lohrasp at their head, have fallen into his snares: the brother, too, of Gushtasp, " that valiant cavalier and champion of Persia, Zurreer; nay, all have embraced his " doctrines: all have wantonly sacrificed their eternal happiness to the old magician; " whose pernicious precepts threaten to pervade the whole world. He rules already " over Persia as a prophet."—FERDOSI.

CHAP. IV.

return to the faith of his ancestors; threatening him with an attack if he slighted his advice. The Persian King was indignant at this letter, and a war immediately commenced. In the first action, which was fought in the Persian territories, the brother* of Gushtasp was killed by the son† of Arjasp: but that young prince did not long enjoy his triumph; he fell under the sword of Isfundear‡, the son of the Persian monarch. The battle terminated in the complete defeat of Arjasp, who fled into his own territories.

Is defeated.

Isfundear revolts.

A short period subsequent to this action, Isfundear was forced into rebellion by the intrigues of his father's court. He appears soon to have submitted, and was imprisoned: but the moment the news of his confinement reached Tartary, the monarch of that country recommenced hostilities, invaded Persia, defeated Gushtasp, and made prisoner the daughter of that monarch‖. After this victory, he returned to Tartary, carrying with him his royal captive and immense spoils. Gushtasp, in despair, not only gave Isfundear his liberty, but promised to resign his crown to him if he succeeded in an enterprise for the release of his sister. The prince agreed to the terms; collected an army, with which he defeated Arjasp, and prepared to pursue that king to his capital of Roueendeh§. It appears there were three routes to this city from Bulkh: one four months' journey, another two months, and a third not more than six or seven days' march: but this last, we are informed¶, was over a desert so

Defeats Arjasp.

* Zurreer. † Bederufsh.

‡ Some authorities say he was not his son, but only a great hero, of royal blood.

‖ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

§ Roueendeh means the Brazen City; a name probably given from its reputation for strength.

¶ Zeenut ul-Tuarikh.

wild, so barren, and so infested by ferocious animals and poisonous serpents, that no attempt had ever been made to traverse it. This, however, was the route which the enterprising Isfundear determined to take, accompanied only with sixty chosen men. He sent a chief called Pooshtung* with the army and heavy baggage by the road, which was two months' march. This officer was directed to watch, as he approached the capital of the enemy, for a signal of fire, and commanded, the moment he saw it, to lead his men to the assault.

His stratagem in entering Roueendeh.

Isfundear, and his sixty attendants, were habited as merchants, and had along with them abundance of valuable commodities. They passed the desert in safety, and entered Roueendeh without exciting the least suspicion. A report was carefully circulated, that a great and wealthy merchant, attended by a number of friends, had escaped from the tyranny of Gushtasp. This, as was intended, soon reached the ears of Arjasp, who sent for Asfundear, that he might view his merchandise. The disguised prince attended; made an offering of some rich jewels, and was assured of favour and protection. No suspicion whatever appears to have been excited: and the night of the day on which the Persian army appeared before the city, Isfundear made the appointed signal. The troops from without instantly assaulted the town, and the prince and his companions made an attack upon the palace. The complete surprise, and consequent confusion of his enemies, gave him an easy victory. When he approached the king, he exclaimed, "You miscreant Turk†! I am

Is successful.

* His brother, or half brother.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. The term "Turk" is used by the author of the work quoted; but this event was long before the period that the tribe called Turks came into this part of Tartary.

CHAP. IV.

Arjasp and all his brothers slain.

"Isfundear, Prince of Persia!" Arjasp, terrified at the name, fled, but was soon overtaken and slain: and all his brothers met the same fate. The sister of Isfundear was released, and restored to her father, to whom his victorious son also sent the throne of Arjasp, and an immense booty. The government of Turan was bestowed upon a pious man, the descendant of Agrarees, whose dynasty, the author* here followed, adds, continued to rule that country till the time of Alexander.

There are various accounts of the achievements of Isfundear. According to Ferdosi, after the first war with Arjasp had been brought to a favourable conclusion by the valour of that prince, he was appointed Viceroy of Bulkh, where he not only had a court, but was vested with a power over the whole empire. But this elevation only rendered his enemies more active. They persuaded Gushtasp that his son was forming designs against his life: and the prince was suddenly summoned to Persepolis, where he no sooner arrived, than he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fort, in Aderbijan. This act appears not only to have revived those religious and civil disputes with which Persia was, at this period, agitated, but to have encouraged the monarch of Tartary again to invade that empire. His success was great:—Khorassan was plundered,—Bulkh was taken,—the old king, Lohrasp, was included in the general massacre of the priests and followers of Zoroaster†. The celebrated apron of Kâwâh, which had long been the standard of the empire, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was carried in triumph to the capital of Tartary. Gushtasp, who had been taken by surprise, assembled a

Lohrasp is massacred.

The standard of Persia is taken.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Zoroaster died a few months before this invasion.

large army, and was at first successful. He defeated the son of the sovereign of Tartary, who had plundered Bulkh, and obliged him to retreat: but, pursuing him to the Oxus, he was encountered by another army, and completely routed: one half of his troops were slain, and the remainder, with difficulty, fled to Khorassan. Reduced to such distress, he had no remedy but to implore the aid of his injured son. His celebrated minister, Jamasp, was employed on this mission: and Isfundear was not only prevailed upon to pardon the injuries he had sustained, but to avenge the cause of his sovereign and his country. He was, we are informed*, chiefly induced to come forward by his devotion to the religion of Zoroaster; and he engaged in the holy war against its enemies with all the zeal of unconquerable enthusiasm. His success was complete: and every new victory† gave this hero of Persian romance a new opportunity of showing, that his clemency and generosity were even more conspicuous than his wisdom and valour. He not only defeated his enemies in the field, but took their capital, after a series of exploits‡, not surpassed by any that Roostum ever achieved. He became master of Roueendeh; killed their king, and a great number of the

Gushtasp defeats the son of Arjasp. Is himself completely routed.

Isfundear avenges the cause of his father.

* Ferdosi.

† In one of his first victories, Ferdosi informs us, that such of his enemies as remained, implored for mercy, holding a straw in their mouth. This remarkable usage still exists in parts of both Tartary and of India.

‡ The huft-khan, or seven stages, by which he made his way to Roueendeh, are famous in Persian romance. The first was defended by two savage wolves: the second by two enormous lions: the third by a dragon with seven heads: the fourth by a monster called ghoul (or demon): the fifth by a griffin, or winged monster: the sixth by a perpetual fountain of immense height: and the seventh by a great lake, bounded by lofty mountains.

CHAP. IV.

Recovers the sacred banner.

inhabitants; released two of his sisters, who had been taken at Bulkh · and, what was more important than all, recovered, from the enemies of Persia, the sacred banner of the empire, the Durufsh Kawanee*. The author who relates this great conquest, gives us no particulars of the expeditions of Isfundear to India, Arabia, and the West†, which he merely states that he conquered. We have, however, a romance in Persian, which is wholly dedicated to the exploits of this prince‡: and in it there is a long but fabulous account of his western expedition.

After Isfundear had subdued all the foreign enemies of his country, he expected that reward he had so long been promised —the Crown of Persia: but the artful Gushtasp, unwilling to resign power, evaded the performance of his promise. "I should feel "ashamed," said the crafty old monarch, "to give you an unsettled "kingdom, which mine is at present. Roostum, and his family, "have thrown off their allegiance, and established an independance "in Seistan. They must be reduced: and if my son effects this, "and brings that chief bound to our presence, he shall receive the "reward his unequalled valour merits—the sovereignty of a great "and tranquil empire‖." The prince started at this proposition: and it required all the flattery and eloquence of his father to reconcile his mind to the desperate attempt. He at last, however, was induced to give a reluctant consent to an expedition which proved at once fatal to his fame and to his existence. It would be tedious to dwell on the numerous adventures which preceded the

His expedition against Roostum.

* The standard of Kâwâh.

‡ It is called the Isfundear Namah.

† Room, or Asia Minor.

‖ Ferdosi.

combat between Isfundear and Roostum. These are all honourable to the valour and generosity of both heroes. Isfundear* earnestly solicited Roostum to permit his hands to be bound, that he might satisfy his father's command: but the hero, who offered every other concession, refused to assent to an act which would bring disgrace upon his family. A battle commenced, in which several principal chiefs on both sides were slain. Isfundear engaged Roostum; and the latter was wounded, and obliged to retire from the field: he returned†, however, next day to the combat; and on this occasion, we are told, he had provided an arrow, formed with a double point‡, to pierce the eyes of Isfundear, whose body was invulnerable, probably from being cased in armour‖. Before Roostum commenced the second combat, he offered all his wealth, if the possession of that would satisfy a prince, to whom he professed the most perfect allegiance; but Isfundear would listen to no terms, except that the hero should permit himself to be bound, and led to Gushtasp. The contest began, and continued with fury, till Roostum drew the fatal arrow. It flew with too certain an aim, and closed for ever the eyes of the brave prince, who exclaimed, as he writhed under the excruciating wound, "This is a just termination to the desperate and "senseless enterprise in which the schemes of my wicked father "have involved me§." Before he died, he gave over his son,

His combat with that chief.

Isfundear's death.

* Ferdosi.

† Ferdosi informs us, that he was miraculously recovered by the simurgh, or griffin; and from it he received the fatal arrow which gave him the victory in the next day's combat.

‡ Arrows of this shape are still common in Persia.

‖ He is often called Roueetun, or brass body, to express his being invulnerable.

§ Ferdosi.

CHAP. IV.

Bahman, to the charge of Roostum, and entreated that the hero would educate him as a warrior. Pooshtung, the brother of Isfundear, took up the body of that prince, placed it in a coffin, and proceeded, with all his army clothed in black*, to Bulkh. The old monarch saw too late the folly of his plans: he long mourned his irretrievable loss: and, before his death, he sent for his grandson, Bahman, and appointed him his heir and successor.

Gushtasp's death.

The worship of fire was spread in every direction, during this prince's reign; a circumstance that has given him a fame in ancient history, which he does not seem to merit on any other ground. Persian historians inform us, that he reigned sixty years†.

Bahman, the son of Isfundear, succeeds to the crown.

Gushtasp was succeeded by his grandson, Bahman, who is better known in history by his title, Ardisheer Dirazdust‡, (the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks). He is celebrated for the wisdom he displayed in the internal regulation of his empire. He knew, we are told, through the means of secret agents, every action, important or trifling, of the numerous officers he employed, and these were

* It would appear that this colour has been that of mourning in Persia from the most ancient ages: but their term, Sia, may, perhaps, be translated dark, as it applies to dark blue and dark brown as well as black.

† It has been before stated, that he was the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks: and if so, his long reign probably includes both his own and that of his successor, Xerxes, who, there is every reason to think, from causes which will be stated hereafter, is the Isfundear of Eastern authors.

‡ The celebrated Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. The Persian name of this prince, Ardisheer, would at first seem, by a very simple etymology, deducible from the compound term Oordoo-Sheer, which, in Persian, means the lion of the camp: but nothing can be more fallacious than such etymologies, unless we are well versed in the language of the period at which the title was given. The Zund and Shanscrit have a

rewarded or punished as they conducted themselves. Every year, some of the principal cultivators of each province waited upon the monarch: and, from a full communication with these, he became minutely acquainted with the actual condition of the country.

Roostum is slain.

In the commencement of the reign of this monarch, the celebrated Roostum was slain* by the treachery of his brother; and

Bahman invades Seistan.

Bahman immediately invaded Seistan with an immense army. He was, according to one account†, completely successful, though opposed by not only Feramurz, the son, but Banoo Kaishub, the redoubtable daughter of Roostum. Azerburzeen‡, the son of Feriburz, rebelled against Bahman, and recovered his patrimony of Seistan: and, if we are to believe Ferdosi, (whose partiality to Roostum extends to his grandson,) that chief slew Ardisheer. This account, however, is not confirmed by other authors. It is

very marked affinity: and in the latter, Urddha-Siras means "of exalted head." All Persian authors term him Diraz-dust, or Long-Arms; and Ferdosi describes this deformity in one of his stanzas:

"Chu-ber-pai-budee, ser-angoosha
"Az-zanu-fuzunter-budee-mushtee."

"When he stood on his feet, the ends of the fingers of his hands reached below his "knee."—This description perfectly corresponds with that of Greek authors.

His name, Bah-man, is a Shanscrit compound, which signifies "possessing arms."

* If Roostum lived to this reign, the four preceding ones must have been very short, as he bears a distinguished part in each: but the probability is, that the date of the hero's life has been prolonged by those fabulists, who have founded their fame, and that of their country, on his exploits.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ The meaning of this word is, *fire upon the saddle:* and, from his history, he may be called the Persian Hotspur.

CHAP. IV.

alleged, that Bahman's motive for invading Seistan was a desire to revenge the death of his father: but it would not only appear* that Roostum was dead before that attack was made, but that the Persian king mourned him for one week. Old Zal, we are informed†, was still alive, and was confined in an iron cage by the conqueror.

Resumes the government of Babylon.

Bahman is said by one author‡ to have extended his conquests to the westward, and to have deprived the son‖ of Bucht-ul-Nasser of his government of Babylon, on account of the crimes and excesses of his father. He appointed, the same author adds, Koresch to be his successor: and under him the Jews were treated with kindness, and had the privilege granted them of being governed by a ruler of their own nation. It is added, that these favours to the Jews were by the express orders of Bahman, whose favourite lady was of the Jewish nation§.

Is succeeded by Homai.

Birth of Darab.

The Persian authors whom we follow, appear to become more fabulous as their history advances. Bahman¶, these inform us, was succeeded by his daughter, Homai; who, they add, when she ascended the throne, was pregnant by her own father**. Shame led her to conceal this circumstance: and the child, of which she was delivered, was given over to a nurse to be put to death. The life of the child,

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. D'Herbelot states the contrary, but does not give his authority.

† Ferdosi. ‡ Tarikh Tubree. ‖ The Belshazzar of the Scriptures.

§ Josephus states, that Artaxerxes was the Ahasuerus of Scripture, who married Esther. The long reign of this monarch includes that of two or more of his immediate successors, who are not noticed by Persian writers.

¶ According to them, this prince ruled Persia one hundred and twelve years.

** This is not unlikely, if we are to credit Grecian authors regarding the morals of Persian monarchs at this epoch of their history.

however, was miraculously preserved*; and the unnatural mother first recognised her son, when his fortune and valour had advanced him to the rank of a victorious general in her army. Homai immediately resigned the crown to him, and retired to a private life. She reigned thirty-two years, and is said to have had many great qualities. The celebrated Hall, called Chehel-Minar†, at Istakhr or Persepolis, was, we are told, built by this queen.

Succeeds to the crown.

The reign of Darab the First was distinguished by several wars; particularly one against Philip of Macedon, whom Persian authors denominate Phillippoos of Room. Though this war was at first unsuccessful, the historians of Persia state, that its termination was glorious: but this is evidently the foundation of a fable, which their national vanity has led them to form, respecting the birth of Alexander‡. They affirm, that Philip was ultimately reduced to such distress, that he was glad to extricate himself, by agreeing to give his daughter‖ to Darab, and to pay to that prince an annual tribute of one thousand eggs of pure gold. Darab the First§ reigned

His war with Philip.

* The infant was given over to a nurse to be destroyed; put into a basket and thrown into a river, from whence it was taken by a peasant, and educated to the duties of humble life: but the royal spirit of the youth soon showed itself, and obtained distinction, &c. This fable has been told of others besides Darab.

† This means forty pillars. In Persia, the term forty signifies an indefinite number, and may be translated "many."

‡ He is called Secunder by all Asiatic writers.

‖ This daughter, the same authors assert, was sent back to her father when pregnant with Alexander. Various reasons are assigned for her return. The author of the Zeenut-ul-Mujalis, who pretends to *more particular information* than others, declares it was on account of her bad breath.

§ I have stated, elsewhere, the reasons that occur for conjecturing that this prince is the Darius-Nothus of Greek writers.

CHAP. IV.

only twelve years. He built Darabjird, a town about one hundred and fifty miles to the east of Shiraz; which, though fallen from its former grandeur, still boasts a number of inhabitants.

Darab the Second.

Darab the Second (the celebrated Darius Codomanus of the Greeks) was, according to the report of Persian authors, the opposite of his father. He was deformed in body and depraved in mind; and his bad administration*, if they are to be believed, completely prepared the way for the success of Alexander. But the Persians have always had the same character: and it cannot be surprising, that a nation, distinguished for their vanity, should have given their consent to any fable, however improbable, which palliated the disgrace of the conquest of their country. It is to this feeling that we must ascribe their tales respecting the descent of Alexander. That conqueror is described as a son of Darab the First; who, aided by the Persians themselves, easily possessed himself of a crown which was his right, and which was weakly defended by his unpopular and unworthy brother. Several, however, of the most respectable Persian historians† reject this fable, and admit that Alexander was the son of Philip. The quarrel between the two states, we are told, originated in Alexander refusing to pay the tribute of golden eggs, to which his father had agreed. "The bird that laid the eggs has flown to the "other world!" is reported to have been the laconic answer of the Macedonian prince, to the Persian envoy who demanded the tribute.

Sends an ambassador to Alexander.

After this, Darab sent another ambassador‡ to the court of the Grecian monarch, whom he charged to deliver to him a bat, a ball, and a bag of very small seed, called gunjud. The bat and ball

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. † Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, &c. ‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

were meant to throw a ridicule on Alexander's youth, being fit amusement for his age. The bag of seed was intended as an emblem of the Persian army being innumerable. Alexander took the bat into his hand, and said, "This is the emblem of my power, with "which I shall strike the ball of your monarch's dominion; and this "fowl (he had ordered one to be brought) will soon show you what "a morsel his numerous army will prove to mine." The grain was instantly eaten up: and Alexander gave a wild melon* to the envoy, desiring him to tell his sovereign what he had heard and seen, and to give him that fruit, the taste of which would enable him to judge of the bitter lot that awaited him†. Messages of this character are not uncommon among Asiatic monarchs: and we have a popular instance, in our own traditions, of one‡ which bears a very extraordinary similarity to that now related.

Alexander invades Persia.

Alexander was for some time occupied in subduing the refractory cities of Greece, after which he invaded Persia: but very few particulars are recorded by the Persian historians of those operations which preceded the great action, wherein Darab, according to them, lost his throne and his life‖. In the account of that action, they dwell chiefly upon those circumstances which relate to the death of Darab, and the conduct of his conqueror upon that memorable occasion.

* Its Persian name is henzal, and its taste very bitter.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ That from the Dauphin of France to Henry the Fifth, when Prince of Wales, as related in the page of Shakespeare.

‖ Persian writers give no detailed account of the operations of Alexander in Persia, and erroneously state, that Darius was killed in the first action.

CHAP. IV.

Darab is slain.

According to these authorities, during the heat of battle, two of the soldiers of Darab* taking advantage of his being unguarded, slew him, and fled to Alexander, from whom they expected a great reward. That monarch, the moment he learnt what had happened, hastened to the spot where the Persian king had fallen. He found him in the pains of death, stretched upon the ground, and covered with dust and blood. Alexander alighted from his horse, and raised the head of his enemy upon his knees. The soul of the conqueror was melted at the sight: he shed tears, and kissed the cheek of the expiring Darab; who, opening his eyes, exclaimed:—"The world has a thousand doors, through which its tenants con-"tinually enter, and pass away!"—"I swear to you," said Alexander, "I never wished a day like this! I desired not to see your "royal head in the dust, nor that blood should stain these cheeks†!" When Darab heard his conqueror mourning over him, he sighed deeply, and said, he trusted his base murderers would not escape: that Alexander would not place a stranger on the throne of Persia: and that he would not injure the honour of his family; but marry his daughter, Roushunuk‡. The moment after he had expressed these

* The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh says, they were natives of Hamadan. Ferdosi calls them two viziers: their names were Mahesiar and Jamisiar. We can trace in these names no similarity to that of Bessus.

† The account which Persian writers give of the death of Darius, though embellished, is not substantially different from that of Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, or Quintus Curtius.

‡ Roushun, must have been her name: the final k is a diminutive; and, as such, often added, as a term of particular endearment. In this name we may easily trace the Roxana of the Greeks.

wishes, he expired: his body was instantly embalmed with musk and amber, wrapped in a cloth of gold, and placed in a rich coffin adorned with jewels. It was, in that state, carried to the sepulchral vault with the most extraordinary honours. Ten thousand men with drawn swords preceded it: ten thousand more followed, and an equal number marched on each flank. Alexander himself, with the nobles of Persia, and the great officers of his army, attended the obsequies as mourners*. The moment the funeral was over, the two murderers of Darab were hanged†. Some time afterwards, Alexander married Roushunuk, and nominated the brother of the late king to the sovereignty of Persia: but his power does not appear to have been established, as the policy of Alexander led him to divide that empire into ninety different principalities.

Alexander marries Roushunuk.

He divides Persia into ninety principalities.

As we must reject altogether those fables which the national vanity of the Persians have invented, regarding the descent of Alexander, he cannot be considered as one of the monarchs of the Kaianian dynasty, of whom there were nine princes, reckoning Darab the Second as the last. That the authorities we possess for the history of this family are unsatisfactory, is but too apparent. The names of several princes have, no doubt, been omitted: while the length of the reigns of some, and the actions of others, have

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Bessus, the murderer of Darius, was put to death in a cruel manner: his body was fastened to the ground, and the boughs of two trees were bent, and after being fastened to one of his limbs, allowed to spring back to its natural position. It tore him asunder. This fact is mentioned by Plutarch. It is worthy of remark, that the mode of executing criminals, by which Bessus is described to have suffered, is still occasionally used in Persia.

CHAP. IV.

been greatly exaggerated. But, amid the fables that cloud this part of the ancient history of Persia, there are many facts which merit to be preserved. It is only by a patient comparison of the various and opposite accounts of the histories and traditions of the early nations of the world, that we can expect to arrive at truth: and we must not allow our search after the intrinsic ore to be retarded by disgust at the dross with which that is always surrounded.

CHAPTER V.

The History, from Persian Authorities, of Secunder Roomee, or Alexander the Great, and his immediate Successors in Persia.

THE different accounts which Persian authors give of Alexander's birth, and of his conduct on that day in which Darius lost his crown and his life, have been noticed in the preceding chapter. The few remaining particulars, which are recorded in their histories, of a monarch, who conquered their country, and effected so complete a change in their government, are entitled to some attention, if it was only as a subject of curiosity.

Murder of Philip.

These writers state, that Philip, King of Macedon, was murdered; and they add, that the assassin* was impelled to the act by love for Alexander's mother†. That prince, who had been absent‡, returned at the moment, and slew the murderer. Philip, according to this account, did not die immediately, but lived to know that he was revenged by his son, and to send for his minister, Aristotle, his

* The name of the assassin, according to them, was Kuloos.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Alexander, the Persian author states, was, at this period, engaged in a war against a prince, whom they style the son of Kylalous, and besieging a city called Burakous. The assassin of his father, the same account informs us, fled to the queen for protection, and was slain by the young prince when he had hold of his mother's robe.

CHAP. V.

courtiers, and his principal officers: all of whom he commanded to obey Alexander, who, after his father's interment, addressed his subjects in the following terms:—"O my people! your king is no "more! and I have no right to any authority over you. I can, "indeed, only consider myself as one of yourselves, and must, in "every thing I undertake, seek your aid and support. But I "entreat you to listen to my counsel at this moment. Elect a "ruler to govern you; continue to fear God*, and he will protect "his subjects." The people exclaimed†, "We have never been "addressed in this manner before; but we will take your advice: "we know none but you fit to rule." After saying this, they all rose and paid him their obeisance, and at the same time placed the diadem upon his head.

Alexander is raised to the throne.

The Persians relate‡, with truth, that the arms of Alexander were, immediately after his elevation, turned against different States of Greece, who resisted his authority; and that, after he had completely succeeded in the accomplishment of this object, he collected a great army to invade Persia. They add, that, after the conquest of that kingdom, he marched toward India. His first enterprise in that quarter, was against a prince called Keyd‖, to whom he sent an envoy, requiring him to submit and pay tribute.

Invades Persia.

Marches toward India.

* It is the belief of all Mahomedans, that Secunder (their name for Alexander) adored one great and supreme God.

† This may allude to the address of Alexander to the States of Greece, when he sought their union and support in the Persian expedition, and to their consent that he should be the leader of the Greeks in that memorable expedition.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‖ Keyd-Hindee; perhaps the Taxilus of the Greek historians.

Keyd not only agreed to this demand, but declared himself ready to resign his power, or even his life, if Alexander desired he should do so. "I shall," he said to the Grecian envoy, "send to the great "conqueror, your master, my beautiful daughter*; a goblet† made "of a most splendid ruby; a philosopher of great science; and a "physician who has such skill, that he can restore the dead‡." The envoy returned to Alexander; who was delighted with the success of his mission, and instantly sent for the princess, the goblet, the philosopher, and the physician. Keyd not only sent them, but added an immense present of his richest jewels. The conqueror of the world, we are told, became enamoured of the fair princess: and, in her arms, lost all desire for the dominions of her father. He next made war against Poor||, whom he defeated and slew, and then marched against the Emperor of China§. That monarch did not consider himself equal to the contest, and went in disguise to the Grecian camp. He was discovered, and brought to Alexander, who demanded of him, how he could venture to act as he had done. The emperor replied: "I was anxious to see you, and your army: "I could have no fear on my own account, as I knew I was not an

Proceeds toward China.

* The beauties of this princess are glowingly described by the Persian author, who terms her "a sweet-scented rose that had never looked upon dust; a spring that never "had been vexed by a cold blast."

† The property of this celebrated goblet was, that it continually replenished itself.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

|| Certainly Poor or Porus, as F. and P. in the Pehlivi, are the same.

§ Probably Chinese Tartary, which, in Persian authors, is always confounded with China. This, no doubt, alludes to the expedition of Alexander against the Scythians: but the events are related in a dissimilar manner.

CHAP. V.

" object of dread to Alexander: besides, if he was to slay me, my " subjects would instantly raise another king to the throne. But of " this I can have no fear, as I am satisfied Alexander can never " be displeased with an action that shows a solicitude to obtain his " friendship." The conqueror was pleased with this flattery, and concluded a treaty with the emperor; by which the country of the latter was spared, on his agreeing to pay tribute. The emperor went to his capital to make preparations for the entertainment of his great ally; and the third day after he left the Grecian camp, he returned with an army, the dust of which announced its immense numbers, and made Alexander prepare against treachery, by arraying his troops in order of battle. When both lines were opposite, the Emperor of China, with his ministers and nobles, alighted, and went towards the Grecian prince, who inquired why he had broken his faith and collected such a force*. " I wished," said the emperor, " to show the numbers of my army, that you might " be satisfied I made peace from other motives than an inability to " make war. It was from consulting the heavenly bodies that I " have been led to submit. The Heavens aid you, and I war not " with them†." Alexander was gratified, and observed, that it would ill become him to exact tribute from so great, so wise, and so pious a monarch; he would therefore be satisfied with his friendship. The emperor, on hearing this, took his leave, and sent a

Concludes a treaty with the emperor of that country.

* The facts here stated, appear applicable to the conduct of Taxilus, then the Prince of Scythia.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

present of jewels, gold, and beautiful ladies*, to the illustrious conqueror. CHAP. V.

The astrologers had foretold, that when Alexander's death was near, he would place his throne upon a spot where the ground was of iron, and the sky of gold. When the hero, fatigued with conquest, directed his march toward Greece, he was one day seized with a bleeding at the nose†. A general, who was near, unlacing his coat of mail, spread it for the prince to sit upon: and, in order to defend him from the sun, held a golden shield over his head. When Alexander saw himself in this situation, he exclaimed, "The prediction of the astrologers is accomplished; "I no longer belong to the living! Alas! that the work of "my youth should be finished! Alas! that the plant of the "spring should be cut down like the ripened tree of autumn!" He wrote to his mother, stating, that he should shortly quit this earth, and pass to the regions of the dead. He requested, that the alms given on his death, should be bestowed on those who had never seen the miseries of this world, and who had never lost those that were dear to them. His mother, in conformity to his will, sought, but in vain, for persons of this description: all had tasted of the woes and griefs of life; all had lost those whom they loved. She found a consolation, as her son had intended, in

The prediction of the astrologers.

Alexander writes to his mother.

* From the earliest ages to the present day, it has been the invariable usage of all Asiatic conquerors, from the monarch who subdues kingdoms to the chief that seizes a village, to claim some fair females, as the reward of his conquest: it is, therefore, natural for Persian authors to suppose Alexander the Great did not fail to avail himself of this established custom.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. V.

this circumstance, for her great loss. She saw her own was the common lot of humanity.

His death.

Alexander, according to Persian authors*, died at the City of Zour†; though some state that his days terminated at Babul, or Babylon. He was thirty-six years of age, and had reigned twelve years: six previous to the conquest of Persia, and six subsequent to that event. His body‡ was embalmed, and sent to Greece.

Persian historians seldom give a character of the monarchs whose actions they relate: but the mode they have adopted, of recording

* Many authors believe that he is the prophet Zulkernyn mentioned in the Koran, and that he built the celebrated rampart which confines Yajouz and Majouz. These evil demons, known to us by the name of Gog and Magog, abide, according to Persian fabulists, at the mountain of Kaf, the centre of the world: and their progeny, *who are of all sizes and shapes*, used to plunder and destroy the neighbouring countries; the inhabitants of which complained to Alexander, who built this wall to confine them. They scratch it almost through with their claws every day; and go home, expecting they will easily destroy in the morning the little that is left: but in the morning they find the wall rebuilt. The reason of their not effecting this object is, their never saying *Inshalla*, or *God willing*: and they never will, we are told, destroy this work, till it happens that one of their children is called Inshalla; when they will retire, calling to the boy: "Come along Inshalla, we shall finish this task to morrow." *The accidental use of this pious expression* shall prevent the wall being rebuilt. They will succeed in destroying it; break loose upon the world; and their ravages will be one of many signs that will precede the dissolution of the universe. This note is taken from a Commentary on the Koran; and the fable probably alludes to the wall at the Straits of the Caspian, which Alexander built to prevent the destructive inroads of the Scythians into Persia.

† This city is in Kurdistan. It is the Siazuros of the Romans.

‡ The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh states, that the body of the conqueror was first put into a golden coffin; but afterwards, at the express command of his mother, put into one of Egyptian marble.

their remarkable sayings, is, perhaps, as happy, and as fully descriptive, as the more laboured efforts of European writers. They have preserved many anecdotes of the great conqueror of the world; some of which merit notice, as they show the opinions entertained, among the nations he subdued, of his moderation, wisdom, and magnanimity. They relate, that a chief of the enemy was one day brought before Alexander with his hands bound: he ordered him to be liberated. One of his courtiers observed, "Were I you, I should not show such humanity to "that man."—"And it is because I am not you," replied Alexander, "that I have pardoned him*. I freely forgive my enemies," he added, "because I take pleasure in exercising humanity: none "in cruelty†." He once degraded an officer of distinction by removing him to an inferior situation to that which he had held: sometime afterwards, he asked him how he liked his new office. "It is not the station," replied the officer, "which gives consequence "to the man, but the man to the station. No situation can be so "trifling as not to require wisdom and virtue in the performance of "its duties‡." The monarch was so pleased with this excellent answer, that he restored him to his former rank. The same author, who has recorded the above, informs us, that Alexander, being asked how he had been able, at so early an age, and in so short a period, to conquer such vast regions, and establish so great a name, replied: "I used my enemies so well, that I compelled them to be my friends: "and I treated my friends with such constant and extraordinary "regard, that they became unalterably attached to my person."

Anecdotes respecting Alexander.

* This anecdote, with a trifling variation, is given by Greek authors.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. V.

When this great prince was asked, why he paid more honour to his master, Aristotle, than to his father: "My father," he replied, "brought me from heaven to earth: by the aid of my master, "I ascend from earth to heaven." He was, the same author states, subject to violent anger: and used to warn those he loved of the danger of speaking to princes, when under the influence of passion. "They are as a sea," he was wont to say, "which is "dangerous even in a calm, but dreadful when the tempest "rages."

The life of Alexander, as given by eastern writers, contains little that can be deemed authentic: and the instances are not many in which it accords with those facts that rest upon the testimony of Grecian authors. Nothing, however, has been noticed but what the Persians consider the real history of this sovereign. They have innumerable volumes, both in prose and verse, which relate his wonderful adventures by sea and land: but these they even deem fabulous: and the character of their history of this period, is sufficient to deter us from giving any attention to their acknowledged romances.

Persian authors state, that Alexander had a son named Askanderous, but that he did not succeed to any part of his father's power, having devoted himself to study, under the tuition of the celebrated Aristotle. We are informed by them*, that, a short period before his death, Alexander divided the provinces of Persia among the princes of that country, whom he had deposed and plundered. He restored to them their former possessions on the tenure of military service. Each

* Tuarikh Muntukhub.

was to maintain a fixed quota of soldiers*. But these princes, at the death of the conqueror, threw off their obedience to his successors, and formed a feudal commonwealth of petty principalities, which, though separate, and in a great degree independent of each other, recognised some principles of common policy, that occasionally led them to unite. This community of small states existed, according to the historians of Persia, with various changes, for more than three centuries after the death of Alexander.

We learn from the more authentic page of Greek writers, that after the death of Alexander, Persia fell to the share of one of his most able generals, Seleucus†, who assumed the name of Nicator, or conqueror. This monarch, who also reigned over Syria, established the dynasty of the Seleucides. He was succeeded by Antiochus Soter; in the reign of whose successor, Antiochus Theos, a tributary prince or chief of the name of Arsaces revolted, slew Agathocles, the viceroy that Antiochus had left in Persia, and founded, what is termed by western writers, the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacides. The foundation of this dynasty is ascribed, by eastern authors, to Ashk, a descendant of the former kings of Persia. This chief, we are told, obtained the aid of his countrymen, by informing them that he was in the possession of the sacred banner, the Durufshe Kawanee, which his uncle had saved and concealed when Darius was defeated and

Seleucus seizes the government of Persia.

Is succeeded by Antiochus Soter.

Arsaces revolts.

And establishes the dynasty of the Arsacides.

* This measure is stated to have been taken by the advice of Aristotle, who considered it impossible to deprive these princes of influence over the inhabitants of Persia; unjust to slay them; and therefore politic to give them employment, of a nature that might render them useful subjects, and prevent their being dangerous enemies.

† He founded Antioch, Seleucia, and several other cities.

CHAP. V.

slain*. After he had overcome and put to death the viceroy†, whom Antiochus Theos, the third king of the Seleucides, had appointed to rule Persia. Ashk fixed his residence at Rhé; invited all the chiefs of provinces to join him in a war against the Seleucides, at the same time promising to exact no tribute, and only to deem himself the head of a confederacy of princes, formed into an union for the double object of maintaining their separate independence, and freeing Persia from a foreign yoke. Such was the commencement of that era of Persian history, which is termed, by eastern authors, the Mulook-u-Tuaif, or commonwealth of tribes. As they are, and always have been, totally unacquainted with the constitution of free states, they, no doubt, mean by this term to describe the league of petty princes among whom the empire was divided‡. But the accounts we receive from Persian writers of this period, are vague and contradictory: they have evidently no materials to form an authentic narrative: and it is too near the date at which their real history commences, to admit of their indulgence in fable. Their pretended history of the Ashkanians and Ashganians is, consequently, little more than a mere catalogue of names: and even respecting these, and the dates they assign to the different princes, hardly two authors are agreed. Ashk the First is said to have reigned fifteen years‖. Some authors ascribe the defeat and capture of Seleucus Callinicus,

Invites the chiefs of provinces to war against the Seleucides.

The Mulook-u-Tuaif, or commonwealth of tribes.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Agathocles. The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh calls him Abtahesh.

‡ We are told by Pliny, that the Parthian Empire (applying, evidently, that term to describe the kingdom of Persia,) was divided into eighteen kingdoms.—*Ancient History*, Vol. XI. page 4.

‖ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. Khondemir only allows him ten.

King of Syria, to this monarch: and others to his son, Ashk the Second. The latter prince was succeeded by his brother, Shahpoor*, who, after a long contest with Antiochus the Great, in which he experienced several reverses, concluded a treaty of peace with that monarch, by which his right to Parthia and Hyrcania was recognised.

Shahpoor succeeds to the throne.

From the death of this prince, there appears to be a lapse of two centuries in the Persian annals of their country; for they inform us, that his successor was Baharam Gudurz: and, if this is the prince whom western writers term Gutarzes, as there is every reason to conclude it is, we know, from authentic history, that he was the third prince of the second dynasty of the Arsacides: and it was he who revenged the death of John the Baptist upon the Israelites.

Baharam Gudurz.

Persian authors inform us, that Gudurz† was succeeded by his son, Volas‡; from whom the crown descended to Hoormuz‖, and then to his brother, Narsi. At his death, another of his brothers, whose name was Firoze§, obtained the throne; whose successor, Khoosroo¶, carried on a war with the Emperor Trajan, in which he was unsuccessful, and lost his capital, Ctesiphon: but, at the death of Trajan, Khoosroo concluded a peace with his successor, Adrian, and

Volas. Hoormuz. Narsi. Firoze. Khoosroo.

* Shahpoor is, no doubt, the Artabanes of the Greeks.

† They pass over his son, Vonones, who reigned for a short period.

‡ His name is sometimes written Pollas: he was the Volageses of the Greeks, whose war with the Emperor Nero, and embassy to Vespasian, are related in the Roman history.

‖ Hoormuz appears to have been Artabanes the Fourth of the Romans: but his brother and successor, Narsi, is not noticed, under that name, by western writers.

§ Probably Pacorus.

¶ Some Persian authors omit even this prince; but he is mentioned by Khondemir.

CHAP. V.

Volas. Volasin. Arduan.

recovered his possessions. Volas and Volasin*, according to Persian writers, were next in succession to Khoosroo: and Volasin left the crown to his son, Arduan†, who was engaged in a war with the Romans, before he was attacked and slain by the celebrated Ardisheer‡. Some Persian authors ascribe his death, and the overthrow of his power, to Arduan, the son of Ashg, a lineal descendant from Kai Kaoos‖: who, according to those that adopt this belief, founded a dynasty, of which there were eight princes, whose aggregate reigns occupied a period of near a century and a half. But we are told by the same author§ who informs us of the rise of this family, that our Saviour was born during the reign of Khoosroo, the son and successor of Ashg, who had obtained the crown by the death of Arduan; a monarch that, we know, lived more than two centuries after that event. It would appear, therefore, that the family of the Ashganians either never existed, or were cotemporary princes with the Ashkanians. A learned and respectable oriental historian, who tries to reconcile these contradictory accounts, confesses himself completely lost in the confused and opposite statements of different authors. One¶, he observes, says, that Arduan, son of Ashg, who destroyed the Ashkanian dynasty, was descended from Kai Kaoos. Another** relates, that they were of the same race as

Arduan, son of Ashg.

Founds a dynasty.

* Volas and Volasin are Vologeses the Second and Third of Roman history; the latter of whom carried on a war with the Emperor Severus.

† Artabanes the Fifth. ‡ Artaxerxes.

‖ Khondemir says, that Ashg was a direct descendant of Kai Kaoos. Many authors take no notice of him or his successors; while others suppose they were cotemporaries of the Ashkanians, and ruled some of the provinces of Persia.

§ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. ¶ Tuarikh Guzeedah. ** Tarikh Julaallee.

the dynasty that was overthrown: while many historians omit all mention of this family*. "God alone," exclaims this author† in despair, "knoweth the truth."

From the death of Alexander till the reign of Artaxerxes is near five centuries; and the whole of that remarkable era may be termed a blank in eastern history: and yet, when we refer to the page of Roman writers, we find this period abounds with events, of which the vainest nation might be proud: and that Parthian monarchs, whose names cannot now be discovered in the history of their own country‡, were the only sovereigns upon whom the Roman arms, when that nation was in the very zenith of its power, could make no permanent impression. But this, no doubt, may be attributed to other causes than the skill and valour of the Persians. It was to the nature of their country, and their singular mode of warfare, that they owed those frequent advantages which they gained over the disciplined legions of Rome. The frontier which the kingdom of Parthia

* The following is an account of Princes of the Ashganians, agreeably to the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh:—

	Computed Years of Reign.
ARDUAN, son of ASHG	23
KHOOSROO, son of ARDUAN	19
PELLAS, son of ASHR	12
GUDURZ, son of PELLAS	30
NARSI, son of GUDURZ	30
NARSI, son of NARSI	18
ARDUAN, slain by ARDISHEER: the number of years he reigned is not noticed.	

† Khondemir.

‡ The name of Mithridates is not mentioned: nor that of Orodes, in whose reign Crassus was defeated: nor Surena, the general by whom that great victory was obtained.

CHAP. V.

presented to the Roman Empire, extended from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. It consists of lofty and barren mountains, of rapid and broad streams, and of wide-spreading deserts. In whatever direction the legions of Rome advanced, the country was laid waste. The war was made, not against the army, but the supplies by which it was supported: and the mode in which the Parthian* warrior took his unerring aim, while his horse was carrying him from his enemy, may be viewed as a personification of the system of warfare by which his nation, during this era of its history, maintained its independence. The system was suited to the soil, to the man, and to the fleet and robust animal on which he was mounted: and its success was so certain, that the bravest veterans of Rome murmured when their leaders talked of a Parthian war.

* Foster deems this practice of the Parthian horsemen a confirmation of their descent from the warriors of Tartary: but the usage is, and always has been, as common to Persian as to Tartar tribes.

CHAPTER VI.

History of the Sassanian Dynasty, from Ardisheer Babigan, its Founder, to Yezd-e-jird, the last Prince of that Race.

CHAP. VI.

A. D. 226. The Sassanian dynasty.

THE Sassanian dynasty of kings forms a new era in the history of Persia. These monarchs were engaged in constant wars with the rulers of the Roman empire: and the events recorded by the historians of that nation, enable us to correct the accounts of oriental authors, and to discriminate with more exactness, than we could before that period, between truth and fable. I shall continue, as hitherto, to follow Persian writers: but an occasional reference to better authorities will explain obscure passages, and fix the dates of the different reigns, as well as those of the most important occurrences.

Ardisheer Babigan. His descent.

Ardisheer Babigan*, the son of Babek, was, we are told, a descendant from Sassan†, the son of Bahman, and grandson of Isfundear. His father was an inferior officer in the public service. The Governor of Darabjird, whose name was Peri, learnt that Babek had a son, who, though quite a youth, was already

* Artaxerxes the First of the Greeks.

† According to the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, the mother was the daughter of Babek, whose father, Sassan, was the son of Sassan, a son of Bahman, the son of Isfundear. Other authors assign him a less noble origin. That of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh cannot be correct, as the period from the death of Isfundear till his reign is six centuries.

CHAP. VI.

distinguished for genius and courage. He sent for him; and the abilities of Ardisheer recommended him so much to Peri*, that whenever any cause prevented his attending to the duties of his government, he committed the charge to the young favourite; who gained so much credit by his conduct upon these occasions, that, when Peri died, he was appointed his successor. It is not surprising that a youth like Ardisheer, whose rise had been so rapid, should have formed the most ambitious schemes. We are told, that his imagination presented to him, in his sleep, the shadows of his waking thoughts: and these dreams† of glory were interpreted by flatterers, into certain presages of future success. All historians agree, that it was the belief of such visions that first led him to attempt the throne of Persia: and if their truth was seriously believed by him, and his followers, there can be no doubt that they must have aided him in attaining the splendid destiny which they promised.

Becomes Governor of Darabjird.

His first effort to obtain sovereign power.

The first efforts of Ardisheer to seize the kingdom were supported by his father, Babek; who, after putting to death the governor appointed by Arduan, made himself master of the province of Fars: but Babek was partial to his eldest son, Shahpoor, and proclaimed him ruler of that province the moment he had conquered it. The old man survived but a short time, an act which proved the source of great divisions in his family. Ardisheer, the moment his father

* Various and contradictory accounts are given by historians of Ardisheer's progress to power. I have generally followed the Tarikh Tubree, Rozut-ul-Suffa, and the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The dreams of both Babek and Ardisheer are recorded by Persian historians. These also ascribe dreams of a contrary tendency to his enemy, Arduan.

died, advanced against his brother, who was seized by his relations*, and put into his hands. This event made him master of Fars†. We are not informed what he did with Shahpoor: but the conspirators, who expected he would reward their treachery to his brother, were put to death.

Becomes master of Fars.

After settling the province of Fars, Ardisheer undertook an expedition against Kerman, which he subdued. He appears to have met with hardly any opposition in his first enterprises; and he not only made himself master of Isfahan, but of almost all Irak, before Arduan, who was the reigning prince, took the field against him. We are informed, that this prince remained in the mountainous country about Hamadan‡ and Kermanshah, till he was compelled, by the success of Ardisheer, either to oppose his further progress, or to abandon his throne. He resolved to put all to the hazard of one action. The armies met in the plain of Hoormuz‖, where a desperate battle ensued, in which Arduan lost his crown and his life: and the son of Babek was hailed in the field§ with the proud

Subdues Kerman.

Is hailed King of Persia.

* According to some authors, two of his younger brothers were the leaders of thi conspiracy.

† Istakhr appears to have been the capital of Fars at this period.

‡ These countries are called Jubal, or the Mountainous.—*Tarikh-e-Tubree.*

‖ Probably the fine valley of Ram-Hoormuz, situated between the Cities of Shuster and Bebahan, and watered by the Jerokh, which has its source in the mountains near the latter. This valley is about thirty miles from the sea. It is one of the most delightful in Persia. The Town of Ram-Hoormuz, on this plain, is said to have been built by Hoormuz, the grandson of Ardisheer, who used often to halt here: and it was, in consequence, called Ram-Hoormuz, or the Rest of Hoormuz. Ram is, in Pehlivi, the same as Aram in Persian, and signifies "rest."

§ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VI.

title of Shahan Shah, or King of Kings*; a name which has ever since been assumed by the sovereigns of Persia.

Ardisheer took advantage of the impression this great victory had made, not only to subdue the remainder of the empire, but to enlarge its limits; which he extended, if we are to credit Persian authors, to the Euphrates† in one quarter, and the kingdom of Khaurizm, on the other. He is said to have founded a city on the banks of the Tigris; and, as the same history‡ mentions that he resided at Madain, it has been supposed that he built that capital: we have, however, evidence of its existence long before his reign. But it is not improbable that Ardisheer found Madain in a state of ruin;

Extends his empire.

* We are also informed, that he took the high title of Khoosroo: an august name, which, Ferdosi says, none of the rulers since Darab had ventured to assume. But the fact is otherwise; one monarch of the Parthian dynasty is only known by the name of Khoosroo, and many of the kings of that race inscribed the lofty title of King of Kings upon their coins.

† Though the events recorded by Persian authors of the reign of Ardisheer are almost all confirmed by Greek writers, and the result of his war with the Emperor Alexander Severus seems to have been favourable to the Persian arms[5]; yet the fact of his having extended the empire to the Euphrates, is denied. It is expressly stated, that he did not recover Mesopotamia from the Romans.

‡ Rozut-ul-Suffa. If Madain is Ctesiphon, that city had certainly been built long before. It was first a Persian camp, on the eastern banks of the Tigris, immediately opposite to the Grecian City of Seleucia, and in time rivalled and eclipsed that city. Ctesiphon was often destroyed, and rebuilt; which accounts for the variations in the descriptions which ancient authors give of this capital. One great arch, and some unshaken mounds, are all that are now left of its grandeur: of Seleucia there is hardly a trace remaining.

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[5] Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 338.

and might, therefore, from restoring it to its former grandeur, have some right to the title of its founder. CHAP. VI.

The fame of Ardisheer spread in every direction: all the petty states, in the vicinity of his empire, proffered submission; while the greatest monarchs, of both the eastern and western hemisphere, courted his friendship, by sending to his court the most magnificent presents, and splendid embassies. Sated with success, and wearied of power, he resigned the government into the hands of his son, Shahpoor, after having reigned fourteen years* as absolute sovereign of Persia, subsequent to the defeat and death of Arduan. He had exercised a more limited authority twelve years before the occurrence of that event. A. D. 240. Resigns the empire.

Ardisheer Babigan (whom the Roman historians call Artaxerxes,) was one of the wisest and most valiant princes that ever reigned over Persia. His life, indeed, affords the best evidence of his extraordinary character. He raised himself, from the lowest situation, to be sovereign of a great nation, that had been in an unsettled and distracted state for several centuries. The revolution which he effected in the condition of his country was wonderful. The name of Parthia, which western writers had given to the empire of Persia, after the death of Alexander, ceased at his elevation: and the kingdom which he founded was recognised as that of Persia. His countrymen deem Ardisheer the restorer of that great empire, which had been created by Cyrus, and lost by Darius. His character.

Persian writers have preserved sayings of this prince of a character which displays both goodness and wisdom. He was

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VI.

wont, they state, to observe, "That when a king is just, his sub-"jects must love him, and continue obedient: but the worst of all "monarchs," he added, "is he whom the wealthy, and not the "wicked, dread."—"There can be no power," he remarked, "without an army: no army without money: no money without "agriculture: and no agriculture without justice." It was a saying of his, "That a ferocious lion was better than an unjust king: but "an unjust king was not so bad as a long war." This prince often said, "That kings should never use the sword where the cane would "answer." A fine lesson to despotic monarchs, whom it was meant to teach, that they should never take the life of men when the offence would admit of a less punishment.

Ardisheer was not more famed for the splendour of his military achievements, than the regulations which he introduced to preserve the internal peace of his kingdom. Daily reports were made to him of what passed, not only in his capital, but in every province of his vast empire: and his knowledge upon these points extended even to the private actions of his subjects*, who, aware of his extraordinary information, regarded him with that mixed love and fear, which it was the object of his rule to inspire†. We are informed, however, that

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† We are told, that Ardisheer was learned as well as wise. He is the reputed author of two remarkable works. The first entitled, "The Karnameh," in which he gives an account of his travels and enterprises. The second was a work upon the best mode of living; in which rules, drawn from his own experience and judgment, were prescribed for all ranks of men. This book appears to have been greatly admired by his countrymen: and Nousheerwan, one of the most celebrated of his successors, had many copies of it made and circulated, with a view of establishing order and morality in the empire. That learned orientalist, Mr. Richardson, informs us, that this work

Ardisheer, with all his great qualities, was a bigot: he not only laboured to restore the authority of the magi, but enforced, by sanguinary persecutions, a strict attention to the orthodox tenets of the religion of his country. Amid the general confusion in which the empire had been thrown, the established worship, as fixed by Zoroaster, had been neglected, and the nation was distracted by a thousand schisms. We, indeed, know that several of the monarchs of the Parthian dynasty inclined to the religion of the Greeks. It probably was the policy, and not the bigotry of Ardisheer, that made him desire to introduce order and uniformity in religion as well as in every other branch of his government: but the strong measures he adopted to effect this object, while they have raised him to the rank of a prophet with the followers of Zoroaster, have sunk him to that of a cruel and superstitious tyrant with all who professed another belief. Ferdosi has given us the testament* of this monarch in the form of a dying charge to his son: and it is remarkable, as it exhibits his opinions upon the subject both of religion and of government.

His dying speech to his son.

" Never forget," said Ardisheer, " that, as a king, you are at " once the protector of religion and of your country. Consider the " altar and throne as inseparable: they must always sustain each " other. A sovereign without religion is a tyrant: and a people

was written in the Deri. He adds, that it was a journal of his public and private life, and contained many lessons on morality.—RICHARDSON's *Dissertations*, page 19.

* Ferdosi wrote from Pehlivi materials: and that many of these contained authentic accounts of the life of Ardisheer there can be no doubt. We have every ground to suppose that the poet has, on this occasion, given us a faithful transcript from the authorities he followed.

CHAP. VI.

" who have none, may be deemed the most monstrous of all " societies. Religion may exist without a state, but a state " cannot exist without religion: and it is by holy laws, that a " political association can alone be bound. You should be to " your people an example of piety and of virtue, but without " pride or ostentation*." After many similar lessons, he concludes in the following words: " Remember, my son, that it is " the prosperity or adversity of the ruler which forms the happiness " or misery of his subjects; and that the fate of the nation depends " upon the conduct of the individual who fills the throne. The " world is exposed to constant vicissitudes; learn, therefore, to meet " the frowns of Fortune with courage and fortitude, and to receive " her smiles with moderation and wisdom. To sum up all:—may " your administration be such, as to bring, at a future day, the " blessings of those whom God has confided to our parental care, " upon both your memory and mine!"

This great monarch appears to have possessed those four essential qualities, which, he was wont to say†, should meet in a sovereign: " True and innate magnanimity of soul:"—" Real goodness of dis- " position:"—" Firmness enough to repress all who went out of " their proper ranks:"—" And principles of conduct which pre- " vented those who obeyed him from ever entertaining apprehensions " regarding their property, their honour, or their lives."

A. D. 240. Shahpoor.

Shahpoor‡, the son of Ardisheer, was a prince of considerable reputation. One of the first wars, of any consequence, in which he

* Ferdosi. † Rozut-ul-Suffa.

‡ A hundred fables are told of the birth and education of Shahpoor, whose mother is said to have been a daughter of Arduan. This princess, according to one work, (Rozut-ul-Suffa,) was desirous to revenge the cause of her family by poisoning Ardisheer.

was engaged, was against Manizen, an Arabian chief; who, taking advantage of his absence in Khorassan, seized upon the Juzeerah, or countries between the Tigris and Euphrates, and having strongly fortified his capital of Khadr*, bade defiance to the Persian army. Manizen lost his power and life, through the treachery of his daughter, who, actuated either by love or ambition, betrayed him to Shahpoor, on a promise of sharing the bed of that monarch. But horror at her unnatural guilt prevailed over good faith; and, instead of being raised to a throne, she was delivered over to an executioner, to receive that death which she had so well merited.

Recovers the Juzeerah from Manizen.

After Shahpoor had conquered the greater part of the Juzeerah†, he marched against Nisibis‡, which long resisted his efforts to

She was discovered in the attempt, and delivered over to a minister to be put to death: but was secretly preserved, by declaring herself pregnant. The child, the infant Shahpoor, was carefully reared. The minister who had ventured on this act of disobedience, afterwards revealed it to his sovereign, when he was lamenting that he had no heir. Ardisheer was overjoyed, but was desirous of trying whether he could recognise his own offspring among others of a similar age. A number of youths, among whom was the young prince, were commanded to play a match at balls before the king. In the course of the play, the ball was struck close to the throne: all the boys stood aloof, except one, (the young Shahpoor,) who went forward with confidence, and picked it up. The monarch looked anxiously at his minister; who, overjoyed at an incident that displayed such superior courage, bade him embrace his son.—This story, which I have taken from the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, is related by all Persian historians.

* This fortress is also termed Khazm.

† Juzeerah means Island, and is here applied to the countries between the Euphrates and Tigris: the Mesopotamia of the ancients.

‡ The famous Nisibis: a fort situated between the Tigris and Euphrates. The possession of which was continually contested by the Romans and Persians. It was taken after Shahpoor had subdued Armenia. Persian authors term this fort Nisibyn and Nisibi.

CHAP. VI.

Takes Nisibis.

subdue it. According to Persian authors, this celebrated fortress was at last taken, more through the effect of the prayers than the arms of his soldiers*. For, wearied with the siege, Shahpoor commanded his army to unite in supplications to the Divinity for its fall: and Persian authors state, that the wall actually fell as they were imploring Heaven for success. After he had taken Nisibis, Shahpoor carried his arms into the Roman territories. He gained many and important victories over that nation, whose emperor, Valerian, he made prisoner: and an emperor†, of his election, wore, for a short period, the purple of Cæsar. The reverses which the arms of this prince suffered in the latter part of his reign, are unnoticed by Persian historians. According to these, Shahpoor reigned thirty-one years, and was always prosperous. After his war with the Romans, he founded many cities, of which two received his own name; Nishapore‡, in Khorassan, which is still a respectable city; and Shahpoor, near Kazeroon, in the province of Fars‖. Of the last, hardly a

Marches into the Roman territories.

A. D. 260. Takes Valerian prisoner.

Founds Nishapore and Shahpoor.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The name of this pageant was Cyriadis, an obscure fugitive of Antioch. A captive Roman army was compelled to receive, with acclamations and pretended joy, the emperor that the proud victor imposed upon them. The first act of the pageant was, to conduct Shahpoor, by rapid marches, to Antioch, then the capital of the Roman empire in the East, which was taken, and plundered. The Persian king treated all the Roman provinces and towns which he subdued like an eastern conqueror, and destroyed what he could not hope to preserve: but his army suffered greatly in their retreat (which was encumbered with spoils and captives,) from the active valour of Odenathus, Chief of Palmyra, whose proffered friendship and splendid presents, Shahpoor, in the proud hour of victory, had treated with scorn.

‡ The prefixed syllable, *Ni*, means reed; and is said to allude to those reeds found in the marsh on which this city was originally founded. Nishapore, some authors state, was first built by Tahamurs, destroyed by Alexander, and rebuilt by Shahpoor.

‖ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

trace is left, except the sculptured rocks*; by which, it appears, this monarch was desirous of perpetuating to the latest ages of the world his victory over the Romans, and the great glory he had acquired by making captive one of the Cæsars†. In the character which the eastern writers give of this prince, they dwell chiefly on his personal courage and boundless liberality. According to them, he only desired wealth, that he might use it for good and great purposes.

A. D. 271. Hoormuz.

Hoormuz, the son of Shahpoor, (the Hormisdas of Greek authors,) is said to have resembled, both in person and character, his grandfather, Ardisheer. The mother of this monarch was the daughter of Mahrek, a petty prince, whom Ardisheer had put to death, and whose family he had persecuted, because an astrologer had predicted that a descendant of Mahrek should attain the throne of Persia. This lady, to evade the fate of her family, had fled to the tents of a shepherd, where she was seen by Shahpoor when hunting. The prince became enamoured, and married her, but carefully concealed his having done so from Ardisheer‡, who, however, going one day unexpectedly to his son's house, saw young Hoormuz. He was greatly pleased with the appearance of the child, and made inquiries, which compelled Shahpoor to confess all that had happened. The joy of the old king was excessive: "The prediction of the astrologers," he exclaimed, "which gave me such alarm, is, thank God! confirmed, and a descendant of Mahrek shall succeed to my crown."

* An account of this sculpture will be given in a subsequent chapter.

† The Emperors of Rome are always termed, in Persia, the Cæsars, or Kysurs.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VI.

Extraordinary action when governor of Khorassan.

The most authentic histories* of Persia relate a very extraordinary action of Hoormuz, before that prince ascended the throne. His father, Shahpoor, had appointed him Governor of Khorassan, where he had distinguished himself, not only by repelling invaders, but in preserving the internal tranquillity of that unsettled and rebellious province. This conduct, however, did not prevent some envious and designing men from exciting suspicions of his son's fidelity in the breast of Shahpoor. Hoormuz was soon made acquainted with the success of his enemies. He saw the ruin that was impending; and caused one of his hands to be cut off, and sent it to his father, desiring him to accept that unquestionable mark of his devoted allegiance. Shahpoor, we are told, was struck with horror at the act which his rash suspicions had led his son to commit. He directed him to repair to court; and not only treated him with complete confidence, but loaded him with every favour that an unbounded affection could bestow. This virtuous prince only reigned one year. He founded the City of Ram-Hoormuz, where they show an orange tree† which he is believed to have planted, and which is on that account still venerated by the inhabitants.

Builds the City of Ram-Hoormuz.

A. D. 272. Baharam succeeds to the throne.

Baharam, the son of Hoormuz, succeeded that monarch. He was a mild and munificent prince, and much loved by his subjects, whom he ruled with moderation and justice. The most remarkable act of his reign was, the execution of the celebrated Mani, the founder of the sect of the Manichæans, and the author, if we believe eastern historians, of a book called Ertang, which he pretended was divine, and in which he endeavoured to reconcile the

* Rozut-ul-Suffa and Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. † Moullah-Saaduck's MSS.

doctrines of the Metempsychoses as taught by the Hindoos, and the two principles of good and evil of Zoroaster, with the tenets of the Christian religion*. Among many of the followers of the latter faith, a belief was entertained of the early fulfilment of the promise which Christ had made, to send a comforter after him. To gain these, Mani boldly declared himself the Paraclete. He appears to have trusted chiefly to his pencil for success: and his paintings† were deemed miraculous in countries where that art was hardly known. This bold impostor made many converts, but was forced by Shahpoor to fly from Persia, whence he went to Tartary and China‡, and did not return till the reign of Baharam. That prince at first showed a disposition to embrace his faith; though most authors contend this was a mere pretext, to lull Mani and his followers into a fatal security. The result was of a nature to confirm this opinion: Mani, and almost all his disciples, were put to death by order of Baharam; and the skin of the impostor was stripped off, and hung‖ up at the gate of the City of Shahpoor§. Baharam only reigned three years and three months; during which, Persia enjoyed perfect tranquillity.

Puts Mani, and all his disciples, to death.

* Sir William Jones inadvertently adds, "with several tenets of the Koran:" but as Mani lived many years before Mahomed, he could not have borrowed from that volume.—See Sir W. JONES's *Works*, Vol. VI. p. 601.

† To add to the effect of his doctrines and paintings, he withdrew for a period from the world, and concealed himself in a cavern while he finished those works, which, on his reappearance, he declared had descended to him from Heaven.

‡ According to some authors, he also visited India.

‖ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

§ In Fars, near Kazeroon, which appears to have been then the capital of the empire.

CHAP. VI.

A. D. 276. Is succeeded by Baharam the Second.

This prince was succeeded by his son, Baharam the Second*, who so much disgusted all his nobles by some very tyrannical acts, that they entered into a conspiracy to depose and slay him. His life was preserved by the virtue of the chief pontiff, who begged that they would permit him to make an effort to reclaim their sovereign before they threw off their allegiance. They agreed to his proposal; and, in conformity with his advice, they absented themselves from court. The king wandered through his palace alone: he saw no one: all was silence around. He became alarmed and distressed†. At last the chief pontiff appeared, and bowed his head in apparent misery, but spoke not a word. The king entreated him to declare what had happened. The virtuous man boldly explained what had passed; and conjured Baharam, in the name of his glorious ancestors, to change his conduct, and to save himself from destruction. The king was much moved, professed himself most penitent; and added, that he was resolved his future life should prove the sincerity of his present sentiment. The overjoyed high priest, delighted at the success of his scheme, made a signal, at which all the nobles and attendants were, in an instant, (as if by magic,) in their usual places. The monarch perceived from this, that only one opinion prevailed on his past conduct. He repeated, therefore, to his nobles all he had said to the chief pontiff, and his future reign was unstained by cruelty or oppression. But the reform of the monarch did not preserve his country from the miseries that were produced by his weakness. It was during the reign of this prince, that the Roman emperor, Carus, conquered Mesopotamia, carried his arms across the Tigris,

A. D. 283. Carus conquers Mesopotamia and Ctesiphon.

* Some authors term him the fourth of that name.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

and made himself master of Ctesiphon. Persia appears, at this period, to have been in such a state of internal distraction, that nothing but the death of Carus could have saved it from being completely subdued. The indolent and luxurious Baharam was altogether unequal to contend against a veteran, who, though vested with the purple, retained all the rigid habits of a Roman soldier*.

A. D. 293. Baharam the Third.

Baharam, after a reign of seventeen years†, was succeeded by his son, Baharam the Third‡, who was only remarkable from the desire he showed to refuse the crown, which, we are informed, he was compelled by the nobles of the empire to accept. His reign is hardly noticed by Persian historians, and it is undistinguished by any event of consequence. He, indeed, only filled the high station forced upon him for the short period of four months.

Is succeeded by Narsi.

His brother, Narsi‖, (the Narses of the Greeks,) who succeeded

* We are told, that the ambassadors which Baharam sent to Carus entered the camp about sunset, at the time when the troops were satisfying their hunger with a frugal repast. They expressed their desire of being introduced to the presence of the Roman emperor. They were at length conducted to a soldier, who was seated on the grass. A piece of stale bacon, and a few hard peas, composed his supper. A coarse woollen garment of purple was the only circumstance that announced his dignity. The conference was conducted with the same disregard of courtly elegance. Carus, taking off a cap, which he wore to conceal his baldness, assured the ambassadors, that unless their master acknowledged the superiority of Rome, he would speedily render Persia as naked of trees, as his own head was destitute of hair. The ministers of the great king trembled, and retired.—GIBBON, Vol. II. page 95.

† Some authors state, that he reigned thirteen years.

‡ Varanes the Third of Roman history. He lived in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian.

‖ According to the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, this prince succeeded his father, Baharam the Second. The short reign of his brother is not noticed in that work.

CHAP. VI.

him, does not enjoy a much higher place than Baharam the Third in the page of Persian history; though he appears, from the little that is said of him, to have devoted himself more than his predecessor to the cares of government. After a reign of nine years*, he abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Hoormuz; and survived that act but a very short period.

We meet, in the page of western writers, with a fuller narrative of the reign of Narsi†; a prince who subdued almost all Armenia‡, and from whom the Emperor Galerius suffered a signal defeat on the same field which had been so fatal to Crassus‖ and his legions. Though Persian historians are general and indistinct in their relation of the events of this period, we can hardly account for the omission of an event so gratifying to their national pride: but they were, perhaps, withheld from recounting his victories from a desire to avoid the mention of his subsequent discomfiture; for Narsi did not long enjoy his success. The Romans advanced next year into Persia; and their emperor, taught by experience, left the plains of Mesopotamia on the right, and carried his forces§ through the mountains of Armenia, which were more favourable for the operations of infantry, in which the strength of his army chiefly consisted. In this second

Defeats the Emperor Galerius.

A. D. 296.

A. D. 297.

* Tuarikh Muajem. The Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh states, that this prince reigned fourteen years. The date assigned to him by the Tuarikh Muajem accords with western historians.

† Though but few events are recorded of this monarch by Mahomedan writers, I am told, by Moullah Firoze, that he is deemed among the Parsees, or Guebers, a prince of great fame: but this was probably from his piety, and great attachment to the tenets of Zoroaster.

‡ Tuarikh Muajem.

‖ Gibbon, Vol. II. page 145.

§ Gibbon's Roman Empire.

campaign he made a sudden attack on the Persians, whom he defeated with great slaughter. Their monarch was wounded, but escaped; leaving his family, his sumptuous tents, and his costly equipage, as a prize to the victors. The greatest respect and humanity were shown by Galerius to his royal captives. And soon after this action a peace was concluded with Persia: the terms of which mark the reduced state of that empire. The great province of Mesopotamia (or the Juzeerah) was ceded to the Romans. Five districts to the eastward of the Tigris were also given to that nation. This last cession included the greatest part of Carduchia, the modern Kurdistan; a country more fruitful in soldiers than in grain: but which, from its strength and position*, commanded all the western part of Persia. The five districts ceded to the Roman emperor, had before belonged to the kingdom of Armenia; and, as the war had been undertaken by Galerius in defence of Teridates†, the ruler of that country, the fine province of Atropatene (the modern Aderbijan) was extorted from Narsi, as a compensation to the Armenian prince for that part of his inheritance which had been made over to the Romans. Teridates, on taking possession of this province, made Tauris (the modern Tabreez) his capital, and greatly ornamented that city.

Is defeated by Galerius.

Concludes a peace, by which he makes great cessions.

Hoormuz the Second‡, the son of Narsi, ruled Persia seven years and five months. No events of any consequence occurred during

Hoormuz the Second. A. D. 303.

* I travelled through this country in 1810; and should judge, from what I have read and seen of its inhabitants, that they have remained unchanged in their appearance and character for more than twenty centuries.

† Probably *Teerdad*, literally "the gift of the arrow;" metaphorically, "the gift of the planet Mercury," which is called Teer, or the arrow, and was one of the divinities of ancient Persia.

‡ Hormisdas the Second of Roman history.

CHAP. VI.

A. D. 310.

the reign of this prince. At his death, he left no son; and the kingdom was on the point of being thrown into confusion, when the principal mobuds, or priests, and chief officers of government, declared that one of the ladies in the haram was pregnant, and that there were certain indications of the embryo being a male*. The next process was to crown the expected sovereign of Persia; which was done by suspending the royal tiara over the invisible head of the unborn monarch, who received, in this state, the daily obeisance of his court. When the child was brought forth, it was, by the unanimous voice of the nobles, named Shahpoor: and every care was taken to give the young sovereign an education suited to his high duties. The whole nation appear to have taken the most affectionate interest in his progress to manhood; and the early indications of sense and spirit that Shahpoor displayed, spread an universal joy over the kingdom†. The minority of this prince presented an opportunity to the surrounding nations, the temptation of which they could not resist: and the empire was at once invaded by the Greeks, the Tartars, and the neighbouring Arab tribes of Ben-Ayar, and Abdul-Kais, who, leaving their arid plains on the southern shores of the Gulf‡, carried fire and sword into the fertile vallies of Persia. It was against the latter tribes that the first efforts

Birth of Shahpoor the Second.

The empire invaded by the Greeks, Tartars, and Arabs.

* The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh states, that the lady herself affirmed her belief of this fact, from the extraordinary liveliness of the infant, and its lying on the right side. It will remain with those who are sage on such subjects to determine, what right she had to be positive from these symptoms.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ These tribes are represented to have been inhabitants of Lahssa and Bahrein. The latter name is, I believe, not limited in history to the island in the gulf of that name, but includes a considerable tract of the adjacent continent.

of the youthful monarch were directed; and he took a terrible vengeance for all the excesses they had committed in Persia. The manner of his chastisement of these tribes, is perpetuated in his title of Zoolaktaf*, or the Lord of the Shoulders; which originated from his having directed the shoulders of the captives to be pierced, and then dislocated by means of a string that was passed through them. Shahpoor meant, by this cruel punishment, to strike terror into the Arabs, and to revisit upon them the horrid atrocities which they had committed in Persia.

Eastern historians have decorated the life of Shahpoor with fables, which appear more extravagant from being wholly unnecessary to his glory. That, as far as it depended upon his success against the Romans, would have been sufficiently confirmed by a plain and true narrative of the actual events of his long and splendid reign. But, while the most important of these are passed over in silence, or noticed in a very general manner, they dwell upon a strange and improbable tale, which represents this proud and powerful monarch as leaving his kingdom to become a spy: as being taken at a royal feast at Constantinople, from the resemblance which he bore to his picture in the possession of the emperor: suffering, while a captive, every degradation that could be inflicted: and

Shahpoor becomes a spy, and is taken at Constantinople.

* It is also written Zaulachtaf. Eastern authors are agreed with respect to the origin of this title. Gibbon confounds the irruption of the Arab tribes with an attack made by a chief of the Juzeerah, called Tayer, who made prisoner a sister, or female relation, of Shahpoor: and tells us, that after conquering this prince, he treated him with such humanity, that he was called Dhoulacnaf, or Protector of the Arab nation. This is evidently an error, as there is no difference in oriental writers with regard to the origin of the appellation given to Shahpoor.

CHAP. VI.

Suffers every disgrace.

Makes his escape.

Takes the Roman emperor.

being at last carried, harnessed like a horse, with the Roman army, to witness the most dreadful scenes of pillage and devastation committed upon his kingdom*. From this situation he is said to have made his escape while his guards were enjoying themselves at a feast; and to have retaliated all his disgraces and injuries upon the Roman emperor, who was, according to this romance, taken prisoner when his army was defeated, and only released after ten years' close confinement: during which period, the captives had been compelled to repair by their labour the injury they had done in Persia, even to the replanting the smallest trees which they had destroyed.

The Romans attack Persia. A. D. 363.

These fables refer to the general success of the Persians during the reign of the Emperor Constantius; and their authors inform us, that, after the return of the Roman emperor to his own territories, a person descended from the great Constantine took possession of his throne, and assembled a numerous army to attack Persia. The Arab tribes, they add, who were eager for revenge, readily joined the Romans; and their united force amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand men†. Shahpoor declined meeting this formidable army at the frontiers, being sensible, that if he suffered a defeat, which their overwhelming numbers rendered probable, he should be ruined. He retreated to one of the interior provinces; and, collecting all the force he could, he advanced to give battle. After a dreadful

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The great army here alluded to, was commanded by the celebrated Emperor Julian: the particulars of whose success and death are not noticed by Persian historians. These, indeed, do not even mention the famous battle of Singarah, in which Shahpoor gained his greatest victory over the Roman Emperor Constantius.

conflict*, in which, we are told, he made the greatest personal efforts, his army was routed with immense slaughter, and Shahpoor himself barely saved his life by flying with a few followers. He soon, however, recruited his army, and recommenced operations: to which he was more encouraged from the retreat of his victorious enemy, in pursuit of whom he advanced into the Roman territory, and sent ambassadors to their emperor with the following message†:

Shahpoor is defeated.

Sends ambassadors to the Roman emperor.

"I have reassembled my numerous army. I am resolved to revenge "those of my subjects who have been plundered, made captives, "and slain. It is for this object that I have bared my arm, and "girded my loins. If you consent to pay the price‡ of that "blood which has been shed, to deliver up the booty which has "been plundered, and to restore the City of Nisibis, which is in "Irak‖, and properly belongs to our empire, though now in your "possession, I will sheath the sword of war: but, should you not "assent to these terms, the hoofs of my steed, which are hard as "steel, shall efface the name of the Romans§ from the earth: and "my glorious scimitar, that destroys like fire, shall exterminate the "people of your empire." According to Persian history, this proud

* The author of the Rozut-ul-Suffa says, that the particulars of this action will remain engraven on the page of time till the day of judgment. He leaves his readers to consult that page as to all particulars, limiting himself to the mere mention of the defeat.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ This practice of paying the price of blood for those who had been murdered, is coeval with the earliest traditions of barbarous nations: and it is a natural demand from an arrogant and powerful monarch to make from an alarmed enemy.

‖ Irak is divided into two great provinces, Irak-e-Ajum and Irak-e-Arab: the Irak of Persia and Arabia. Nisibis, of course, belonged to the latter.

§ Sometimes called Grecians.

CHAP. VI.

and insulting message had the desired effect. The alarmed Emperor of Constantinople agreed to the terms prescribed: and the famous City of Nisibis* was delivered over to Shahpoor, who immediately sent a colony of twelve thousand men, drawn from Fars and Irak, to inhabit it, and to cultivate the lands in its vicinity†. Such is the account which Persian authors give of the expedition of the celebrated Roman emperor, Julian. The great victory which they ascribe to that sovereign, must allude to his passage of the Tigris, and the action which he fought near the walls of Ctesiphon. They state, with fairness and truth, the conduct which Shahpoor adopted. The usual process of laying waste the country, and harassing the enemy by predatory attacks, was resorted to with success. The retreat of Julian is mentioned, but not his death: but this silence may be easily accounted for. It might be deemed a diminution of the glory of Shahpoor, to refer the great triumph he obtained to any cause but his own wisdom and valour.

Who delivers over the City of Nisibis.

A. D. 381. His death.

The reign of Shahpoor was, according to some Persian historians‡, a few months longer than his life; and he died at seventy-one years of age. Others state that he was not crowned till he was born, and that the crown was then suspended over his infant head. This difference is of little consequence: for there can be no difficulty in giving

* By the ignominious treaty of Dura, which is that to which the Persian author alludes; and which was concluded by the Emperor Jovian, after the death of Julian. The five provinces to the east of the Tigris, which Narsi had granted to the Romans, were restored. Nisibis, which had often resisted his arms, was given up, and its inhabitants forced to remove from the city and its surrounding country, to make way for a Persian colony. The greater part of Mesopotamia became a province of Persia. The Prince of Armenia was abandoned: and almost all the advantages obtained from the victory of Galerius, and the peace concluded by that emperor and Diocletian, were relinquished.

† Rozut-ul-Suffa.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

credit to either account. Those loyal and virtuous considerations which led the nobles of Persia to preserve their country from the troubles of a disputed succession, must have induced them to give their resolution all the impression that it could receive from the strictest observance of outward forms: and when we consider their conduct in this light, their obedience to the unborn Shahpoor, (after their priests had satisfied them that the embryo would be a male,) appears as rational and praiseworthy as if granted to an infant. The same wisdom which led them to preserve the crown for Shahpoor, prompted them to give him an education worthy of his elevated rank: and no history affords an example of loyal care better rewarded. Shahpoor seems to have been all that his subjects could desire. During his long reign, he raised his country to a state of the greatest prosperity; having defeated all his enemies, and extended the limits of the empire in every direction. His success against the Romans forms that part of his history of which his countrymen are with justice most proud. He not only obtained possession of the impregnable Nisibis, and recovered a great part of Mesopotamia and the five provinces on the western frontier of Persia, that his ancestors had lost; but he reduced the country of Armenia, from an independant principality, (which had always been supported by the Roman emperors,) to be a province of his empire. In effecting the latter object, he is accused of having had recourse to treachery*: but this, even if true, would tend little to diminish his glory with his own subjects or their posterity.

Government and character.

* He is said to have persuaded Tiranus, the King of Armenia, to come to his court; to have seized him at a festival; and to have thrown him into a dungeon, where his life soon terminated.—GIBBON, Vol. IV. page 312.

CHAP. VI.

Shahpoor appears to have been a prince alike remarkable for wisdom, valour, and military conduct. Some of his observations have been preserved, that show great knowledge of the human mind. "Words," this monarch used to say, "may prove more vivifying "than the showers of spring, and sharper than the sword of destruc- "tion. The point of a lance may be withdrawn from the body, "but a cruel expression can never be extracted from the heart that "it has once wounded*."

Ardisheer the Second succeeds to the throne.

A. D. 381.

Ardisheer the Second† succeeded Shahpoor. We are informed by some authors, that this prince was the son of Hoormuz, and consequently the brother of the deceased monarch. But this descent‡ is at variance with those extraordinary facts relative to Shahpoor's succession, in which all eastern historians are agreed. Ardisheer sat upon the throne of Persia only four years; during which period no event of consequence occurred. He was deposed by Shahpoor||, the son of Shahpoor-Zoolactaf. This prince, who is described as virtuous and beneficent, reigned over Persia only five years. He was killed by the fall of his tent; the cordage of

A. D. 385. Is deposed by Shahpoor the Third.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Artaxerxes the Second. He succeeded to the throne of Persia in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius.

‡ The author of the Tuarikh Tubree gives countenance to this descent of Ardisheer; but reconciles it with the undisputed facts connected with Shahpoor's elevation, by stating, that Hoormuz disinherited Ardisheer, who was his first born, in favour of the unborn Shahpoor, and the nobles attended to his will. But this is an improbable fable. Other authors say, Ardisheer was an uterine brother of Shahpoor the Second; and that he was never raised to the throne of Persia, but was regent of the kingdom till his nephew came of age

|| Sapor the Third of Roman historians. He also succeeded to the throne during the reign of Theodosius.

which was broken by the violence of a whirlwind*, and the pole struck the monarch as he slept. Shahpoor was succeeded by his brother, Baharam the Fourth†, who is distinguished from other princes of the same name, by his title of Kermanshah, which he received from having, during the reign of his brother, filled the station of ruler of the province of Kerman‡: and he has perpetuated it by founding the City of Kermanshah, which is now a large and prosperous town, and the capital of one of the present divisions of Persia. Within five miles of this town is the fine sculpture of Tahk-e-Bostan, which will be hereafter noticed. The inscriptions‖ on this sculpture leave no doubt that it was made by order of Baharam, who desired to perpetuate his own name§, and that of his glorious father. He reigned, according to some accounts¶, eleven years: and to others**, fifteen. He was killed by an arrow when endeavouring to quell a tumult in his army.

Death of Shahpoor the Third.

Is succeeded by Baharam the Fourth. A. D. 390.

Founds the City of Kermanshah.

Is killed.

The throne of Persia was next filled by Yezdijird-Ulathim, or the Sinner, whom some authors term the brother, and others the son, of

Yezdijird-Ulathim. A. D. 404.

* These violent gusts are very common in Persia. I have seen a line of tents levelled by their force, and some of them carried to a distance from the spot where they were pitched.

† This prince was the son of Shahpoor-Zoolactaf. He is Varanes the Fourth of Roman history.

‡ The ancient Carmania.

‖ These inscriptions have been translated by that learned orientalist, Sylvester de Sacey.

§ The name of this prince in the inscription is Vararam, or Varaham, which approximates the Roman name, Varanes: Baharam is a Persian corruption of the ancient name. It is the fashion to exclaim against the corruption of eastern names by the Greeks and Romans: but we should be more fully acquainted with the languages used when these wrote, before we pronounce so decidedly upon their incorrectness.

¶ Rozut-ul-Suffa.

** Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VI.

his predecessor, Baharam. This monarch is represented, by Persian authors*, to have been a cruel prince, destitute of virtue, and abandoned to luxury: and, we are told, the nation rejoiced when he was killed by the kick of a horse, after a reign of sixteen years. He had many children: but none of his sons lived to maturity, except Baharam, whom he had intrusted† to the care of Noman‡, the ruler of all those Arab tribes who lived under the protection of the Persian government.

Is killed. A. D. 420.

His character, by oriental writers; by western writers.

The character of Yezdijird (the Isdigertes of the Greeks,) is very differently given by oriental and western writers: the former, as has been stated, represent him as a monster of cruelty, whose death was hailed as a blessing by all ranks of his subjects: according to the latter, he was a wise and virtuous prince. One writer‖ informs us, that it was a solitary instance of the wisdom of the Emperor Arcadius to leave Yezdijird the protector of his infant son, Theodosius; and that the royal guardian executed his trust with unexampled fidelity. The truth of this remarkable fact is not denied by a Christian writer; who, at the same time, deems it a crime in Arcadius to have committed such a charge to a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. But we are told by the able historian§ who records this extraordinary tradition, that it is not confirmed by other writers, and consequently not deemed worthy of credit. Still it proves that the reputation of Yezdijird among western nations was high. It was, perhaps, that very indulgence and toleration which obtained him this fame among

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, &c.

† He was induced to this by the advice of astrologers; who said, it was the only mode in which the life of the young prince could be preserved.

‡ The son of Omar-ul-Kais.

‖ Procopius.

§ Gibbon, Vol. V. page 413

strangers, that has caused his name to be handed down with execration by the bigots* of his own country. But even those have preserved some of his sayings, which breathe a spirit that contradicts the character that they have given of him. Yezdijird, they inform us, often remarked, "That the most wise of monarchs was he who "never punished when in rage, and who followed the first impulse "of his mind to reward the deserving." He used also to observe, "That whenever a king ceased to do good actions, he necessarily "committed bad; and that the thoughts of eternity could not, for "a moment, be absent from the mind without its verging towards "sin."

A. D. 420. Obstacles to the succession of Baharam the Fifth.

At the death of Yezdijird, there would appear to have been some obstacles to the succession of Baharam. The luxurious nobles of the Court of Madain dreaded a monarch who had been educated among Arabs; and who might, they conceived, have acquired habits opposite to those of his country: and, under this impression, they actually raised another prince† of the royal family to the throne: but this proceeding only afforded to the true heir an opportunity of showing his courage‡ and magnanimity; and Baharam obtained his right almost without a struggle.

Another prince raised.

* I have repeatedly stated, that the first historians, or rather preservers of traditions, in ancient Persia, as in all other rude states, were the priesthood of the country: and we must peruse their accounts with allowance for those prejudices which their occupation was likely to inspire.

† His name was Khoosroo.

‡ According to Persian historians, or rather fabulists, he advanced into Persia with a large army of Arabs; but, to save the blood of his countrymen, he proposed, that the crown of Persia should be placed between two furious lions, and that it should be given to the prince who had the courage to attack such guards. This was agreed to; and Khoosroo, the prince whom the nobles had elevated to the throne, was invited to the

CHAP. VI.

Baharam the Fifth succeeds to the throne.

Baharam the Fifth* is known, in Persian history, by the name of Baharam-Gour. The latter word signifies a wild ass: an animal to the chase of which this monarch was devoted. His first act was to reward Noman, who had educated him: his second, to pardon those who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. These acts of gratitude and of clemency disposed the hearts of all towards this prince; and his future conduct well deserved their affection. His munificence, his virtue, and his valour, are the theme of every historian of his reign. His generosity was not limited to his court or capital, but extended over all his dominions: no merit went unrewarded: and it is related, that his liberality was so unbounded, that his ministers, who dreaded the effects of its excess, presented a memorial to him, which pointed out how essential the possession of treasure was to support the dignity and the power of a monarch. Baharam wrote, under this representation: "If I am not to employ benefits and rewards to gain the "hearts of free men who render me their obedience, let those who "framed this memorial inform me, what means I am to use, to attach "such persons to my government†." It was under this sovereign, whose reign spread joy over Persia, that minstrels and musicians were first introduced into that kingdom. Baharam, we are told‡, observed a merry troop of his subjects dancing without music: he

His munificence, generosity, and liberality.

achievement: but the situation in which he saw the crown placed had deprived it of all its attractions in the eyes of that prince, and he declined the attempt. Baharam instantly flew at the lions; and, though almost unarmed, soon slew both, and seized the crown, amid the shouts of his subjects.

* Varanes the Fifth of Roman history. Some authors call him the sixth.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

inquired the cause: "We have sent every where, and offered," said one of them, "one hundred pieces of gold for a musician*, but in "vain." The king sent to India for musicians and singers; and twelve thousand were encouraged, by his munificence, to enter his dominions.

It appears that an impression was received among foreign powers, from the conduct of Baharam in this and similar instances, that not only the king, but his subjects, were immersed in luxury; and that the love of the dance and the song had superseded that martial spirit, which had so lately rendered Persia the terror of surrounding nations. The Khan of the tribes of Transoxania was the first who presumed to act upon this impression: he crossed the Oxus at the head of twenty-five thousand men†, and laid waste the whole of Khorassan. This invasion spread a dismay, which was greatly increased by the disappearance of Baharam, who, it was immediately concluded, had fled, from a sense of his inability to meet the impending storm. The result was, the universal terror of the Persians, and the unguarded confidence of the Tartars, whose sovereign thought the war was over, and that he had only to receive the submission of the Persian chiefs, who daily crowded to his standard and implored his favour and protection. But his dream of success was short. His camp was, one dark night, suddenly attacked and completely

The Khan of Transoxania invades Persia.

Baharam makes a sudden attack on the Tartars.

* There were, no doubt, always a few of this class in Persia. Since the days of Baharam they have abounded. It is a curious fact, that the dancing and singing girls of Persia are termed Kaoulee; a corruption of Cabulee, or "of Cabul;" which denotes the quarter from whence they came.

† Rozut-ul-Suffa. The Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh makes the number of his army two hundred and fifty thousand. I have followed the most moderate and probable statement.

CHAP. VI.

surprised*. The lost Baharam, at the head of seven thousand † of the bravest warriors of Persia, advanced against his enemies: upon the neck of every horse was a dried skin filled with small stones, which the rider rattled as he rushed to the charge: this astonishing and strange noise did not merely terrify the Tartars; their horses partook of the alarm of their masters, and the whole camp fled in terror and confusion. The slaughter was great; and the chief of the enemy fell under the sword of Baharam, who pursued the fugitives across the Oxus ‡. The use he made of this great victory, was to establish peace with all his neighbours ‖; and, after this was concluded, he returned to his capital.

The Tartar chief killed.

Persian historians recount a long fable respecting the adventures of Baharam in India: to which country, we are told, he travelled in disguise, leaving his government under the rule of his wise minister, Meher-Narsi: but such extravagant tales hardly deserve to be noticed. After his return from India, he was, according to the same authorities, very successful in some incursions which he made into the Arabian

Is successful against the Romans and Arabs.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Some authors state the numbers with the king as much fewer. I have followed the most probable account.

‡ The account of this glorious exploit of Baharam, is differently related by eastern historians. According to one, he did not conceal himself; but, making over the kingdom to his brother, Narsi, marched towards Aderbijan with a small body: a measure that persuaded the Tartars, and his own subjects, that he had fled. He afterwards returned, to surprise the enemy, by secret roads. If we believe some authors, this action did not take place in Khorassan, but at Rhè. These are immaterial points. The substance of what has been stated, is confirmed by every Persian historian.

‖ He is said to have erected a column on the banks of the Oxus, to mark the boundary of the Persian empire.

and Roman territories: and these flatterers assert, that he carried his arms to the vicinity of Constantinople: but we know that the contest between Baharam and the Emperor Theodosius was attended with no success of any consequence to either party. It ended in a truce for one hundred years. This war, we are informed by the eloquent historian of the Roman empire*, "though only remarkable for failures, and alike inglorious to the arms of both the "Romans and Persians, was immortalized by the conduct of "Acacius, Bishop of Amida. That truly Christian prelate boldly "declaring, that vases of gold and silver were useless to a God who "neither eats nor drinks, sold the plate of his church, employed the "money it produced in the redemption of seven thousand Persian "captives, supplied their wants with affectionate liberality, and dis-"missed them to their native country, to inform Baharam of the "true spirit of that religion which he persecuted."

Conduct of Acacius, Bishop of Amida.

The ruling passion of Baharam was the love of the chase. His favourite game was the gour, or wild ass, which is at once strong and fleet; and it was in pursuit of one of these that he lost his life; having suddenly come upon a deep pool, into which his horse plunged, and neither the animal nor his royal rider were ever seen again. This accident happened in a fine valley† between

Baharam's love of the chase.

Loses his life.

* Gibbon.

† When encamped in this valley, in 1810, I visited the ruins of one of this monarch's hunting-seats; and there I heard the following fable regarding the skill of this monarch as an archer, and the cause of this palace being built.

Baharam, proud of his excellence as an archer, wished to exhibit before one of his favourite ladies. He carried her to the plain, and an antelope was soon found, asleep.

CHAP. VI.

Shiraz and Isfahan, which is, to this day, called the vale of heroes; from being, (on account of its fine pasture and abundance of game,) the favourite resort, from the earliest ages, of the kings and nobles of Persia. The whole of this valley abounds in springs; some of which are very large, and of great depth: their sources under ground are supposed to communicate. It is not surprising, therefore, that the

The monarch shot an arrow with such precision, as to graze its ear. The animal awoke, and put his hind hoof to the ear, to strike off the fly, by which he conceived himself annoyed. Another arrow from the royal bow fixed his hoof to his horn. The exulting Baharam turned to the lady, in the expectation of her warm praises: she coolly observed, *Neeko kurden z pur kurden est;* that is, "Practice makes perfect." Enraged at this uncourtly observation, the king instantly ordered her to be sent into the mountains to perish. Her life was saved by the mercy of a minister, who allowed her to retire to a small village, on the side of a hill. She there lodged in an upper room, to which she ascended by twenty steps. Immediately after her arrival, she bought a small calf, which she regularly carried once up and down the flight every day. This exercise she continued four years; and the improvement of her strength kept pace with the increasing weight of the animal. Baharam, who had supposed his favourite dead, happened, after a fatiguing chase, to stop one evening at this village. He saw a young woman carrying a large cow up a flight of twenty steps. He was astonished, and sent to inquire, how strength so extraordinary had been acquired by a person of so apparently delicate a form. The lady said, she would communicate her secret to none but Baharam; and to him, only on his condescending to come alone to her house. The monarch instantly went; and on his repeating his admiration at what he had seen, she bid him not lavish praises where they were not due: "Practice makes perfect," said the lady, in her natural voice, and at the same time lifted her veil. The monarch recognised, and embraced his favourite. Pleased with the lesson she had given him, and delighted with that love which had led her to pass four years in an endeavour to regain his esteem; he ordered a palace to be built on the spot, to serve as a hunting-seat, and a commemoration of this event.

body of Baharam was never found, though every search* was made for it by his inconsolable mother.

His government and character.

Baharam-Gour was certainly one of the best monarchs that ever ruled Persia. During the whole of his reign, the happiness of his subjects was his sole object. An anecdote is related of him, which shows at once his intimate knowledge of human nature, and the regard he paid to the feelings of every class of men in his dominions. He had a son who was considered an idiot†: it was in vain that the best masters endeavoured to instruct him: he appeared incapable of receiving their lessons: and hardly a hope was cherished of his improvement. One day his tutor told Baharam, that it was with grief he had discovered that the young prince added vice to his stupidity: "I have detected him," he said, "in an endeavour to seduce the "beautiful daughter of a poor man who dwells in the vicinity of his "palace." The king's countenance beamed with joy at the intelligence. "Thank God the clay is kindled!" said the monarch to himself. He immediately sent for the father of the girl, and addressed him in the following terms: "I wish not to trifle with "your honour, or with that of any man in my kingdom; but your "daughter may become the instrument of a nation's happiness. My "son loves her, and her power over him is therefore unbounded; bid "her use it to awaken in him the desire of attaining perfection, to

* When encamped, in 1810, near the springs, into one of which Baharam had plunged, being aware of their dangerous nature, I directed that none of my escort should bathe. This order was unfortunately disobeyed by a young man of the 17th dragoons; and though reported a good swimmer, he was drowned: his body was recovered, being near the edge. The spring in which he lost his life, we were told, was the same into which Baharam had fallen.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VI.

" please her: she may, without danger to herself, give him sufficient " encouragement to keep hope alive, and love will do all the rest." The old man promised to lesson his daughter, who played her part to admiration: and the enamoured prince soon became all that his father or the nation could wish; and was as remarkable for his spirit and intelligence, as he had been before for his dulness and insensibility*.

Baharam ruled Persia eighteen years. He seems through life to have preserved the virtues and habits that were early impressed upon his mind by the precepts and example of the Arabian chief by whom he was educated†. His government was more simple and patriarchal than that of any monarch of Persia. He was, like a true Arab, enthusiastically devoted to the chase, and delighted in a wandering life: and it was this disposition that has given rise to the romance of his visit to India, which would appear an altogether improbable fable‡.

Yezdijird the Second. A. D. 438.

Baharam was succeeded by his son, Yezdijird the Second‖, a wise and brave prince, who took the best means of maintaining the prosperity of his empire, by cherishing the favourite ministers and officers of his father. During his whole reign, which was eighteen years, Persian historians only notice one war in which he was engaged with the Romans. The Emperor of Constantinople had,

* This has a remarkable resemblance to the tale of Cymon and Iphigenia, as told by our great poet, Dryden.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ The authors of the Ancient History have given this romance in their life of Baharam.

‖ Isdigertes the Second of the Romans. He succeeded to the throne during the reign of Theodosius the Younger.

these state, departed from the alliance formed with Baharam, and had ceased to pay tribute: but when the great army which Yezdijird sent, under his able minister, Meher-Narsi, had made a few marches into the Roman territories, the emperor * agreed to fulfil all the conditions of the former treaty between the two nations. This prince is distinguished from others of the same name by his title of Sipahdost, or the Friend of the Soldier; a term which sufficiently describes the impression entertained of his character.

Is succeeded by Hoormuz. A. D. 456.

Hoormuz, the younger son of Yezdijird, succeeded his father, of whom he was always the favourite. His elder brother, Firoze, had been appointed to the charge of a distant government, with a view of facilitating the project formed by Yezdijird, of leaving the succession to Hoormuz, who, at his father's death, was supported by the principal lords of the empire: but his brother, though at first compelled to fly across the Oxus, soon returned to assert his right at the head of a large army, formed of the warlike tribes of that quarter.

Account of the Scythians or Tartars.

Before the result of this contest, and the events to which it gave rise, are related, it will be useful to say a few words regarding the name and character of those tribes who inhabited, at this period, that great track of country which lies between the Oxus and Jaxartes. These received from the ancients the general name of Scythians, and are now known to Europeans under that of Tartars †. Though this country has been subject to a succession of warlike tribes, these have probably all been derived from one stock: for though known under many names, their habits and character have always been the same.

* Western writers do not notice this event; and the fact is not likely to be correct.

† This term is derived from Tatar, the name of a tribe; who, we are told by Abdul Ghazi, consisted of seventy thousand families.

CHAP. VI.

The Scythians of the Greeks differ in no essential degree from the Tartars of modern history. Before the time of Alexander, Transoxania was inhabited by a nation known by the generic name of Sacæ: and the Getæ and Massagetæ* were powerful tribes of that nation. The appellation given in the history of ancient Persia to the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes is Turan; but oriental authors give us no names of particular tribes at this period of their history: and all those who dwelt beyond the limits of Turan, to the east and north-east, were considered as belonging to Chin and Khatai: which countries, in their page, may be generally understood to designate that large tract which is known in modern geography as Chinese Tartary.

Getæ and Massagetæ.

We learn from every history, that from the most early ages to the present, the Nomades or pastoral tribes of this country have been continually changing: they have, in their turn, subdued others, and been conquered themselves. We find them sometimes improving and extending their dominions: and, at others, compelled to leave their pasture lands to the occupation of fiercer and more numerous hordes of barbarians; and forming, as they proceeded into the fertile plains of southern Asia, or of Europe, part of that great tide of violence and of rapine†, which, rising near the Frozen Ocean of the North, rolled, before its destructive waves subsided, to the furthest

The Nomades.

* The celebrated Afrasiab was probably the monarch of these tribes.

† The progress of the Tartar hordes is finely described in Scripture. Ezekiel, when prophesying of Gog and his people, says:—

"Thou shalt ascend, and come like a storm; thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the "land; thou, and all thy bands, and many people, with thee.

"And thou shalt say, I will go up to the land of unwalled villages; I will go to

bounds of the Indian Ocean, and the remotest shores of the Atlantic. CHAP. VI.

But this picture, however just, of a part of the inhabitants of Tartary, could never have applied to the whole. It describes the progress of great tribes who occupied the plains, and in their turns gave sovereigns to this vast country. There can, however, be no doubt that many races of men, unable to defend the level country against invaders, took refuge in those lofty and inaccessible mountains with which Tartary is every where intersected: and some of these have continued for generations to maintain inviolate their original language and usages*. Other inhabitants of this great region, devoted to the peaceful arts of husbandry and trade, must have been preserved, by the character of their occupations, from those violent changes to which the martial tribes were exposed: and the modern distinction of Turk and Taujeck, which, in its literal meaning, denotes men of military and of civil pursuits, has, we may safely conclude, existed from the most early ages in this extended country.

" them that are at rest, that dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls, and hav-
" ing neither bars nor gates.

" And thou shalt come from thy place, out of the north parts, thou, and many
" people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company, and a mighty
" army."

* The researches of Russian travellers have discovered many of these races, who are quite distinct in their manners from the modern Tartars and Turks, and who have also different languages. Ignorance delights in general description: but such, when applied to a vast empire, can never be true. It is a common fault of historians, to be desirous of giving, on all occasions, a finished picture of the nations of whom they treat: but such descriptions must, in many cases, be like finished maps of unsurveyed regions, which are only calculated to mislead.

CHAP. VI.

The Hiatilla.

We are informed by the historians of Europe, that the White Huns, who were called Hiatilla, but who were a tribe of Tartars that issued from plains near the north wall of China, made themselves masters of the country of Transoxania about the time of which we are writing. It is remarkable, that some of the most respectable oriental authors discontinue, at this period of history, to use the expression Turan in describing this country. They now term it Turkestan, and call its inhabitants Turks: and they describe this race sometimes as coming from beyond the Jaxartes; and at others, from China. But the oriental historians who write of ancient Persia, though often correct in general facts, have as little minute knowledge of dates as they have of geography; and they have, in this place, evidently anticipated the irruption of those Turkish tribes, who some years afterwards expelled the Hiatilla, or White Huns, from the lands that they had taken from the Sacæs, or Scythians. There is every ground to conclude, that it was an army of the Hiatilla that invaded Persia in the reign of Baharam-Gour: and it was to one of their kings that Firoze fled, to escape the effects of that combination, which his brother and the chief nobles had entered into, to exclude him from the throne. The name of this prince was, according to some Mahomedan authors, Khoosh-Nuaz: but this appellation, which may be interpreted, "The Bountiful Monarch," was probably only given to denote the kindness and liberality of this prince. Ferdosi calls him Faganish and Khakan. The latter is the title that has been assumed by the sovereigns of the great tribes of Turks, who afterwards expelled the Hiatilla, or Huns, from Transoxania. Khoosh-Nuaz (for I shall give him the name which his generous character so well merited,) espoused the cause of the

Firoze flies to Khoosh-Nuaz, King of Tartary.

exiled prince, and supported him with an army of thirty thousand troops, which, aided by the general defection of the Persians, who deserted his weak brother, obtained Firoze an easy victory; and the unfortunate Hoormuz was, after a short reign of little more than one year, dethroned, and put to death.

Hoormuz dethroned and put to death.

Firoze* (the Peroses of the Greeks,) soon evinced a disposition that gave all who had supported him reason to regret the success of their efforts in his favour; and, to a superstitious age, a dreadful drought† of seven years, which occurred after his elevation, appeared as a punishment from Heaven for the crime they had committed, in acting contrary to the will of the virtuous Yezdijird. Other historians, more favourable to Firoze, state, that, after putting to death Hoormuz, and some officers of rank, (acts essential to secure the throne,) he showed great clemency and justice; and that, during the dreadful famine that ensued, it was solely by his parental care of his subjects, that they were saved from total destruction; for, according to the same writers, his pious and incessant prayers had the effect of producing that rain which restored abundance to his exhausted kingdom. But it is from their actions that we must form our opinions of the characters of Asiatic princes: and those of Firoze are not of a nature that can lead us to credit such partial accounts. The great object of his life appears to have been to destroy the power of the generous monarch, to whom he owed his throne. He pretended to discover‡, from the evidence of some

Firoze. A. D. 458.

* This name is pronounced Piroz in Pehlivi.

† This drought, according to the author of the Tubree, was so excessive, that there was not even the appearance of moisture left in the beds of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

‡ This is the reason assigned by the author of the Rozut-ul-Suffa.

CHAP. VI.

Invades Tartary.

Tartar exiles, that their king was a tyrant to his subjects: and with the specious pretext of relieving these from his oppressive yoke, Firoze assembled a large force to invade Tartary. Khoosh-Nuaz, too weak to oppose the Persian army, retreated as it advanced; but he was soon enabled, by the noble devotion of one of his chief officers, not only to preserve his country, but to retaliate upon his enemies that ruin with which he was threatened. This officer entreated his prince, after communicating the plan he had formed, to order some of his limbs to be cut off, and his body to be otherwise mangled*, and then cast in a part of the road where he was likely to be found by the soldiers of the Persian army. This was done: he was taken up and carried to Firoze. "Who has reduced you to this sad condition?" said the king. "That cruel tyrant, Khoosh-Nuaz," was the answer. "And "for what?"—"Because I took the liberty that belonged to an old "and faithful servant, to represent the consequences of his bad "government, and to tell him how unequal he was to meet the "valiant troops of Persia, conducted by such a hero as Firoze. "But I will be revenged," he added, as he writhed with pain; "I will lead you, by a short route, where you shall, in a few "days, intercept the tyrant's retreat, defeat his disaffected army, "and rid the world of a monster." His situation, his words, and the apparent agony of his soul, left no doubt as to the sincerity of the Tartar chief. The Persian army marched: and it was not till they had been several days without water and food, and saw themselves surrounded by enemies whom they could not hope to escape, that they discovered they had been led to ruin, and that the conquest over them had been effected

Sufferings of the Persian army.

* One hand, one foot, his nose, and ears, were cut off.—*Rozut-ul-Suffa.*

by the art and courage of one patriotic hero, who had courted death in its most appalling form, to attain the glorious title of "The Preserver of his Country." CHAP. VI.

The greatest part of the army of Firoze perished in this desert; and that prince was only permitted to return with the survivors through the clemency of Khoosh-Nuaz, to whom he sent to solicit peace*. The Tartar monarch gave the following answer to his solicitations: "After I had loaded you with favours and benefits: "after I had furnished you with money and troops, to establish "you upon the throne of your father, you have, in gratitude "for such great obligations, collected an army, at the instance "of the most vile and despicable of men, and advanced into my "territories, for the purpose of destroying me. Fortune has not "been propitious to your wishes; and you are now reduced to "the extreme of distress: nevertheless, if you swear, in the most "solemn manner, not to make war upon me again, I will send "you back with honour to Persia, and grant you my aid, (should you "require it,) to maintain the throne of that kingdom†." Firoze was in no condition to refuse this offer: he took the most solemn oaths: and was not only permitted to return, but received every favour and attention in the power of his noble enemy to bestow. But the mind of Firoze was tormented by the recollection of the degradation he had suffered. The humanity and generosity of his enemy were hateful, as they made his own conduct appear more base, and inexcusable. Tortured by such reflections, he desired to wipe away what he deemed his disgrace, by the ruin of his benefactor. Firoze solicits peace.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Rozut-ul-Suffa.

CHAP. VI.

In defiance of the council of all the good men of his court, and of the remonstrances of the priests, who entreated him to think on the impiety of breaking his oath, he collected an army, delivered over his kingdom to a noble of the name of Sukhvar, and once more crossed the Oxus, resolved to conquer or to perish. Khoosh-Nuaz awaited his approach. He had directed that a long and deep trench should be cut in the rear of his army, over which two or three concealed pathways were left: and these, with the other parts of the trench, were covered with light broken twigs and earth, so as to resemble the plain. The Tartar prince, when Firoze advanced, presented, on the point of his lance, the treaty to which he had sworn; and exhorted the Persian monarch yet to desist, before he had destroyed his fame for ever. Firoze, who thought this attempt to obtain peace proceeded from fear, instantly rushed to the attack. The troops of Khoosh-Nuaz turned their backs before their enemies reached them, and fled with a rapidity which increased the ardour and courage of the Persians: but the columns of the flying army were carefully led over the few paths that had been left over the deep trench, which received their heedless pursuers. The Tartars instantly rallied, attacked*, and routed the dispirited remains of the Persians, very few of whom escaped from this action, in which their brave† but faithless prince lost his life, after a reign of twenty-six‡ years. Khoosh-Nuaz took an immense booty; and among the captives was a daughter of Firoze: but this generous ruler of the tribes of

Crosses the Oxus against Khoosh-Nuaz.

Is defeated, A. D. 484.

and killed.

* Agreeably to Gibbon, this event took place in 488.

† Firoze must have been remarkable for his courage, as he is called, in Persian history, Firoze Murdanah, or Firoze the Courageous, or Manly.

‡ Some authors only give him twenty-one.

Transoxania showed himself in every way superior to his enemies; and when Pallas, the son of Firoze, ascended the throne of Persia, he not only returned his sister, but all the other prisoners he had made, to that monarch.

Palasch ascends the throne.

When Pallas*, or Palasch, succeeded his father, his brother, Kobad, who had aspired to the throne, fled toward the territories of the Khakan. We are told, that, as this prince passed Nishapore, he spent one night with a beautiful young lady of that city, who, when he returned four years afterwards, accompanied by a large army, (with which the Khakan† had furnished him,) presented him with a fine boy, the fruit of their casual amour. He was delighted with the appearance of the child; and, as he was contemplating him, he received accounts, that his brother, Pallas, was no more, and that the crown of Persia awaited his acceptance. This intelligence reaching him at such a moment, made the superstitious prince conclude, that fortune already smiled on his son, whom he, from that day, treated with the greatest favour and distinction. He gave the infant prince the name of Nousheerwan: and, in this case,

Birth of Nousheerwan.

* The Valens of Roman history. This is the same name which occurs in the Parthian dynasty, and is called Vologeses by the Roman historians. This prince lived in the reign of the Emperor Zeno.

† This Khakan was the same Khoosh-Nuaz to whom Firoze had fled. Ferdosi says, Kobad was taken prisoner in the action in which his father lost his life; and that the Governor of Zabulistan, Suffrai, collected an immense army, and marched against Khoosh-Nuaz; a battle ensued, which was succeeded by negotiations, by which Khoosh-Nuaz gave up Kobad. Suffrai placed this prince on the throne, and deposed Pallas, after a reign of four years. But the Greek writers are probably right, who state, that Pallas was the brother of Firoze, and left by him as regent in his absence.

CHAP. VI.

as in many others, the belief of a good omen aided to produce its fulfilment. No events of consequence occurred during the reign of Pallas, which lasted four years. The name of that prince is not mentioned by some historians of this dynasty.

Kobad succeeds to the throne. A. D. 488.

Though Kobad* succeeded to the crown, all the affairs of the kingdom continued to be managed by Soukra† (or Sukhvar), his minister, who had made Pallas a mere pageant. He desired that Kobad should be the same: but that prince became impatient of restraint; and, irritated by the open neglect with which he was treated, secretly prevailed upon the commander of his forces, whose name was Shahpoor, to destroy Soukra.

The tenets of the impostor Mazdak.

The religious impostor, Mazdak‡, began to propagate his creed in the tenth year of Kobad's reign. The most alluring tenet of this new religion was, the community of females, and of property; a popular doctrine, which brought him numerous converts. The foundation of this leading principle of the religion of Mazdak was curious: he argued, that, as every thing animate and inanimate belonged to God, it was impious in man to claim, or to appropriate to himself, that which was the property of his Creator; and, as such, destined for the common use of all human beings. Mazdak forbade the use of flesh; and, clothed in coarse woollen, and devoted to prayer, gave, in his own person, an example of an abstemious and pious life. This impostor would probably have shared the fate of many others, and perished without a place on the page of history, had he not, by a pretended miracle, obtained a victory over the

* The Cabades of the Greeks. † Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ He was a native of Istakhr, or Persepolis. He is sometimes called Mozdek.

weak mind of Kobad, who became his zealous proselyte. He told that monarch, that he did not desire him to receive him as an apostle, till he witnessed some supernatural act that should confirm his mission. Kobad attended him, as he had requested, to the temple of fire, and heard and beheld Mazdak hold converse with the sacred flame: for he had so artfully placed a man behind it, that the voice which answered his questions, appeared to proceed from the fire itself. Kobad was completely convinced, and continued, during life, to believe in the truth of the doctrine of Mazdak, whose followers greatly increased during the reign of his royal convert. It is related*, that the impostor had the insolence to require that the king should give him the mother of Nousheerwan, in order to prove his sincerity in the religion he had embraced; and that Kobad would have complied, but for the anxious entreaties of the young prince, who prayed, with tears in his eyes, both to his father and Mazdak, that his mother might be saved from the disgrace of such prostitution. The progress of the new religion introduced complete anarchy into the state; every where the votaries of Mazdak seized the wives, the daughters, and the property of others. The king could not punish them, for their creed was his: but his nobles cherished other sentiments, and they soon saw that their union was essential to their preservation. They combined, seized Kobad, put him in prison, and raised his brother, Jamasp, to the throne. Their next attempt was to seize Mazdak: but his followers were too numerous, and they found themselves compelled to remain satisfied with what they had done. Kobad did not remain

Kobad becomes his proselyte.

Kobad is imprisoned, and his brother, Jamasp, raised to the throne.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VI.

long their prisoner: he was released by the art and address of a beautiful sister*; who, according to the accommodating religion of Mazdak, was connected with her brother by other ties than those of kindred. He fled, after he had escaped from prison, across the Oxus, and threw himself upon the monarch of Tartary; who enabled him to return, at the head of an army, to assert his rights: and his rebellious subjects, either actuated by repentance or fear, threw themselves upon his clemency. This generous, though weak monarch, forgave all, even his brother, Jamasp. After this occurrence, he resigned the whole power of the government into the hands of Zermihir, the son of Soukra; who had always been his favourite, and had attended him in his first flight to the court of Khoosh-Nuaz.

Is restored to the throne.

His death. A. D. 531.

Kobad carried on a successful war against the Roman Emperor, Anastasius: and died, after a long and diversified reign of forty-three years. He was the founder of several cities: among which were Burdah and Gunjah. The latter is still a town of importance: it stands on the frontiers of Georgia, and is, at present, in the possession of Russia. What a change has the lapse of some centuries produced! The empire of Persia, the great rival of the Roman power, now appears unable to resist the tide of civilisation and of conquest, which comes upon her, not from that fountain of early knowledge, the East, or the learned West, but from the frozen regions of the North; from a land unknown to her historians, long inhabited by wretched and savage tribes of ignorant barbarians, who, from a combination of powerful causes, the genius of some of their sovereigns,

* It has been said, she prostituted her person to effect this object. This fact is denied, or rather eluded, by the ingenuity of other authors, who seem anxious for the virtue of this sister-wife.

the example of southern Europe, and the influence of a religion which has every where improved the condition of mankind, have overcome all those natural obstacles which opposed their rise, and started, as if by magic, into great and imperial power.

City of Dara built.

It was during the latter years of the reign of Kobad, that the Romans built the famous fortified City of Dara, which was meant by the Emperor Anastasius to be an advanced post of sufficient strength to keep the Persians* in check. This fortified town was a source of constant jealousy to one empire, and of confidence to the other. It has been affirmed†, that it answered the object for which it was built for sixty years: but we must determine, before we adopt this conclusion, how far its erection provoked those attacks which it so long resisted, and which at last brought ruin not only on it, but upon all the Roman towns and territories in its vicinity.

Kobad left several sons; but he appears always to have shown the most decided preference for Nousheerwan: and that early sentiment of his mind must have every day gained strength, from an observation of the extraordinary wisdom and goodness which marked that prince's character. At his death, he bequeathed his kingdom to this favourite son‡. The testament was committed to the principal

* Vide Gibbon, Vol. VII. page 139. This author states, that Dara was in Mesopotamia, fourteen miles from Nisibis, and four days' journey from the Tigris. Dara had two walls; the interval between which was fifty paces wide, and meant for the cattle of the garrison. The fortifications appear to have been like those of the present day; walls, or curtains, defended by towers. In these last, and in the walls, were numerous loop-holes and galleries for the besieged. It had ditches, which were filled at pleasure from a river. † Gibbon.

‡ It is related, that Kobad made the following affectionate remonstrance to Nousheerwan, upon what he thought the only defect in his character. "I

CHAP. VI.

mobud, or high priest, and read by him to the assembled nobles of the empire, who immediately declared their cheerful submission to the will of their deceased sovereign: but Nousheerwan refused the proffered diadem, on the ground of his personal inability to reform the great abuses of the government. "All the principal offices," the prince exclaimed, "are filled by worthless and despicable men; "and who would, in such days, make a vain attempt to govern this "kingdom according to principles of wisdom and of justice. If I "should do my duty, I must make great changes; and the result of "these may be bloodshed: my sentiments respecting many of you "would perhaps alter; and families whom I now regard, would be "ruined. I have no desire to enter into such scenes: they are neither "suited to my inclination nor my character, and I must avoid them*." The nobles could not deny the truth of what he said; and convinced, for the moment, of the necessity of a reform, they took an oath to support him in all his measures, to give implicit obedience to all his orders, and to devote their persons and property to his service, and to that of their country.

Nousheerwan comes to the crown. A. D. 531.

Nousheerwan, satisfied by these assurances, ascended the throne, and assembled all his court; to whom, we are told, he made the following address: "That authority which I derive from my office,

"observe," said he, "every estimable quality united in you, but you have one fault; "you judge too severely of others. I desire, my son, you should act according to your "own opinions: but I should wish you to think more favourably than you do, both of "the character and judgment of other men. Depend upon it, more great enterprises "are defeated by distrust, than by confidence." Nousheerwan thanked his father, and promised amendment: he was true to his promise.—*Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.*

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

" is established over your persons, not your hearts: God alone can " penetrate into the secret thoughts of men. I desire that you should " understand, from this observation, that my vigilance and control " can extend only over your actions, not your consciences*: my " judgments shall always be founded upon the principles of " immutable justice, not upon the dictates of my individual will " or caprice: and when I shall, by such a proceeding, have " remedied the evils which have crept into the administration of " the state, the empire will be powerful, and I shall merit the " applause of posterity†."

The conduct of Nousheerwan was at first correspondent with his professions: but the moment he felt secure in his strength, he resolved to eradicate the baneful schism of Mazdak. The principles of the doctrine of this impostor have been already explained. His faith was at variance with the established worship of the kingdom; and its fundamental tenet was the annihilation of all property: anarchy was its certain result: and a monarch like Nousheerwan could not have required the aid of that resentment, which the insult he had received, during his father's lifetime, had kindled, to induce him to adopt every means for the speedy destruction of so dangerous a religion. But the numbers of Mazdak's followers might have compelled him to use artifice; and we cannot altogether reject that account which represents the just Nousheerwan as having been forced, by attention to the safety of the state, to stoop to an

* This, no doubt, implied his intention to exercise toleration towards the different religions that then distracted the empire; and justifies the opinion, that, in the commencement of his reign, he temporized with the followers of Mazdak.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VI.

unworthy stratagem in order to prevail upon the impostor, and a number of his followers, to assemble near his palace, where, instead of meeting that kind treatment which his promises had led them to expect, they were all put to death*: but it is more probable, and much more consonant to the character of this monarch, to credit that relation which states, that a man complained of his wife having been taken from him by a disciple of Mazdak. The king desired the pretended prophet to command his follower to restore the woman: but the mandate of the earthly monarch was treated with scorn and contempt, when its effect was contrary to what was deemed a sacred precept. Nousheerwan, enraged at this bold opposition to his authority, instantly ordered the execution of Mazdak, which was followed by the destruction of many of his followers, and the proscription of his delusive, but abominable tenets†.

Puts Mazdak, and all his followers, to death.

Nousheerwan was indefatigable in his endeavour to promote the prosperity of his dominions: he ordered all bridges, of every description, that had fallen into decay, to be repaired: he directed many

* The ground where they were ordered to assemble, had, according to this relation, been previously cut into deep wells and trenches, into which they were precipitated.

† Another account is given by the author of the Tubree of this transaction. It is stated, that Munzer, a prince of Arabia, who had revolted from Kobad, when he embraced the faith of Mazdak, returned to the court of his son; who, delighted at the event, said publicly, when both that prince and Mazdak were present, that he had only two wishes at heart. "One," said the monarch, "is accomplished by your return to "allegiance: the other," he added, "is to root out this new faith." Mazdak exclaimed, in a passion, "How can you cherish a thought of destroying a religion which so many "thousands have embraced?" Nousheerwan, offended at his violence, ordered him to be slain: and that act was followed by the death of his followers: and the women, children, and property they had taken, were restored to those to whom they belonged. —*Tarikh Tubree.*

new edifices to be built: and we are told by his flattering historians, that every town and village within his kingdom that had been destroyed, were restored and repeopled. He also founded schools* and colleges; and gave such encouragement to learned men, that philosophers from Greece resorted to his court†. He divided his empire into four great governments: the first comprising Khorassan, Seistan, and Kerman: the second, the lands dependent upon the Cities of Isfahan and Koom; the provinces of Ghelan, Aderbijan, and Armenia: the third, Fars and Ahwaz: and the fourth, Irak, which extended to the frontier of the Roman empire‡. The most excellent regulations were introduced for the management of these different governments; and every check established, that could prevent abuse of power in the officers appointed for their administration: but the vigilance and justice of the monarch were the great source of the prosperity of his territories: and historians have added to his merit, when they have attributed a part of the success and glory of his reign to the extraordinary wisdom of his favourite minister, Abouzurg-a-Mihir||, who was raised from the lowest station§ to the

Divides his empire into four great governments.

* The fables of Pilpay were introduced into Persia, from India, in his reign.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ In this division, Isfahan and Koom are separated from Irak, to which they belong: Mazenderan is not noticed. It might, perhaps, in the beginning of this reign, have been possessed by the Tartars. Irak includes, in this account, (as in most of those in ancient history,) both the Irak-Ajum and Irak-Arab of modern geography.

|| The Boozurg-Mihir of the Arabians.

§ The Persians are too much addicted to the marvellous, to allow a good and great man to attain his level by ordinary means. Abouzurg-a-Mihir was discovered, according to them, when a disciple of a great teacher at Merv, or Merou, by an officer of the king, who was travelling in search of some one who could interpret a dream of Nou-

CHAP. VI.

first rank in the kingdom, and whose virtues and talents have shed a lustre even on those of the great monarch, whose penetration discovered, and whose confidence employed them.

His wars with the Romans.

The accounts given by eastern and western authors of the successes of Nousheerwan, in his invasions of the Roman empire, differ but very little; some of the former have falsely asserted, that he took an emperor of the Romans prisoner*: and they have all, with a partiality that, in national historians writing of this monarch, seems almost excusable, passed over the few reverses which his arms sustained. But the disgraceful peace which the Emperor Justinian purchased at the commencement of the reign of Nousheerwan, the subsequent war, the reduction of all Syria, the capture of Antioch†, the unopposed progress of the Persian monarch to the shores of the Mediterranean, his conquest of Iberia, Colchos, and the temporary establishment of his power on the banks of the Phasis, and on the shores of the Euxine, are facts not questioned by his enemies. They,

Concludes a peace with the Emperor Justinian. A. D. 533.

A. D. 540.

sheerwan. This the ambitious disciple offered to do: and, when carried before the King of Persia, informed his majesty, that the boar which he had seen, in his sleep, take the cup of wine he meant to drink from his hand, alluded to a youth who had found his way into the haram. The discovery of the truth of this explanation was only made, by obliging the whole haram to pass his majesty naked. The youth and his mistress were put to death, and Abouzurg-a-Mihir promoted.

* This probably has arisen from their confounding his actions with those of Sapor.

† The habits of absolute and barbarous monarchs are nearly the same in all ages. Even the just Nousheerwan brought away the inhabitants of Antioch, to settle them on the banks of the Tigris. His historians have endeavoured to mitigate this act, by stating, that he built, near Ctesiphon, a town so exactly like Antioch, (of which he had directed a most minute plan to be drawn,) that each of the inhabitants of that city, when they reached it, went as naturally to his own house, or rather its counterpart, as if he had never left his native city!!!—*Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.*

however, assert, that his genius, as a military leader, even when his fortune was at the highest, was checked by that of Belisarius, who was twice sent to oppose his progress; and whose success, considering his want of means, and the character of the court he served, was certainly wonderful.

In all the negotiations which took place between the Emperor Justinian and Nousheerwan, the latter assumed the tone of a superior. His lowest servants* were treated, at the imperial court, in a manner calculated to inflame the pride, and raise the insolence of a vain and arrogant nation: and the impressions which this conduct must have made, were confirmed by the agreement of the Roman emperor to pay thirty thousand pieces of gold; a sum which could have been of no importance to Nousheerwan, but as it showed the monarch of the western world in the rank of one of his tributaries. In a second war with the Roman Emperors Justin and Tiberius, Nousheerwan, who, though eighty years of age, still led his armies, experienced some reverses of fortune: but the perseverance and valour of the aged sovereign were ultimately rewarded by the conquest of Dara, and the plunder of Syria.

His second war with the Romans.

And conquest of Dara. A. D. 572.

At the period of these great successes over the Romans, the empire of Nousheerwan had been equally extended in other quarters. The countries beyond the Oxus, as far as Ferghana†, all those to the

* A servant of Nousheerwan, below the rank of a Roman magistrate, was allowed to sit at the table of Justinian. If the character of the Persians is unaltered, and I believe it is, this circumstance was calculated to give that nation (who judge chiefly from these trifles) a mean opinion of the Roman power.

† The native province of Baber; one of the most celebrated of eastern monarchs, and the founder of the imperial family of Delhi.

CHAP. VI.

Indus, some provinces of India, and the finest districts of the peninsula of Arabia, acknowledged the sway of the mighty monarch of Persia.

Disaffection of Nouschizad.

The only insurrection that disturbed the reign of Nousheerwan, was that of his son, Nouschizad. The mother of this prince was a Christian of great beauty, of whom the king was passionately fond: but his entreaties could never induce her to change her religion for that of her sovereign: and her son, taught by her early lessons, rejected as impious the rites of the Magi, and openly professed his belief in the doctrine of Christ. The contempt which the zealous but incautious youth showed for the religion of his country, enraged his father, who, to punish what he deemed his heresy, placed him in confinement.

Some time after this act, when Nousheerwan was in Syria, he had an attack of illness, and a report was spread of his death. Deceived by this rumour, Nouschizad effected his escape, released other prisoners, collected a number of followers, of whom many were Christians, and attempted to establish himself in Fars and Ahwaz. Nousheerwan, the moment he heard of his revolt, directed Ram-Burzeen, one of his principal leaders, to march against him. Persian authors* have given the letter of instructions which he sent upon this occasion to that officer. "My son Nouschizad," the monarch wrote, "hearing a rumour that went abroad of my "death, has, without waiting for its confirmation, taken up arms: "he has released many prisoners: he has expended treasure which "I meant to employ against the enemies of the kingdom: and he

Ram-Burzeen is sent against him.

* Mirkhond.

" has taken the field without reflection on the consequences which " may result from such a number of Christians acquiring power. If, " however, Nouschizad will return to his allegiance, send back the " prisoners he has released to their places of confinement, put to " death some particular officers and nobles who have espoused his " cause, and allow the rest of his followers to disperse and go where " they choose, I will consent to pardon him: but, should he continue " in rebellion, and not submit when he receives this assurance of " mercy, Ram-Burzeen is directed not to lose an instant in attacking " him. A man of illustrious descent, whose disposition inclines him " to evil, should be treated according to his conduct, not his birth. " It is a good action to slay a wicked man who takes arms against " the king, who is the sovereign of the earth. Let no fear prevent " your cutting the thread of his days: it will be by himself, not by " you, that his blood is shed: he flies with ardour to the religion of " Cæsar, and averts his head from our crown.

" But, should Nouschizad be made prisoner in action, hurt not " one hair of his head: shut him up in the same palace where he " was before confined, along with those slaves that attended him. " Let him be furnished with all he wants, and allow none of our " military officers to use expressions that can, in any degree, insult " or wound the feelings of a son whom we still hold dear. If any " one should abuse Nouschizad, let every dagger be pointed at him: " first let him lose his tongue, and then his life; for, though that " prince has dishonoured his birth, still it is from us that he derives " his existence, and our affection continues his security."

There is, perhaps, more of stern justice and of state policy in these orders, than of that affection and goodness, which oriental authors

CHAP. VI.

delight in attributing to this monarch. His desire that his son should be put to death*, is but thinly veiled by the affected anxiety regarding his respectful treatment if taken prisoner. The monarch's mandate was fully obeyed: Ram-Burzeen brought the prince to action. A few raw levies, led by an inexperienced youth, were soon defeated by the able general of Nousheerwan. Nouschizad was slain†: and his conqueror pretended to mourn over the victory which his valour had gained, exclaiming against his own bad fortune, in being the unhappy instrument of the death of one of the Royal House of Sassan.

Nouschizad is conquered and slain.

Historians have dwelt upon the magnificence of the courts who courted the friendship of Nousheerwan. The Emperors of China and of India are the most distinguished. The presents sent by them to the sovereign of Persia, are described‡ as exceeding in curiosity and

* Nousheerwan is said to have slain two of his brothers. We should reflect seriously upon their situation and duties, before we execrate the memory of the absolute monarchs of Asia for such acts. We must consider, that *their will is, to the nations they rule, as the law is to better ordered states:* and that, in many cases, the indulgence of natural feeling and clemency, would be the extreme of weakness, partiality, and injustice.

† He lived long enough, after he received a mortal wound, to request his body might be sent to his mother, that he might have the burial of a Christian.

‡ The Emperor of China sent many presents: amongst them was the image of a panther; the body of which was covered with pearls, and the eyes formed of rubies. He also sent an emerald hilt of a sabre, ornamented with precious stones of immense value: a silken robe, on which was represented a monarch, habited in the costume of the King of Persia, when clothed in his royal garments, with his crown upon his head, surrounded by his attendants; each of which held a cloth of gold in his hand. The border of this wonderful robe was celestial blue. It was enclosed in a box of gold; which also contained a female figure, whose face was veiled with her long

richness any that were ever seen. Eastern monarchs delight to display their wealth and grandeur in the splendour of their embassies: but their conduct, in this particular, has, in general, a better motive than vanity. It is from the style of his equipage, the magnificence of his presents, and the personal deportment of an ambassador, that ignorant nations judge of the power and character of the monarch whom he represents; and to this cause we must refer the minute account which every eastern historian deems it his duty to give of the state and appearance, as well as the conduct, of the different embassies that he describes.

Internal government.

The internal regulations of Nousheerwan were excellent. He established a fixed and moderate land-tax* over all his dominions.

tresses; but whose beauty, as it appeared through this veil, we are told, was as overpowering as a flash of day during a dark night.

The Emperor of India's presents were equally magnificent. A thousand pounds weight of aloes wood. A vase, formed of one precious stone, and filled with pearls. On one side of this vase was engraven the figure of a lion; on the other, that of a young maiden, of whom the height was seven hands' breadth. The eye-lashes of this beauty fell upon her cheeks; and through them the brilliancy of her eyes, reflected by the fairness of her complexion, shone like lightning. The Indian monarch also sent to Nousheerwan a carpet, made of a serpent's skin, finer than any silk, and more beautifully speckled by the hand of nature than ever art could imitate.

Mirkhond, and other Persian historians, dwell with delight on these exaggerated accounts of the presents sent to the greatest of Persian kings.

* When this prince ascended the throne, one of his first measures was to fix the revenue and taxes. He levied a land-tax, or rather a crown share, on cultivated grounds, by the yoke; a term, which describes the quantity of land which a yoke of oxen can plough. The tax, or crown share, was fixed at one dirhem and sixty-four pounds weight in grain per yoke. This assessment was settled by measurement and by register. He also levied a capitation tax, by which the poorest male paid six dirhems, the richest forty-eight. Females were exempt from this tax. A tax was laid upon

CHAP. VI.

Military discipline.

He imposed a capitation tax upon Jews and Christians: all persons under twenty and above fifty years of age were exempted from service. The regulations for preserving the discipline of his army were still more strict than those of his civil government: and this great and discerning monarch applauded the courage of one of his inspecting generals, who, armed with great powers, insisted upon his sovereign appearing at a review, and refused to register his name as a soldier of Persia, (a title of which Nousheerwan was proud,) because he was deficient in that equipment which the regulations required*; he had neglected to bring the case of his bow. But, whatever may be his disposition, and however splendid his talents, one man can effect but little: and, where the rule is absolute, his orders will be evaded, and his confidence betrayed. All the vigilance and justice of Nousheerwan could not prevent corruption and tyranny among the officers of his government. We are told†, that an immense number of jackalls came, during the latter years of his reign, from the fields of Tartary into the provinces of Persia, the inhabitants of which were greatly alarmed at the horrid shrieks and screams‡ of these new visitors.

fruit trees. Officers were appointed in every village and town to collect these taxes, or crown shares: and they were directed to be levied every four months; that is, in three equal payments each year. The system of revenue which was established by Nousheerwan, was followed by his successor: and, according to the author of the Tuarikh-e-Tubree, continued in force during his time, A. H. 302. We derive little information from this general account, which can only be considered as telling us, that Nousheerwan made some improvement in the system of collecting the revenue.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. † Rozut-ul-Suffa and Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ The screams of jackalls are only heard at night, which renders them more terrifying to persons unaccustomed to the noise.

Intelligence of the event was sent to court. The king, partaking of the superstition of the age, demanded of the chief mobud, or high priest, what it portended. This officer gave a reply, which, while it shows him to have been a virtuous courtier*, satisfies us that Nousheerwan was, with all his great qualities, but a despot, to whose ear truth could only be spoken in an indirect manner. "By what I "have learnt from the history of former times," said the pontiff, "it "is when injustice prevails, that animals of prey spread themselves "over a kingdom." Nousheerwan, who well knew what was meant, immediately appointed a secret commission of thirteen persons, in whom he placed complete confidence, and directed them to traverse each province of his vast empire, and convey to him a true report upon the conduct of the inferior officers of the state. The result of the inquiries of this commission, was the discovery of great abuses, and the execution of twenty-four petty governors, who were convicted of injustice and tyranny†.

His character.

Whatever success attended the endeavours of Nousheerwan to promote the general happiness of his subjects, by the establishment of justice, there can be no doubt of his personal love of it. A Roman ambassador, who had been sent to Ctesiphon with rich presents, when he was admiring the noble prospect from the windows of the royal palace, remarked an uneven piece of

* We observe, in all oriental histories, that able and good ministers are represented as taking advantage of any incident, to convey, in an indirect manner, their advice to the monarchs they serve. They can only hint at abuses. The cause of this has more reference to the condition, than to the personal character of the ruler. A despot, to have sufficient power to govern, must, in a certain degree, be deemed infallible.

† Zeenut-ul Tuarikh.

CHAP. VI.

ground, and asked the reason why it was not rendered uniform*. "It is the property of an old woman," said a Persian noble, "who "has objections to sell it, though often requested to do so by our "king: and he is more willing to have his prospect spoiled, than to "commit violence†."—"That irregular spot," replied the Roman, "consecrated as it is by justice, appears more beautiful than all the "surrounding scene." But it would be endless to repeat the anecdotes‡ which oriental authors have preserved of Nousheerwan, who may certainly be considered as the greatest of Asiatic monarchs. The title of good and just‖ cannot, perhaps, be given to any human being placed in such a situation, and in such an age: for, whatever may be his disposition, the monarch, whose will is the law of the country, who is compelled to repress rebellion, to retaliate attack, and to attain power over foreign nations, in order to preserve his own in peace, must commit a thousand actions that are at variance with every principle of humanity and of justice; but, if we are to

* Rozut-ul-Suffa.

† Nousheerwan was wont to give the following curious account of a sense of justice first springing up in his mind. "I one day," he said, "when a youth, "saw a man, on foot, throw a stone at a dog, and break the animal's leg; a "moment afterwards a horse passed, and, with a kick, broke the man's leg: and this "animal had only galloped a short distance, when its foot sunk in a hole, and its leg "was broken. I gazed with wonder and awe, and have since feared to commit "injustice."—*Persian MSS.*

‡ He used to say, "That man was the greatest, who was least dependant on worldly "means for his enjoyment."

‖ Mahomed, who was born during the reign of Nousheerwan, used to boast of his fortune, in being born when so just a king reigned. This is great praise, and from a source that cannot be suspected of flattery.

deny the claim of Nousheerwan to those attributes with which eastern historians have clothed him, we must admit that his reign was glorious for his country; that he displayed, during a life protracted to more than eighty years, and a reign of forty-eight, all those great qualities which have (by the concurring opinion of mankind,) given fame to their possessors: and, above all, that he was, to the last hour of his life, unconquered by prosperity. His firm and noble character resisted the influence of that luxury, by which he was courted: he neither gave himself up to indulgence, nor permitted it in others: and the aged monarch was seen, a short period before his death, leading his troops to the attack of Dara, with as active and ardent a spirit, as he had shown in his earliest enterprises.

The history of the world affords many instances of a brilliant reign preceding the fall of a great and powerful dynasty of monarchs; and that gleam of splendour, which a nation has hailed as the meridian of its fortunes, has, too often, proved to be the last ray of its expiring glory. The reason of this appears plain: an able but absolute ruler, who perceives the progress of decay in the state he governs, fears to adopt such remedies as could alone prevent its occurrence: his own condition is unhappily interwoven with those causes that are producing the effect; yet, willing to make some effort, he hopes to find a remedy for internal weakness in foreign conquest: but, in the exact proportion of his success in this attempt, is the evil he sought to avoid increased. He leaves his country with a great name, but with exhausted means: to a general spirit of corruption he has only afforded a wider scope of action: while he has multiplied the enemies of his country by the subjugation of other nations; who, impatient of their condition, generally find, in the early divisions of

CHAP. VI.

his leaders, or the incompetency of his successors, that opportunity of revenge which they so ardently desire. This was the result of all the glory of Nousheerwan, who found Persia hastening to decay, and who adopted those means that have been described, to restore her strength. His success was unparalleled: and his great genius preserved, during his own life, the mighty empire which he had established. The limits of his dominions were even greater than those claimed for their country by the vanity of Persian geographers. At one period, the mandates of this monarch were obeyed from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Indus: from the Red Sea to the Caspian: and from the Euxine to the distant banks of the Jaxartes.

Hoormuz the Third succeeds to the crown. A. D. 579.

Hoormuz the Third* was declared successor to his father, Nousheerwan, as his title to the throne was deemed superior to that of the other princes, from the illustrious descent of his mother, who was daughter to the Khakan of Tartary. The claims he derived from high birth were supported by an impression of his virtue and talent. The education of Hoormuz had been one of the principal cares of his father: his tutor was Abouzurg-a-Mihir†, the vizier of Nousheerwan. We are informed, that the young prince venerated the teacher of

* Hormisdas the Third of Greek writers.

† This minister, who is, as before stated, sometimes called Boozurg-Mihir, has been termed the Seneca of the East[6]. He is said to have invented the game of chess: and his ability and fame were such, that the Christians of the period during which he lived have sought to prove him a Christian: and Mahomedans claim him for their faith, though he lived before the Koran was made public.

[6] Gibbon.

his youth: and, as long as he remained at court, the country prospered; but, when increasing age and infirmities led the virtuous minister to retire, his pupil appeared at once to change his character. Released from that painful restraint which the example of his father, and the lessons of his tutor, had, for a time, imposed, he plunged into every excess. All the respectable officers of government were either removed or put to death, and the administration of public affairs committed to low and wicked men, who knew that, while they managed to preserve the favour of their weak and vicious master, they might practise, unpunished, every oppression. The early consequences of this great change of rule, were foreign wars, and internal rebellion. The provinces of India and Arabia, which had confessed the paramount power of Nousheerwan, disdained to pay tribute, or to yield obedience to his unworthy successor. The army of the Emperor of the Romans advanced into Mesopotamia; and the hordes of the great Khakan of Tartary crossed the Oxus, and demanded a free passage through Persia, on the pretext of intending to make war upon the Emperor of Constantinople. To this the alarmed Hoormuz at first assented: but their conduct, and the council of the wisest of those who still remained at his court, soon satisfied him that he had admitted into his kingdom the most dangerous of all enemies*. He determined, therefore, to make an effort to expel them; and was fortunate in his choice of a general, whose person, we are informed, was described in

The provinces of India and Arabia refuse to pay tribute.

The Romans and Tartars advance into Persia.

* The name of the Khakan of Tartary, at this period, was Saye Shah: he was the maternal uncle of Hoormuz.

CHAP. VI.

a prophecy*. An astrologer had foretold that the Khakan should be slain, and his army dispersed, by a small force, commanded by a leader of lofty stature, an open countenance, curled hair, dark complexion, thick and joining eye-brows, a lean body, and an awkward figure. This description so exactly pointed out Baharam, one of the chiefs of the Persian army, that the king could not but select him for the arduous enterprise. Baharam† knew the country in which he had to act: and this circumstance, combined with a superstitious belief in the prophecy that has been noticed, led him to limit his force to twelve thousand men. These, however, he took care should be the oldest and best soldiers in Persia. No man in his army was under forty years of age, and none above fifty. The astonished Hoormuz entreated his general to increase his numbers‡: but Baharam replied, that his experience had taught him, it was the quality, and not the numbers of soldiers, which gave success: nor was he deceived. In the strong mountainous country‖ where he opposed

Baharam is appointed to command the army.

* Mirkhond. This prophecy was probably made, to induce a weak and superstitious monarch to select a brave and experienced officer to command his army.

† He is generally called Baharam Choubeen, or Baharam the Stick-like; probably from his appearance. He was of high descent: some authors say, of the blood royal. He is called Varanes by Greek writers; but these write Baharam, Varanes, Varanus, and Vararanes. The last is nearest the Pehlivi name, which, I have before stated, is Vararam.

‡ Some authors state, that a larger army could not be assembled, and that the policy of the general, to prevent an unfavourable impression, pretended he would take no more, as twelve thousand was the fortunate number foretold: but this is improbable.

‖ According to some authors, Baharam fought the Tartars in Mazenderan: others say, Khorassan. It probably was in the mountains, where these provinces join each other.

the Tartars, his hardy veterans gained a complete victory over their numerous but encumbered enemies. The Khakan was slain: and his son, who reassembled his defeated army, met, in a second action, the same fate as his father. It is stated by several authors*, that the latter prince was not slain, but sent prisoner to Madain, with all the booty and treasure taken from the Tartars. Though the spoil was immense, an insidious courtier represented to Hoormuz, that it was but a small proportion of what had been actually taken†. The prince listened to these insinuations; and, full of envy and alarm at the great success of Baharam, he learnt, with satisfaction, that that commander had met with a reverse‡, in a subsequent action with the Roman army. Conceiving this event gave him the opportunity he desired, to disgrace and ruin a chief, whose reputation was his crime, he sent him a suit of female apparel‖, a distaff, and a spindle. The rough soldier immediately put on the dress he had received, and presented himself to his army. "Behold," said he, "the reward with "which the monarch I serve has deigned to crown my services." The burst of indignation was general: the soldiers hailed Baharam as their sovereign, and called upon him to lead them against the despicable wretch, who had dared, from his luxurious palace, to cast so insufferable an insult upon the brave defender of his country. Baharam felt too great an indignation at the conduct

Defeats the Tartars. The Khakan and his son killed.

The army hails Baharam as their king.

* Mirkhond, &c.

† This malicious insinuation is ascribed to Yezdan-Buksh, the favourite of Hoormuz. The expression which the Persian author places in the mouth of the courtier, is curious. "The booty sent to you," said Yezdan-Buksh, "is only the ear of the cow."

‡ This reverse is not noticed by Persian historians.

‖ According to some authors, chains and a distaff.—*Rozut-ul-Suffa, &c.*

CHAP. VI.

of the court, to think of repressing the violence of his troops. But, whatever hopes he might have formed, his prudence forbade an immediate declaration of an intention to overthrow the dynasty of the House of Sassan. He commanded, therefore, that money should be struck in the name of Khoosroo Purveez, the son of Hoormuz. This measure had the effect both of veiling his ambition, and of causing dissensions in the royal family. Khoosroo fled, to escape that danger to which he saw himself exposed, from the suspicions which the conduct of Baharam had excited in his father's mind. The king, after his son's flight, imprisoned two of that prince's maternal uncles*: but this act precipitated his ruin. The friends of these nobles not only liberated them from prison, but were sufficiently powerful to confine Hoormuz, whose eyes they put out, to disqualify† him for reascending the throne. The moment Khoosroo learnt the fate of his father, he hastened back to the capital: where he had no sooner arrived, than he found that Baharam was advancing towards Madain, with an intention of taking the government into his own hands. He collected a force to oppose him, and an action was fought on the banks of the river Nahrwan: but the effeminate troops of the capital, under an unexperienced prince, were altogether unequal to a contest with a veteran army. Khoosroo was defeated; and with great difficulty effected his escape to the territories of the Romans; from whose emperor, Maurice, he met with the most friendly and hospitable reception. At the moment of his flight, one of his uncles‡, who was resolved

A. D. 590.

Khoosroo Purveez makes his escape.

His father is confined, and his eyes put out.

Collects a force to oppose Baharam.

Is defeated, and seeks the aid of the Emperor Maurice.

* Their names were Bundawee and Bostam.

† This is the reason given in the East for this horrid act; the practice of which has been the disgrace of Asiatic countries from the most early ages.

‡ Bundawee.

that the claims of his nephew should meet with no future obstruction from Hoormuz, went to the prison of that contemptible and unfortunate monarch, and put a period to his existence with a bowstring.

Hoormuz is murdered. A. D. 590.

Baharam-Choubeen took possession of the vacant government: but his rule was short: and few historians assign him a place among the Kings of Persia. Khoosroo had not been permitted to visit Constantinople*, but was treated with all the distinction† due to his rank: and Maurice gave him the aid of a well-appointed army to restore him to his crown. This enterprise proved easier than was expected. The Persians, though roused to rebellion by the despicable tyranny of Hoormuz, were still attached to their royal family; and young Khoosroo was popular with all ranks. Neither the courage nor the conduct of Baharam could support him in the power he had usurped. Within eight months from the period of his taking possession of Madain, he was defeated by an army of Romans‡ and Persians, commanded by Khoosroo, and fled to Tartary. The Khakan of that country was not withheld, by the memory of the great overthrow which the valour of this chief had given to his predecessor, from welcoming and employing him in his service: and Baharam soon attained the highest distinction from his new sovereign: but his days were shortened by poison‖: and one of the

Baharam-Choubeen assumes the government.

Is defeated by Khoosroo, and escapes to Tartary. A. D. 591.

His death.

* Persian authors erroneously state, that he went to Constantinople, and married the Emperor Maurice's daughter. According to some, indeed, this princess was the celebrated Shereen. The western authors, whom I have followed, must be more correct on these points.

† Gibbon, Vol. VIII. page 189.

‡ The Romans were not led by a son of Maurice, as Persian authors state; but by Narses, a general of great reputation. He was a Persian by birth; and was cotemporary with Narses, the eunuch, who was the successor of Belisarius.

‖ He was poisoned, according to Persian authors, by the queen of the Khakan, who was a relation of Khoosroo, and dreaded the future designs of Baharam.

CHAP. VI.

ablest warriors Persia ever produced, died an honoured exile, in a nation whose armies he had vanquished, but whose respect for courage and military genius led them to welcome their conqueror, when his misfortunes compelled him to seek their protection.

Khoosroo Purveez restored to the throne. A. D. 591.

Khoosroo Purveez, the moment he was firmly established on the throne, fulfilled, in the most faithful manner, the engagements he had entered into with his ally; and publicly adopted the Emperor Maurice as his father. Dara, and other strong places on the frontier, were surrendered to the Roman emperor, to whom the most costly and magnificent presents were also sent. All the Romans who had aided in restoring Khoosroo to his throne, were treated with the most marked favour and distinction. But, while that monarch attached those who had supported him by munificence, he appeared resolved to strike terror by his severity towards all who had opposed his elevation; and we are shocked to learn, that his two uncles, to whom he owed his life and throne, were put to death*, on the specious but cruel pretext, that they had dared to lay violent hands upon the sacred person of his royal father.

Puts his two uncles to death.

Makes war with the Romans, to avenge the death of Maurice. A. D. 603.

The Persian monarch never violated the friendship he had contracted with Maurice: but, when that emperor was slain, he instantly declared war, on the grounds of avenging his father and benefactor. His generals invaded the Roman territories†; and a son of Maurice‡ accompanied one of his. In the state to which the empire was then degraded by the rule of the centurion Phocas, who had been advanced to the purple by a despicable faction, and whose

* Mirkhond.

† Rozut-ul-Suffa. According to this work, his army marched in three divisions to attack the Roman territories.

‡ This son was, if we believe western authors, an impostor.

authority was hardly acknowledged beyond the walls of his capital, little opposition was made to the sudden and formidable invasion of the Persians. Dara, Edissa, and other strong places on the frontier, were soon subdued; Syria was completely pillaged*, Palestine overrun, Jerusalem taken, and the true Cross, which had been enclosed in a golden case, and buried deep in the earth†, was discovered, and borne in triumph to Persia: and the historians of that country, who give us these details, add, that the sacred relic was attended by a crowd of captive priests and bishops.

While his generals were subduing the Roman empire, Khoosroo was wholly devoted to the enjoyment of unheard-of luxury and magnificence. His noble palaces, of which he built one for every season; his thrones, which were invaluable, particularly that called Takh-dis, which was formed to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the hours of the day; his treasures‡; his ladies, of whom

* The historian of the Roman empire informs us, that "the conquest of Jerusalem, "which had been meditated by Nushirvan, was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his "grandson. The ruin," he adds, "of the proudest monument of Christianity was vehe- "mently urged by the intolerant spirit of the magi; and he could enlist, for his holy "warfare, an army of six and twenty thousand Jews, whose furious bigotry might com- "pensate, in some degree, for the want of valour and discipline. After the reduction "of Galilee, and the region beyond the Jordan, whose resistance appears to have "delayed the fate of the capital, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault. The sepulchre "of Christ, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine, were consumed, or at "least damaged, by the flames; the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled "in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zachariah, and the *true Cross*, were trans- "ported into Persia; and the massacre of ninety thousand Christians is imputed to the "Jews and Arabs, who swelled the disorder of the Persian march."—GIBBON, Vol. VIII. page 221.

† Rozut-ul-Suffa.

‡ One of these treasures was called *Badawerd*, or "The Gift of the Winds;" because it had been cast upon his territories when conveying to the Roman emperor.

CHAP. VI.

there were twelve thousand, each, if we believe the gravest of Persian writers, equal to the moon in splendour and in beauty; his horses, of which fifty thousand stood in the royal stables; his twelve hundred elephants; his Arabian charger, Shub-Deez, fleeter than the wind; his enchanting musician, Barbud; and, above all, the incomparable Shereen, with whom he was distractedly in love; are subjects on which a thousand volumes have been written by his countrymen. Although the magnificence of this prince has been much exaggerated, we may conclude, that no monarch ever indulged in greater luxury and splendour. His reign, for more than thirty years, was marked by a success never surpassed by the most renowned of his ancestors. It was, however, the weakness and distraction of the Roman empire which gave fame to this vain-glorious ruler; who, while his generals were conquering Syria, Nubia, Egypt, and Colchis, and occupying, with his victorious troops, a camp at Chalcedon, which for twelve years insulted the fallen fortunes of Constantinople, seemed only to value his conquests as they added to his pleasures. The vast territories which his armies subdued were exhausted, that his palaces, and the gorgeous state of his royal person, might exceed all that history ever told of kingly grandeur. But Khoosroo, while satiating himself with enjoyment, was destined to become a memorable example of the instability of human happiness and glory. The Mahomedan authors, from whom I write, ascribe the dreadful reverses, which marked the latter years of this prince, to the indignation of a just God, who poured all the phials of his wrath upon the head of a guilty monarch, that had dared, with impious and accursed hands, to tear the letter of his holy prophet, Mahomed*. Christian authors,

* Khoosroo Purveez was encamped on the banks of the Karasoo River when he received the letter of Mahomed. Enraged at being called upon by an Arabian, of

with more reason, deem his end a just punishment for the cruelties and excesses which his armies committed in the Roman territories: but the cause of the rapid decline of his fortune is as obvious as that of its rise. The Emperor Heraclius, alike remarkable for weakness and indulgence in the palace, and for extraordinary valour and military skill in the field, found himself compelled either to abandon the purple, or to make a great effort to defeat his numerous and powerful enemies. His first impulse, we are told, was to escape a struggle that he dreaded: but the patriarch* of his capital arrested his flight, and made him swear at the holy altar to live and die in the defence of his country†. The wonderful success with which his resolution was crowned, is fully related by the historians of the West, and not contradicted by those of the East. The sudden invasion of Persia by a Roman‡ army, led by a warlike emperor, awakened

Heraclius makes war upon the Persians.

A. D. 622.

whose name he had probably never before heard, to renounce the religion of his fathers, he tore the letter, and cast it into the Karasoo. For this action, the moderate author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh calls him a wretch, and rejoices in all his subsequent misfortunes. These impressions still exist. I remarked to a Persian, when encamped near the Karasoo, in 1800, that the banks of that river were very high, which must make it difficult to apply its waters to the purposes of irrigation. "It once fertilized the "whole country," said the zealous Mahomedan: "but its channel sunk with horror "from its banks, when that madman, Khoosroo, threw our holy prophet's letter into "its stream; which has, ever since, been accursed and useless."

* Persian authors say, with true national superstition, that he was encouraged to attack Persia by dreams. † Gibbon, Vol. VIII. page 228.

‡ The Persian king owed much of his success to the aid of the Avars, a tribe of Tartars; who, when driven out of their country by some Turkish hordes, solicited and obtained, from the weak policy of the Emperor Justinian, leave to feed their flocks within the limits of the empire. To oppose the ravages of these barbarians, Heraclius made an alliance with their conquerors; and a tribe of Turks, termed Khozars, issued,

CHAP. VI.

Khoosroo from his dream of pleasure: and, in a period of six successive years, he endured the misery of losing all his foreign conquests; of seeing Persia overrun by victorious enemies, who defeated his troops wherever they encountered them, and marched, in one direction, as far as the Caspian; in another, to Isfahan; destroying in their progress all his splendid palaces, plundering his hoarded treasures, and dispersing, in every direction, the countless slaves of his pleasure. Khoosroo Purveez saw all this without one effort to stop the mighty work of ruin. He fled, at the advance of Heraclius, alone*, and like a deserter, from his own troops that guarded Dustajird. Yet, even in the wretched state to which his fortune and character had reduced him, he rejected an offer of peace made by the generous humanity of his conqueror. But the subjects of Khoosroo had lost all regard for a monarch whom they deemed the sole cause of the desolation of his country: a conspiracy was formed against him: and, that his cup of misery might be full, Khoosroo was seized by his eldest son, Schiroueh†, cast into a dungeon, and soon

Khoosroo flies from Dustajird. A. D. 628. A. H. 7.

under their chief, Zubil, from the plains of Volga, and joined the emperor in Georgia. This we may pronounce to be the first appearance of a Turkish tribe in Persia.

* It is stated by some authors, that he carried Shereen with him. He fled nine days before Heraclius arrived.

† We are informed by Gibbon, (Vol. VIII. page 254,) that Khoosroo had resolved to place the tiara upon the head of Merdaza, the most favoured of his sons; and that Siroes (Schiroueh), indignant at this attempt to put his right of primogeniture aside, conspired with some malecontents to dethrone his father; who was seized, and expired on the fifth day of his confinement. Both Greek and Persian authors, he adds, state, that he was insulted, famished, and tortured by his inhuman and unnatural son, who only enjoyed for eight months the fruit of his crimes. The principal of these facts are stated upon the authority of the letter from the Emperor Heraclius.—*Chron. Paschal*, page 398.

afterwards put to death* by an unnatural prince, who pretended that he was compelled to the parricide† by the clamours and importunities of the people and nobles of the empire. CHAP. VI. Is put to death.

Khoosroo Purveez reigned thirty-eight years over Persia; and he would have been esteemed (had he not lived six years too long,) one of the most fortunate of eastern princes. From his history it appears, that in his youth he displayed great courage. Persian writers record several combats which he fought with the most renowned of the rebel chieftains who opposed his elevation to the throne‡: but, enervated by a life of luxury and indulgence, he shrunk from the evils by which he was assailed; and, by his conduct in his latter years, abandoned all title to glory, except such as the memory of his magnificence, and the tale of his extravagant love for the beautiful Shereen, can bestow. That celebrated fair has been accused of giving those affections, which a monarch so anxiously sought, to the lowly Ferhad||, in whose breast her beauties kindled a flame, which His character.

* It was long before a person could be found to put Khoosroo to death: at last Hoormuz, the son of Murdou Shah, who had been slain by Khoosroo, offered his services. When Hoormuz appeared, Khoosroo understood what was meant, and exclaimed, "It is just and proper for a son to slay the murderer of his father." After killing the king, Hoormuz went to Schiroueh, and told him all that had passed. "It is just and proper for a son to slay the murderer of his father," repeated the cruel prince, who had employed him, and slew him on the spot. — *Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.*

† The fate of Khoosroo has been compared to that of Sennacherib, who, thirteen centuries before, had desolated the land of Judah; and, like this prince, had fallen by the hand of a son. ‡ Mirkhond.

|| The whole of the sculpture at Beysittoon is ascribed to the chisel of Ferhad. He was promised, we are told in Persian romance, that if he cut through the rock, and brought a stream that flowed on the other side of the hill to the valley, the lovely

CHAP. VI.

deprived him of reason and of life. The son of Khoosroo Purveez sought the favours of this enchanting beauty*; who appeared to consent, but desired to take one look at the remains of his father. The murdered body of her former lover was shown to her; and she immediately swallowed a poison† which produced instant dissolution. Whatever was her motive; whether it was horror at the incestuous passion of Schiroueh, love for her lost sovereign, or a desire of fame, which led Shereen to sacrifice her existence at the tomb of Khoosroo; the act has immortalized her name, which is, to this day, associated, in Persia, with all that is beautiful and delightful in the female sex.

While the Emperor Heraclius retired, "after six glorious cam-"paigns, to enjoy the sabbath of his toils at Constantinople‡," the kingdom of Persia was left to perish under the accumulated evils of a dreadful famine; the disputes of proud and luxurious nobles; a succession of weak sovereigns, or rather pageants of power; and the attack of a terrible enemy; for the flame which Mahomed had kindled in Arabia, began already to spread, and to threaten an equal fate to the aged and decayed empires of Rome and of Persia.

Schiroueh. A. D. 628. A. H. 7.

Schiroueh, the son of Khoosroo Purveez, reigned only eight months. He is described as a prince who paid attention to

Shereen should be his reward. The same story adds, that he was on the point of completing his labour, when Khoosroo, fearing to lose his mistress, sent an old woman to inform Ferhad that the fair object of his desire was dead. He was at work on one of the highest parts of the rock when he heard the mournful intelligence. He immediately cast himself headlong, and was dashed in pieces. * Rozut-ul-Suffa.

† Some authors say she stabbed herself: but all agree that she put an end to her existence, to escape the love of Schiroueh. ‡ Gibbon, Vol. VIII. page 256.

justice and the laws, by the same author* who informs us that he killed his father and fifteen of his brothers; and who adds, that it was the reproaches which his sisters cast upon him for these acts, which threw him into that deep melancholy that terminated his life and reign at so early a period.

His death.

At the death of Schiroueh†, an ambitious noble raised Ardisheer, the infant son of that prince, to the throne: but another noble, of the name of Shahryar, disapproving of this measure, marched from the province which he governed, seized Madain, put Ardisheer‡ to death, and usurped the crown, which, however, he held only a few days‖, having been slain by the adherents of the royal family §. These not being able to discover any heir male of the House of Sassan, elevated Pooran-dokht, the daughter of Khoosroo Purveez, to the throne. We are told by Persian historians, that this queen restored the sacred cross, which had been borne away from Jerusalem; and, by that act, acquired great favour with the Roman emperor. But this is evidently erroneous: for there is no doubt that the Emperor Heraclius, when he returned from Persia, carried that precious relick to Constantinople, which was deemed a more splendid trophy of victory, than all his spoils and conquests. Pooran-dokht¶ ruled Persia only one year and four months. She was succeeded by her cousin and lover, whose name

Ardisheer raised to the throne.

Is put to death.

Pooran-dokht is elevated to the throne.

* Rozut-ul Suffa. This author seems, however, to have some doubts about the murder of his brothers.

† The Siroes of Greek writers.

‡ This prince was a child of seven years of age: he nominally reigned five months.

‖ The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh does not admit Shahryar in his list of kings. One author allots him a reign of a year; but others say only forty days: one, indeed, gives him only half that period.

§ Mirkhond.

¶ She is called Tooran-docht by Greek writers; and this was probably her name.

CHAP. VI.

was Shah-Shenendeh. He only reigned one month: and nothing is preserved regarding him, but that he had a very large head, and complained, when they were placing the crown upon it, that it was too small; an expression, our historian* adds, that indicated his fall; for it was evident the royal tiara would soon be removed from a head to which it gave pain. When Shenendeh was deposed, (for he appears to have been too insignificant to merit death,) Arzem-dokht†, another daughter of Khoosroo Purveez, was raised to the throne. This princess, who was alike distinguished by her sense and beauty, resolved to take the whole management of the affairs of the kingdom into her own hands. She would not even appoint a vizier. But the fatal passion of a Persian noble defeated all her designs. Ferakh Hoormuz, the Governor of Khorassan, fell violently in love with her; or, perhaps, with her dominions. He committed the charge of his province to his son, Roostum, and proceeded to court, where he soon contrived to make his love known to his royal mistress; who (though indignant at the discovery,) pretended, while she refused her hand, to return the passion of Ferakh, whom she deluded to an assignation, where he was murdered by guards stationed for the purpose. The moment his melancholy fate was known to his son Roostum, he collected a large army, and marched from Khorassan‡ to Madain. The queen was unable to oppose him; and the young chief revenged his father by putting her to a cruel death.

Is succeeded by Shah-Shenendeh. A. D. 631. A. H. 10.

Arzem-dokht is raised to the throne. A. D. 632. A. H. 11.

Is put to death.

* Mirkhond.

† This princess is also called Azerm-dokht, Azadmi-dokht, Arzeman dokht, and Zademi-dokht.

‡ The name of Khorassan means the province to the East. Khour signifies the East in Pehlivi. This province lies east of Istakhr, the ancient capital of Persia.

The strictest search appears to have been made, after the murder of Arzem-dokht, for an heir of the House of Sassan: and we are told by Persian writers, that so extraordinary a regard was shown for the blood royal, that, on a report being spread that Kesra, an inhabitant of Ahwaz, was descended from Ardisheer Babec, he was placed upon the throne. Kesra, however, being found unfit to rule, was instantly murdered*. The next story circulated was, that a prince named Ferokhzad, the son of Khoosroo Purveez by a female singer of Isfahan†, had fled from the cruelty of Schiroueh to Nisibis, where he then resided. He was sent for, and the highest hopes were entertained from his elevation: but, before he had reigned a month, his days were terminated by poison. Such were the events which immediately preceded the reign of Yezdijird, and the fall of the Persian monarchy. They denote a state of great anarchy: and the elevation of so many puppets to the throne, shows that the management of public affairs was, at this period, a subject of continual contest among the chief nobles, who desired to veil their ambition under the garb of loyalty and attachment to the family of Sassan; while they only raised such creatures to power, as they thought would be the subservient instruments of their selfish schemes of aggrandizement.

Kesra is placed on the throne, and murdered.

Ferokhzad.

Is poisoned.

Many Persian historians‡ take no notice of some of the last-mentioned kings, but pass from Pooran-dokht, the daughter of Khoosroo Purveez, to Yezdijird, son of Shahryar, whom they term a lineal descendant of that monarch. Some‖ state that he was a grandson

Yezdijird comes to the throne. A. D. 632. A. H. 11.

* He is not admitted in the list of Persian kings by the author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‖ Rozut-ul-Suffa.

CHAP. VI.

of Khoosroo, being the son of Shahryar: but that having been banished, when a child*, from court, he had long resided at Istakhr as a private person. This prince was probably of the same description as others that have been noticed. He appears to have had no talents for rule; and to have been, from the hour of his elevation till his death, an instrument in the hands of his ambitious nobles.

His reign.

The reign of Yezdijird† has obtained a celebrity in history from its having been that in which the ancient empire of Persia was subverted by a band of naked lizard eaters; for such was the contemptuous appellation formerly used by their vain neighbours, when they described the tribes of Arabia. No common cause could have produced such a revolution: and Persian historians are alike disposed, from superstition and from patriotism, to deem its accomplishment one of the greatest miracles by which God has manifested the truth of the Mahomedan religion. Those who take a worldly view of this great event will discover, that a monarchy, like that of Persia, enervated by luxury, distracted by internal divisions, exhausted by foreign wars, and bending to its fall, from age and from weakness, was ill calculated to resist the enthusiastic robbers of Arabia: who, fired by the double hope of present and of future enjoyment, rushed like an overwhelming torrent on the nations by whom they were surrounded. But, before the progress of this great work of destruction is narrated, it will be necessary to say a few words upon the country, character, and religion, of that extraordinary race by whom it was effected.

* He was banished, these authors state, on account of a prophecy, which foretold the fall of the empire under a descendant of Shahryar.

† Isdegertes the Third of the Greeks.

Description of Arabia.

Though there are several lofty ranges of mountains in the peninsula of Arabia, the greatest part of that celebrated country consists of level, sandy, and arid plains, which can support but few inhabitants. We may, indeed, judge of the whole of this extensive tract by our knowledge of Yemen, or Arabia the Happy. The few cultivated spots, the thinly scattered groves, and the small though pure streams of this province, could only be deemed delightful by men whose eyes were unaccustomed to vegetation, who seldom found a shade to protect them from the scorching rays of a meridian sun, and whose thirst was usually allayed by the brackish water of the desert. The inhabitants of this peninsula are an original and unmixed race. They boast that their country has never been conquered; and we have no record of the whole of the peninsula being subject to a foreign yoke: but the Romans, at one period, possessed a part of Arabia*: and the province of Yemen, and some others adjoining it, have been often overrun, and, at times, tributary to Persia. That the monarchs of that country, and the emperors of Rome, did not pursue their conquests till they had subdued the deserts of Arabia, may have arisen from other causes than a dread of the courage of its roving inhabitants. Independance is the certain and just reward of all who consent to a life of privation and of hardship. Deserts and mountains have ever been the sacred sanctuaries of the free and brave: and those who are content to inhabit them, are seldom exposed to attack; for ambition, only envious of wealth and grandeur, could derive but little gratification

Its independance.

* The Roman province of Arabia was conquered by Palma, a lieutenant of Trajan. Its capital was Petra: but neither Trajan, nor any of his successors, made any serious progress in their further attempts on this kingdom.

CHAP. VI.

from the possession of a country, whose fields no labour could render fruitful, and whose inhabitants no period could make slaves*.

Inhabitants.

The native of Arabia is not a very robust man, but he is well formed and active, and, both from habit and education, careless of danger, and insensible to fatigue. His mind is quick, rather than intelligent: and his character is at once marked by an extreme of credulity and of enthusiasm. He is allied, in all his pleasures and fatigues, to the horse and camel of his desert: and these animals† appear to have obtained an actual superiority over their own species, from being elevated into the companions of their masters.

Religion.

The Arabs, in former days, worshipped the sun and planets; but they were latterly distracted by a variety of religions: some continued in the faith of their fathers; while others adopted the Jewish and Christian tenets. These differences in belief, added to other causes,

* The history of Arabia is anticipated, and the habits and independance of its free and brave, but rude, inhabitants, described in the following verse in the Bible, respecting its founder, Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar:—

"And he will be a wild man: his hand will be against every man, and every man's "hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."—*Genesis*, chap. vi. verse 12.

† The horse of Arabia is unequalled for speed, temper, and the power of bearing fatigue: and it is one of the most extraordinary facts in natural history, that throughout all Asia, Africa, and Europe, the best and most valued breed of this noble animal is descended from the Arabian stock. The camel and dromedary of the desert is hardly considered by the Arab as inferior to his horse. This patient and powerful animal supplies him with milk for his support, transports his property and family from one quarter of the desert to another; and, when occasion requires, enables him to pursue or fly from his enemies to any distance, and with almost incredible speed.

had long rendered their country a scene of contention and of weakness. But the doctrine of Mahomed prevailed almost as soon as it was promulgated: and that extraordinary man lived to see his faith acknowledged over all Arabia. That the religion which he taught contained some of the noblest and most sublime tenets, is as true as that these were taken from the purest of all sources. But it had, in its very origin, the character of violence; and, while it showed one great, all-powerful, and merciful Creator, and called upon the idolatrous Arab to renounce his plurality of gods for a better worship, it offered, as the reward of his conversion and obedience, the complete gratification of all the desires of his heart. The goods of this world, and every earthly enjoyment, were the pious prize of the valour of the faithful soldier who drew his sword against infidels: and, if he fell, a paradise was provided, in which he was promised perpetual youth, amid scenes where palaces of gold and rubies, virgins of never-fading beauty, clear streams, and sweet-scented groves, were to afford him eternal bliss.

The doctrine of Mahomed prevails.

This religion, which proclaimed a war on the property of all who did not receive it, was well adapted to the principles and habits of those to whom it was first addressed. One of its most remarkable features was that boundless indulgence which it granted to the strongest of all the sensual passions of man. By this indulgence, it has furnished an ever-operating motive to power, whether in the hands of the despot of a kingdom, or of a village, the baneful effects of which must be felt in every region where this faith prevails. It has, by reducing one half of the human species to the condition of slaves, rendered the other half tyrants, and thereby placed an

CHAP. VI.

almost insuperable obstacle to the progress of improvement and civilization. This appears to be the general character of that religion by which the enthusiastic Arabs were kindled. Their ardent minds received with delight, doctrines, which at once elevated the soul, fired the imagination, and gratified the passions. The zeal and ardour of converts were not likely to seek other causes for the success of their arms, than the divine origin of that faith which they had embraced; and the tenets of Mahomed were calculated to give victory to his followers. The meed of superior piety was the reward of distinguished courage; and, in the early days of this religion, the hero alone was deemed worthy of Paradise.

The first attack of the Arabs on the Persians is unsuccessful.

The first attack made by the Arabs on the Persian empire, was during the reign of the Caliph Omar, who commanded one of his leaders, Abou-Obeyd, to cross the Euphrates. The force employed must have been small, as we find it opposed by two detachments of two thousand men each; one of which was commanded by Jyan; and the other by Roostum-Ferokhzad. The Persians were afterwards reinforced by a corps under a general called Jalenous, and took post on the east side of the Euphrates, where they were attacked by Abou-Obeyd. The action was furious; but the Arabian chief lost it by his imprudent courage. He observed, we are informed, a white elephant in the centre of the Persian host: and towards this animal, (which he deemed the object of their superstition*,) he fought his way with

* I have followed the author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. The Persians had no religious veneration for elephants; but ignorant soldiers might have had a superstitious feeling regarding the fate of the animal that carried their commander.

irresistible valour, and with one blow of his scimetar struck off its trunk*. The furious animal, maddened by pain, rushed upon the rude assailant, and trampled him to atoms. The Arabs, dispirited by the fate of their leader, fled in great confusion: numbers were slain in the action: more were drowned; as the bridge on the Euphrates, across which they had advanced, was broken down. The few that survived retreated to Salabeh, a place on the west bank of the river, and informed Omar of what had happened. The caliph reinforced them: and they advanced under Jereer-Ben-Abdullah into Irak; but they were again encountered and defeated by Mehran, the general of Pooran-docht. The celebrated Durufsh Kawanee, or apron of the blacksmith Kâwâh, which had been the royal standard of Persia for so many ages, was displayed in both these battles, and was, for the last time, propitious to Persia. Mehran, encouraged by success, ventured another action, but was defeated and slain, and his dispirited troops fled in dismay to Madain. The Persians attributed their bad success to the incompetency of their powerless sovereigns. Ruler after ruler was dethroned and murdered, till the elevation of Yezdijird, which seems to have given a momentary hope to the falling nation. The first measure of that monarch was, to send an envoy to Saad-ben-Wakass, the leader whom the caliph had appointed to the chief command of his forces employed against Persia; and Saad, in compliance with the request communicated through this person, sent a deputation to Madain, consisting of three old Arab chiefs. When these were seated in the presence of Yezdijird, that monarch, we are told, addressed himself to the

Abou-Obeyd killed.

The Arabs retreat to Salabeh.

* Mirkhond.

CHAP. VI.

principal person among them, whose name was Shaikh Maghurah, in the following* words:

Yezdijird's conference with the envoys of Saad-ben-Wakass.

" We have always," said the monarch, " held you in the lowest " estimation. Arabs hitherto have been only known in Persia in " two characters: merchants and beggars. Your food is green " lizards; your drink, salt water; and your covering, garments, " made of coarse hair. But of late you have come in numbers " to Persia; you have eaten of good food, you have drank of sweet " water, and have enjoyed the luxury of soft raiment. You have " reported these enjoyments to your brethren, and they are flocking " to partake of them. But, not satisfied with all the good things " you have thus obtained, you desire to impose a new religion upon " us, who are unwilling to receive it. You appear to me," continued the monarch, " like the fox of our fable, who went into a garden " where he found plenty of grapes. The generous gardener would " not disturb him. The produce of his abundant vineyard would, " he thought, be little diminished by a poor hungry fox enjoying " himself: but the animal, not content with his good fortune, went " and informed all his tribe of the excellence of the grapes, and the " good nature of the gardener. The garden was filled with foxes: " and its indulgent master was forced to bar the gates, and put to " death all the intruders, to save himself from ruin. However," said Yezdijird, " as I am satisfied you have been compelled to the line of " conduct which you have pursued from absolute want, I will not

* Persian authors, in their account of this interview, detail some previous trifling conversation; in which, every answer that is given in Arabic, conveys, from its different signification in Pehlivi, some portentous meaning to the superstitious and alarmed Yezdijird.

" only pardon you, but load your camels with wheat and dates, that, " when you return to your native land, you may feast your country-" men. But be assured, if you are insensible to my generosity, and " remain in Persia, you shall not escape my just vengeance*."

The firm and pious envoy heard, unmoved, a speech that at once displayed the extreme of pride and of weakness in the monarch by whom it was made. " Whatever thou hast said," replied Shaikh Maghurah, " regarding the former condition of the Arabs, is true. " Their food was green lizards; they buried their infant daughters " alive†; nay, some of them feasted on dead carcasses, and drank " blood; while others slew their relations, and thought them-" selves great and valiant, when, by such an act, they became " possessed of more property: they were clothed with hair gar-" ments; knew not good from evil; and made no distinction " between that which is lawful and that which is unlawful. Such " was our state. But God, in his mercy, has sent us, by a holy " prophet, a sacred volume, which teaches us the true faith. By " it we are commanded to war with infidels, and to exchange our " poor and miserable condition for that of wealth and power. " We now solemnly desire you to receive our religion. If you " consent to this, not an Arab shall enter Persia without your " permission: and our leaders will only demand the established " taxes‡ which all believers are bound to pay. If you do not

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The horrid practice of female infanticide has been an usage of many nations. Among the ancient Arabs, as among the Rajpoots of the present day, it proceeded as much from a jealous sense of honour, as the pressure of want.

‡ The zukat, or religious charity for the poor, was a tenth upon property. The khums, or fifth, was a tax to support the syuds, or family of the prophet.

CHAP. VI.

" accept our religion, you are required to pay the tribute* fixed " upon infidels; and should you reject both these propositions, you " must prepare for war†."

War renewed with the Arabs.

Yezdijird was still too proud to attend to such degrading conditions of peace. The embassy was dismissed; and the war renewed with all the vigour of which the declining empire was capable. The Persian army was commanded by Roostum Ferokhzad, who endeavoured to avoid a general action‡, and when at last compelled to fight, was defeated with immense loss. Almost the whole of the Persian army, which, we are told, was one hundred thousand strong, fell in the celebrated battle of Kudseah; in which Mahomedan authors assert, that the Arabs lost only three thousand men‖. The booty was great; but the inhabitants of the desert were yet ignorant of its value. " I " will give any quantity of this yellow metal for a little white§," was an exclamation made, after the battle was over, by an Arabian soldier, who desired to exchange gold, which he had never before seen, for silver, which he had learnt to appreciate. But what gave its chief importance to this action, was the capture of the famous Durufsh-e-Kawanee¶, or the royal standard of the empire of Persia; an event

The Persians are defeated.

The Durufsh-e-Kawanee taken.

* Thirty-five per cent was the tax paid by infidels. It was collected on their property. † Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ He acted in this manner, Persian authors state, from motives of superstition.

‖ This is the report of Mahomedan historians, who have a great disposition to the wonderful, in relating the first actions of the faithful. § Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

¶ We are informed by d'Herbelot, that this famous standard was so richly ornamented, that it was divided into many portions, and enriched all who shared in it. Major Price, in his valuable History of the Mahomedans, is more particular; writing from the page of the Hubeeb-ul-Syur and the Rozut-ul-Suffa, both highly respectable works, he states, that for the tribe of Bene Temiem " was reserved the additional " good fortune of seizing the celebrated standard of the Persian empire; which, from

which was deemed both by Arabians and Persians as a certain presage of the result of the war. Yezdijird, the moment he heard of this great defeat, fled to Hulwan with all the property he could carry. Saad-ben-Wakass, after taking possession of Madain, pursued him; and sent his nephew, Hashem, to attack a body of troops* which had arrived from the provinces of Shirwan and Aderbijan. This force took shelter in the fort of Jelwallah, where they were attacked and made prisoners. Yezdijird, on learning this event, left his army, and fled to Rhe. Hashem advanced to Hulwan, which he soon reduced. The City of Ahwaz, which appears to have been a place of great importance at this period, was also taken by the Arabs; and from that place Saad marched, by the caliph's order, to Amber: but finding that situation unhealthy, he halted his army at Koofa; a place which soon afterwards acquired celebrity. The foundations of Bussorah were laid in the same year by the Arab chief, Alabah Ghuzwan.

Yezdijird escapes to Hulwan.

A. D. 638. A. H. 17.

Saad-ben-Wakass, who continued to govern all that part of Persia which he had conquered, from his fixed camp, or rather new City of Koofa, was recalled by Omar, on account of a complaint made against him by those under his rule; and a chief, named Omar Yuseer, was appointed his successor. Yezdijird, encouraged by the removal of a leader that he so much dreaded, assembled an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men from the provinces of Khorassan, Rhé, and Hamadan; and, placing it under the command of

A. D. 640. A. H. 20.

Yezdijird assembles a large army,

" the original dimensions and shape of a blacksmith's apron, had been, by this time, " enlarged to the length of two and twenty feet, by about fifteen feet in breadth, " enriched with jewels of great value."—PRICE's *History*, Vol. I. page 116.

* Under the command of Mehran, the son of Baharam.

CHAP. VI.

Firouzan, the bravest of the Persian generals, resolved to put the fate of his empire at issue on one great battle.

The caliph reinforces his army in Persia.

The caliph, when he heard of these preparations, ordered reinforcements to be sent to his army in Persia from every quarter of his dominions; and committing the whole to the chief command of Noman*, he directed that leader to exert his utmost efforts to destroy, for ever, the impious worship of fire. The Arabian force assembled at Koofa, and from thence marched to the plains of Nahavund†, on which the Persian army had established a camp, surrounded by a deep entrenchment. During two months, these great armies continued in sight of each other, and many skirmishes were fought. The Persian general appearing determined not to quit his position, the zealous valour of the leader of the faithful became impatient of delay. He drew up his army in order of battle, and thus addressed them: "My friends! prepare yourselves to conquer, or "to drink of the sweet sherbet‡ of martyrdom. I shall now call the "Tukbeer three times; at the first, you will gird your loins: at the "second, mount your steeds: and at the third, point your lances "and rush to victory, or to Paradise. As to me," said Noman, with a raised and enraptured voice, "I shall be a martyr! When I "am slain, obey the orders of Huzeefah-ebn-Aly-Oman||." The moment he had done speaking, the first sound of the Tukbeer (Allah-

A. D. 641. A. H. 21. They march to Nahavund.

* He was called Noman-ben-Mukran Muzunnee: the latter term is the name of his tribe.

† Nahavund is a small village, situated forty-five miles to the south of Hamadan.

‡ In warm countries, and among the nations where religion forbids wine, sherbet, or lemonade, is the beverage in which they delight.

|| Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

Akbar, or God is great,) was heard throughout the camp. At the second, all were upon their horses; and at the third, which was repeated by the whole army, the Mahomedans charged with a fury that was irresistible. Noman was, as he predicted, slain; but his army gained a great and memorable victory. Thirty thousand Persians were pierced by their lances, and eighty thousand more were drowned in the deep trench by which they had surrounded their camp. Their general, Firouzan, with four thousand men, fled to the hills: but such was the effect of terror on one side, and of confidence on the other, that this chief was pursued, defeated, and slain, by a body of not more than one thousand men.

The Persians are attacked and defeated,

and their chief slain.

A. D. 641.
A. H. 21.

The battle of Nahavund decided the fate of Persia; which, from its date, fell under the dominion of the Arabian caliphs. Yezdijird protracted, for several years, a wretched and precarious existence. He first fled to Seistan; then to Khorassan; and lastly, to Merv. The governor* of that city invited the Khakan† of the Tartars to take possession of the person of the fugitive monarch. That sovereign accepted the offer; his troops entered Merv, the gates of which were opened to them by the treacherous governor, and made themselves masters of it, in spite of the desperate resistance of the surprised, but brave and enraged inhabitants. Yezdijird escaped on foot from the town during the confusion of the contest. He reached a mill eight miles from Merv, and entreated the miller

Yezdijird escapes to Merv.

* The name of the governor was Mahouyiah.

† Khondimeer, who quotes the Nizam-ul-Tuarikh, says it was the King of the Hiatila (White Huns), whom he invited. On the other hand, Ferdosi says, it was Pizun, a chief of Turan, who ruled at Samarcund.

CHAP. VI.

to conceal him. The man told him he owed a certain sum to the owner of the mill, and that, if he paid the debt, he should have his protection against all pursuers. The monarch agreed to this proposal; and, after giving his rich sword and belt as pledges of his sincerity, he retired to rest with a perfect confidence in his safety. But the miller could not resist the temptation of making his fortune by the possession of the rich arms and robes of the unfortunate prince, whose head he separated from his body with the sword he had received from him, and then cast his corpse into the water-course that turned the mill*. The Governor of Merv, and those who had aided him, began, in a few days, to suffer from the tyranny of the Khakan, and to repent the part which they had acted. They encouraged the citizens to rise upon the Tartars: and not only recovered the city, but forced the Khakan to fly, with great loss, to Bokharah. A diligent inquiry was made after Yezdijird, whose fate was soon discovered. The miller fell a victim to popular rage; and the corpse of the monarch was embalmed and sent to Istakhr, to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors. This prince, who appears to have been as weak as he was unfortunate, sat upon the throne only nine years; that being the period from his elevation to the battle of Nahavund†. He was the last sovereign of the House

A. D. 651. A. H. 32.

Is murdered.

* This account of the death of Yezdijird is taken from the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. But Ferdosi extenuates the conduct of the miller; who, he says, saved the wretched monarch till his retreat was discovered by the emissaries of the Governor of Merv; when he was compelled, by that ruler's mandate, to become his murderer: but this account is not so probable as the other.

† From the battle of Nahavund till the death of Yezdijird, a period of ten years, this monarch was a fugitive, possessed of no power whatever.

of Sassan; a dynasty which ruled Persia four hundred and fifteen years: and the memory of which is still cherished by a nation whose ancient glory is associated with the fame of Ardisheer, Shahpoor, and Nousheerwan.

CHAPTER VII.

General Reflections on the Religion, History, Antiquities, and Character of the Inhabitants of Persia, before the Mahomedan Conquest.

CHAP. VII.

IT will be useful to pause a moment, at this period of the History, in order to examine into the nature and merits of those Authorities from which the preceding account of ancient Persia has been given. And a consideration of this subject will naturally lead to a notice of the religion, history, antiquities, and character of the former inhabitants of that kingdom.

In our researches into the history of remote ages, the first facts which attract our attention, are those that relate to the mode in which the nations of the earth have paid their adoration to their Creator: and the precise substance and form of a people's worship can generally be traced many centuries beyond that period at which we find any authentic record of their history. This, in a great degree, arises out of the sublime nature of the subject; for, under whatever form ignorance or superstition may lead man to address his Maker, there is, in the act of devotion itself, that which, while it inspires awe and veneration, makes an indelible impression upon the human mind. The first efforts of a rude people are always directed to celebrate and perpetuate the rites of their religion. The earliest attempts of the pencil, the chisel, and the pen, are consecrated to

this object: and learning, in its dawn, has almost always been confined to those, who, being intrusted with the care of sacred ceremonies, have devoted their exclusive knowledge to the exaltation and support of that religion of which they were the ministers. It is obvious, therefore, that in an inquiry into the ancient history of every nation, the subject of religion has the first claim to our attention.

Remarks on the Dabistan.

Our knowledge of that part of the history of Persia which precedes the reign of Kaiomurs, the first prince of the Paishdadian dynasty, rests upon the authority of the Dabistan*; a

* This work is entitled to more attention, from the notice it received from that celebrated orientalist, Sir William Jones. The following is the account he gave of it:—

"The rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions, entitled 'The "Dabistan,' and composed by a Mahomedan traveller, a native of Cashmere, named "Mohsan, but distinguished by the assumed surname of Fani, or Perishable, begins "with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hushang, which was long "anterior to that of Zeratusht, but had continued to be secretly professed by many "learned Persians, even to the author's time: and several of the most eminent of them "dissenting, in many points, from the Gabrs, and persecuted by the ruling powers of "their country, had retired to India; where they compiled a number of books, now "extremely scarce, which Mohsan had perused, and with the writers of which, or with "many of them, he had contracted an intimate friendship: from them he learned that "a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in Iran, before the accession of "Cayumers; that it was called the Māhābādéān dynasty, for a reason which will soon "be mentioned; and that many princes, of whom seven or eight only are named in the "Dabistan, and among them Mahbul, or Maha Beli, had raised this empire to the "zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the Iranian monarchy must have been the oldest in the world: but it will "remain dubious, to which of the three stocks, Hindoo, Arabian, or Tartar, the first "King of Iran belonged; or whether they sprang from a fourth race, distinct from any "of the others: and these are questions which we shall be able, I imagine, to answer

CHAP. VII.

Persian work containing an account of twelve religions, written about a century and a half ago by a native of Cashmere, called Shaik Mahomed Mohsin, and surnamed Fani, or "the Perishable." This work, we are told, is taken from ancient Pehlivi manuscripts, and from verbal communications which its author asserts he had with Persians who still continued to profess, in secret, that religion which their ancestors had followed previous to Zoroaster. It contains an account of the dynasty of Mahabad, of Jy-Affram, of Shah-Kuleev, and of Yassan-Ajum: but the extravagant number of years assigned to these dynasties, and the character of the few events that are recorded, make us suspect that the historical part of this work is a mere fable, allusive to the early condition of mankind*. It is possible that Mohsin Fani may have taken this fable from the sources he pretends: but there appears throughout the whole of this branch of his subject a great desire to connect the ancient history of the Persians and Hindoos. The fourteen Mahabads are evidently the fourteen Menus of the latter nation; and the division which the first of that race made of the inhabitants of Persia into four casts†, seems to be a transcript, even to the names of the Hindoo tradition of the first establishment of that celebrated institution in India. These,

"precisely, when we have carefully inquired into the languages and letters, religion "and philosophy, and incidentally into the arts and sciences of the ancient Persians." —Sir WILLIAM JONES's *Works*, Vol. I. page 78.

* From some parts of this fable, we might almost be led to believe that it had an allusion to the antediluvian monarchs; and Sir William Jones informs us, that the modern Parsis, or Guebers, have traditions of the deluge. The subject merits inquiry. Those of that persuasion to whom I addressed myself upon this point, did not confirm the information which that learned and accomplished orientalist had received.

† For the account of the first establishment of cast among the Hindoos, see the Institutes of Menu.—Sir WILLIAM JONES's *Works*, Vol. III. page 77.

and other facts of a similar nature, lead us to doubt the authenticity of this part of the Dabistan: and our doubts are increased by the character of its author, who, though professing Mahomedanism, was a Sooffee, or Philosophical Devotee, and an avowed believer in the superstition of the Brahmens. His principles must have connected him with the most abstracted and visionary of that tribe: and we cannot be surprised that such a man, endowed with learning and a poetical* imagination, should take great liberties with his text, and have tried to reconcile jarring systems. Among the authorities that Mohsin Fani mentions having referred to, is the Dussateer†, or, as it is sometimes called, the Temarawatseer. This book, which is also quoted by the author of the Burhan Kuttah‡, has been lately found, and is now in the possession of Moullah Firoze, a very respectable and learned priest of the Parsees‖, or Guebers. The Dussateer is supposed to have been written by fifteen prophets, of whom the first was Mahabad, and the last Sassan§. The latter, who lived in the

* In Persia and India those who have the talent of making verses, assume the name of Shaher, or poet, and hold a certain rank in society from this title. Such usually take up a Tukhullus, or poetical name, by which they style themselves in their poems: that of Mahomed Mohsin was Fani, or "the Perishable," and he is generally called Mohsin Fani.

† This word, which is the plural of Dustoor, and means regulations, is said, by Sir William Jones, to have been given to it by modern translators.

‡ The Burhan Kuttah is a Persian work of authenticity and character.

‖ Moullah Firoze is an inhabitant of Bombay, where many of this class reside. He is a man of considerable learning; and is not only a good scholar in Pehlivi and Persian, but in Arabic. His proficiency in the latter language has obtained him the title of Moullah.

§ He is termed Sassan the Fifth, there being four before him of the same name in this list of prophets.

CHAP. VII.

reign of Khoosroo Purveez, translated the original text* into Persian, and added his own opinions and prophecies† to those of his predecessors. This work‡ is called a sacred volume‖, and is filled with rhapsodies in praise of the Creator, the sun, the moon, and the planets. Its contents evidently relate to a period at which the inhabitants of Persia worshipped God and the planets§, or the host of heaven.

The author of the Dabistan refers to other sources of information besides the Dussateer. But, even supposing his industry had recovered manuscripts which had been eagerly and vainly sought for ages, we cannot, unless we were in possession of the works he quotes, give our confidence to a writer who assumes such latitude in the frame of

* Moullah Firoze states, that the original is an obsolete language, which he can translate with difficulty: but it is probably a dialect of Pehlivi, or he would not have been able to read any part of it.

† One of these prophecies was the Mahomedan invasion and conquest of Persia; an event not difficult to predict in the reign of Khoosroo Purveez.

‡ This book is in the possession of Moullah Firoze; who informed me, that he found it when searching among some old volumes at Isfahan. I made a short and hasty abstract of its contents: the nature of which tended, in no slight degree, to remove those doubts I had entertained of its authenticity. I could not discover the slightest motive for the fabrication of such a work. It certainly merits (as an object of curiosity) a literal translation: but I fear it will be found to contain little that can be termed historical.

‖ Moullah Firoze's MSS.

§ The worship of the sun is deemed to be one of the most ancient in the world. I am told, by a learned friend, that the Hebrew term for *East* means "before;" *West*, "behind;" *South*, the "right;" and the *North*, "obscure," or "concealed." The three first of these terms denote the position of an adorer of the sun: the last describes the darkness with which the first inhabitants of the earth believed the northern part of the globe to be enveloped.

his narrative. But the most curious and attractive part of the Dabistan is certainly that which relates to the usages and ceremonies of the worship of Persia, before the introduction of the religion of Zoroaster.

Primeval religion of Persia.

According to Mohsin Fani, the primeval religion of Persia was a firm belief in one Supreme God, who made the world by his power, and governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species; and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation. This belief was followed by a worship of the host of heaven, or the celestial bodies; in the adoration of which, the Sabian ritual is believed to have consisted. To this worship succeeded that of fire; which, if we are to credit Ferdosi, was first introduced by Houshung*, the grandson of Kaiomurs: but, as it is stated in his page, that Houshung commenced by making successful war upon the deeves or magicians, and that he introduced

Worship of fire first introduced by Houshung.

* The following translation from Ferdosi gives an account of the origin of this worship. "One day the king (Houshung) retired to the mountains, accompanied by "some of his attendants: something appeared at a distance of enormous magnitude, "black, tremendous, and glossy. Its two eyes seemed fountains of blood; the smoke "which issued from its mouth obscured the air. The prudent Houshung contemplated "it circumspectly; he seized a stone, and prepared to assail it. He threw it with the "force of a hero, and the serpent no longer annoyed the world. The stone struck "upon a rock, and both fell to pieces by the percussion. A brilliant flame sprung from "the contact; and thus fire became the production of stone. The king prostrated "himself before God, and offered devout supplications, for having thus obtained the "sacred fire; for which he erected a sanctuary in that spot. He said, 'This fire is a "'divinity; let it be worshipped by all.' Night came, the mountain was covered with "fire; it was surrounded by the king and his attendants. The event was celebrated "by a feast, the name of which became that of the auspicious hero."

CHAP. VII.

new forms of worship, it is likely that he banished some of the old; and, perhaps, this might have been the idolatry which Mohsin Fani describes: but if so, it is fatal to that theory which would connect the worship of the Hindoos with that of the ancient Persians; the idols which the latter are said to have adored, and the mode of their adoration, being altogether dissimilar to those of India.

Worship of the planets.

The followers of Mahabad, we are informed in the Dabistan, worshipped the planets, represented by images of a very extraordinary nature. That of Saturn, which was of black stone, had a head like an ape, the body of a man, and the tail of a hog.—The image of Jupiter was of an earthy colour: it represented a man with a vulture's head, on which was a crown, and on the top of it were the heads of a cock and a dragon. The right hand of this image held a turban, or wreath of cloth: the left, a crystal water pot.—The statue of Mars was of red stone. The image was that of a man: in his right hand, which hung by his side, was a bloody scimetar: and his left, which was raised, held an iron scourge.—The image of the Sun was of gold: it represented a man on horseback with two heads, and on each was a seven-pointed crown set with rubies. Though the faces of this idol were human, it had a dragon's tail. In its right hand was a slender rod of gold, and its neck was encircled by a collar of rich jewels.—The image of Venus was of human form, and wore a crown with seven peaks or points. The right hand held a bottle of oil, and the left a comb.—The image of Mercury had the body and tail of a fish, with the face of a hog. It had a crown on its head. The right hand held a pen, and the left an inkhorn.—The Moon was represented by an image of a man sitting upon a white cow. This idol had, in its right hand, an amulet of rubies; and in

The Moon

Mercury

Venus

The Sun

Mars

Jupiter

Saturn

IMAGES TAKEN FROM A DRAWING IN THE DABISTAN.

its left, a sprig of sweet basil. The author describes*, at great length, the temples of these idols; the incense offered at their shrine; and the classes of men by whom they were worshipped, as well as the seasons and modes of that worship. He remarks, that the planets were bodies of a spherical form, and that the figures he has represented were those under which the souls of these stars had appeared in the world of imagination to many saints, prophets, and philosophers. These souls or genii, he states, have often assumed different shapes; in conformity to which, other representations have been given of them.

Comparison between the ancient religion of Persia and that of the Sabians.

It has been before observed, that the idolatrous religion which Mohsin Fani ascribes to the ancient Persians, bears no resemblance to the worship of the Hindoos: it seems nearest that which was followed by a sect of Sabians, who, we are told, believed in God, but adored the planets, whom they deemed his vicegerents, that exercised an influence over all created things in the world. This sect of Sabians were said to follow the ancient Chaldeans, and to inherit their skill in astronomy†; a science built upon the same foundation as the adoration of the planets. And this leads us to remark, that the very title of the work from which Mohsin Fani gives an account of this worship, appears more like that of a

* The minute description given by Mohsin Fani of the temples, idols, and modes of worship of the ancient Persians, is very curious. A translation of this part of the Dabistan has been made by Mr. Gladwin, and is published in the new Asiatic Miscellany. In a copy of the Dabistan, which was for some time in my possession, I met with drawings of these idols; and the painter had delineated them very exactly, from the description of the author.

† Picart's "Religious Ceremonies."

CHAP. VII.

treatise upon astrology, than upon religion. He calls it the Akhteristan*, or the Region of the Stars. It is, however, impossible to enter into any minute comparison of the religion he ascribes to the ancient Persians, and the sect of Sabians that have been noticed, because we have only a very general account of the tenets† of the

* The author informs us, that he also referred to another work for information on this branch of his subject. This book he calls the "Temarawatseer:" (this is said to be the Pehlivi name of the "Dussateer.") After describing the modes in which wise and learned men arrive at an exact knowledge of the influence of the stars on human events, he relates an anecdote of himself, which is at once a proof of his extreme superstition, and his great reliance on the Brahmens. "In the year one thousand and sixty-one of "the Hejirah, (or A. D. 1650)," Mahomed Mohsin observes, "I had a complaint in "my temples, for which I could not procure any remedy. The astrologers asserted, "that it was occasioned by the vehemence of the planet Mars; and, in consequence, "on the fourth of the month Zilkadeh (or ninth of October), of that year, some "learned Brahmens assembled together, having an image of Mars, the proper "incense, and other things necessary for the occasion. They first employed "themselves in reading prayers, and invoking names; after which, the chief man "amongst them lifted up the image of Mars, and, with great reverence, said, "'Oh! renowned angel, and heavenly captain! lay aside thine anger, and bestow "'mercy on such an one;' pointing towards me. Then they plunged the image "into perfumed water; and instantly, on its immersion, the complaint ceased." —*Asiatic Miscellany.*

The name of the planet Mars in Hindoo astronomy is Mungul. The genii, or souls of the planets, are worshipped by the Hindoos, but under quite different figures from those mentioned in the Dabistan. There appears also a great difference between the mode in which the ancient Persians paid their adoration to the planets, and that which prevailed among the Arabians, who also worshipped them, before the introduction of the Mahomedan religion.

† See Picart's "Religious Ceremonies," Vol. VI. page 147, 153 — 155.

latter; but we know that their opinions were adopted by many learned persons in Asia, long after the introduction of the religion of Mahomed: and we are told, that a work*, explanatory of their tenets and ceremonies, was written in the third century of the Hejirah. It is not impossible that productions, in which religion was grafted on astronomy, should be preserved longer in the eastern than the western hemisphere. The delusive science of astrology, which has been but recently banished† the European world, is still cherished throughout the whole of Asia. There is no Mahomedan of learning, in Persia, or in India, who is not an astrologer: rare works upon that science are more valued than any other: and it is remarkable, that on the most trivial occasions, when calculating nativities and foretelling events, they deem it essential to describe the planets

* Thebit, a celebrated Sabian, who died in the third century of the Hejirah, wrote such a work; which is thought to be lost.—PICART's *Religious Ceremonies*, Vol. VI. page 156.

† Wherever real knowledge has advanced, the belief of astrology has diminished. We are informed by Voltaire, that in the seventeenth century this science was esteemed in France. "They consulted astrologers," that author remarks, "and believed in "them. All the memoirs of that time, to begin with the History of the President De "Thou, are filled with predictions. The grave and severe Duke de Sully seriously "records those that were foretold of Henry the Fourth. This credulity, the most "infallible mark of ignorance, was then so much in vogue, that they took care to "secrete an astrologer near Queen Anne of Austria's chamber, at the birth of Louis "the Fourteenth.

"What is difficult to be believed," he adds, "but is nevertheless related by the "abbot, Vittorio Siri, a cotemporary and well-informed writer, is, that Louis the "Thirteenth was, from his infancy, surnamed *The Just*, because he was born under "Libra, or the sign of the balance."

CHAP. VII.

in terms* not unsuited to the account which the author of the Dabistan has given of these deities.

From all these facts, I think it probable that the description given in the Dabistan of the religion of the inhabitants of Persia, before Zoroaster, either refers to a period prior to Houshung, and describes the idolatry of the deeves† whom he destroyed, or is taken from the account of the religious ceremonies and worship of a Sabian sect. If we do not adopt one of these opinions, we must conclude that it is an invention: and that would hardly appear possible, as we cannot discover what purpose such a finished fable of idolatrous superstition could be meant to answer. By placing this worship anterior to Houshung, two radical objections against its ever having existed in Persia are removed. First, there being no trace of any

* The following is a literal translation from the introduction of a paper, given me by the king's astrologer, at Shiraz, in 1800; when he did me the honour to tell my fortune:—

"Praise be to that great Creator who formed earth, heaven, and the heavenly bodies: "among whose divine works mankind appear but as a small spot. The dark Saturn, "like a sentinel, in the seventh heaven, is attentive to his wishes. The glorious "Jupiter, like an able judge, enthroned in the sixth heaven, is watchful of his desires: "and the bloody Mars, with his purple stained sabre, sits in the fifth heaven, the ready "executioner of his Maker's wrathful commands. And the resplendent sun, encircled "by a flaming crown, shines in the fourth heaven, with light that he has received from "the Almighty. The beautiful Venus, like a glad minstrel, sits in her elegant apart- "ment in the third heaven, supported by his power. The feathered Mercury, like a "wise secretary, sits in the second heaven, the writer of the Almighty's orders. The "clear moon sits enthroned in the first heaven, a sign of the Creator's power."

† Literally, magicians; but merely meaning the enemies of this race of kings, and the opposers of their religion.

figures resembling the idols represented on the sculpture at Persepolis, or any other of the ruins of that country; all that now remain having been erected subsequent to that period: and secondly, the evidence of Herodotus*, who declares that the Persians had neither statues, temples, nor idols; though he states that they offered, on the tops of high mountains, sacrifices to Jove; distinguishing, by that name, all the expanse of the firmament: and that they adored the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds.

Similarity of the ancient religions of Persia and India.

There are some circumstances that might dispose us to believe that the ancient religions of Persia and of India were connected in their origin. Among other proofs in favour of this conjecture, we find that there was, in the early ages of both countries, an abhorrence of animal flesh, which has been preserved, to this day, by some of the highest and most respected of the casts of India. It has been noticed, that the first person in Persia who departed from this usage was the tyrant, Zohauk†, whose name is yet held in execration‡. We may suppose, that a horror at this practice remained even after

* It is evident, from this observation, that Herodotus composed his work from information that referred to a period prior to the establishment of the religion of Zoroaster, as they certainly had temples after that event. This religion was introduced in the reign of Gushtasp, or Darius Hystaspes; and his son, Isfundear, the father of Ardisheer Dirazdust, (Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks,) was the greatest propagator of its tenets; and, consequently, a great builder of temples of fire. But it is still probable, that even in the lifetime of Herodotus, who was born in 444 A.C., the religion of Zoroaster was not completely introduced into Persia; and his information was probably from those who professed the faith which that of Zoroaster ultimately supplanted.

† It has been shown, that the conquest of Persia, by Zohauk, alludes to the subjection of that empire to the Assyrian yoke: and it is probable that both the government and religion were subverted at the same period.

‡ Ferdosi.

CHAP. VII.

Birth of Zoroaster.

it became general; and that many humane and pious men looked back, with veneration, at the superior innocence of a former age. It is on this principle that we must account for the anxiety of the historians of the holy Zoroaster to establish, that their prophet was produced not only without sin, but without pain or death to either the animal or vegetable creation; for the ancient Persians believed the latter, though insensible to pain or pleasure, had life, and was pervaded by the eternal Spirit, as well as the former. A Persian author has declared, that the religious among the followers of Zoroaster believe that the soul* of that holy person was created by God, and hung upon that tree from which all that is celestial has been produced. The word tree is used metaphorically, to signify the first reason or knowledge, of which all the fruit is good; and when the author says the soul of Zerdosht was suspended from a tree, he only means that the soul of the prophet was a ray from the first reason: and the perfection of Zoroaster was considered, he adds, as a splendid light from the tree of knowledge. "I have heard†," this author observes, "the wise and holy mobud, Seroosh, declare, "that the father of Zoroaster had a cow‡, which, after tasting some "withered leaves that had fallen from a tree, never ate of any other: "these leaves being her sole food, all the milk she produced was

* This account of his birth is from the Dabistan, the author of which states, that he follows the Shaheristan, or Pehlivi work of Ferzana Baharam, the son of Ferhad Yezdanee.

† It is not very clear, whether the author of the Dabistan speaks here in his own person, or of the Pehlivi writer whom he quotes: but probably the latter.

‡ Another account says, this cow ate the soul of Zoroaster as it hung to the tree, and that it passed, through her milk, to the father of that prophet. —*Persian MSS.*

"from them." The father* of Zoroaster (whose name was Poor-shasp,) was entirely supported by this milk: and to it, in consequence, they refer the pregnancy of his mother, whose name was Daghda †. The apparent object of this statement, is to prove that Zoroaster was born in innocence: and that not even vegetable life was destroyed to give him existence ‡.

In giving a short abstract of the religion of Zoroaster, which has been very fully treated by several European authors ||, I shall pass over the dreams of Daghda which foretold the greatness of Zoroaster, while yet in the womb; as well as the journey of the prophet to heaven, where he received, from Hormuzd, the holy volume of the Zend-a-vesta, and the sacred fire; and his visit to hell, where he beheld Ahriman, or the evil spirit, release a man in whom he perceived some good, and threaten Satan, in his own regions, with shame and ignominy: nor shall I dwell upon his retirement to the mountain of Elburz§, and his solitary devotion in a deep cave, adorned by mystical figures of the elements, the seasons, and the celestial bodies: nor upon the various miracles which he performed

* The Parsees carry the genealogy of Zerdosht to Manucheher. I read this account of the birth of their prophet to Moullah-Firoze, one of the most learned of their priests: he said it was exactly what they believed.

† This word, in Shanscrit, signifies milk.

‡ When he was born he burst out into a loud laugh, (like the prince of necromancers, Merlin,) and such a light shone from his body, as illuminated the whole room. This ancient tradition respecting Zoroaster, which we meet with in Persian works, is mentioned by Pliny.

|| Anquetil du Perron has translated the Zend-a-vesta, which is certainly the most authentic source from which we can derive information upon this subject.

§ His retirement is noticed by Pliny, who says, Zoroaster is reported to have lived twenty years in the deserts.

CHAP. VII.

to establish the truth of his religion: the principal of which were, holding the sacred fire on his hand; allowing boiling metal to be poured on his body; and restoring to health, and his natural shape, the favourite horse of Gushtasp, whose legs were contracted and drawn up into his belly. It will be sufficient to notice, in a general manner, the leading doctrines which he propagated, the usages that he prescribed, and the essential points in which he reformed and altered the ancient worship of his country. God, he taught, existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. There were, he averred, two principles in the universe,—good and evil: the one was termed Hormuzd, which denoted the presiding agent of all that was good; and the other, Ahriman, the lord of evil. Each of these had the power of creation: but that power was exercised with opposite designs; and it was from their coaction, that an admixture of good and evil was found in every created thing. The angels of Hormuzd, or the good principle, sought to preserve the elements, the seasons, and the human race, which the infernal agents of Ahriman desired to destroy: but the source of good alone, the great Hormuzd, was eternal; and must, therefore, ultimately prevail*. Light was the type of the good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said unto Zoroaster, "My light is concealed under all "that shines†." Hence, the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotions in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation. Zoroaster declared to his followers, that the guardian angels of animals, and of the elements, had addressed him as follows:

Doctrines of Zoroaster.

* Zend-a-vesta.

† Zend-a-vesta.

" Guard my herds and flocks," said the holy Bahman, " O man " of God! These I received from the Almighty: these I commit " to you. Let not the young be slain, nor those that are still " useful."

" Servant of the Most High!" exclaimed the dazzling Ardibehesht, " speak to the royal Gushtasp from me: say that " unto thee I have confided all fires. Ordain the mobuds, the " dustoors, and herboods*, to preserve them, and neither to extin- " guish them in the water, nor in the earth: bid them erect, in every " city, a temple of fire; and celebrate, in honour of that element, the " feasts ordained by law. The brilliancy of fire is from God: and " what is more beautiful than that element? It requires only wood " and odours. Let the young and the old give these, and their " prayers shall be heard. I give it over to thee, as I received it " from God. Those who do not fulfil my words, shall go to the " infernal regions."

Shaherawar next spoke: " Oh thou pure man!" said this angel, " when thou art upon the earth, tell all men my words: bid those " who carry the lance, the sword, the dagger, and the mace, clean " them each year, that the sight of them may put to flight those " that cherish bad designs. Bid them never place confidence in " wicked men, nor in their enemies†."

Espendermad exclaimed: " Thou, who shalt be as a blessing unto " mankind, preserve the earth from blood, uncleanliness, and from " carcasses: carry such where the earth is not cultivated, and where " neither man nor water passeth. Fruits in abundance shall reward

* Names of different orders of priests.

† Zend-a-vesta.

CHAP. VII.

" labour; and the best king is he who rendereth the earth most " fertile. Say this unto men from me*."

The angel Khourdad said: " I confide to thee, O Zoroaster! the " water that flows, that which is stagnant, the water of rivers, that " which comes from afar, and from the mountains, the water from " rain and from springs. Instruct men, that it is water which gives " strength to all living things. It makes all verdant. Let it not be " polluted with any thing dead or impure, that your victuals, boiled " in pure water, may be healthy. Execute thus the words of God."

After Khourdad had finished, Amerdad said: " O Zoroaster! bid " men not destroy, nor pull, except in season, the plants and the " fruits of the earth; for these were meant as a support and blessing " to man, and unto animals †."

Zoroaster was also instructed to establish, in every place, a priest who should read the sacred volume, or the Avesta: and these were ordained to preserve pure the four elements of which man is formed; earth, air, fire, and water ‡.

These were the leading principles of the religion of Zoroaster. The general maxims taught in his great work, the Zend-a-vesta, were moral and excellent, and well calculated to promote industry and virtue. That the principal tenets of the faith he taught were pure, and sublime, and that his religion inculcated the worship of one immortal and beneficent Creator, is as true as those accusations which state, that he artfully adapted his creed to the prejudices of his countrymen, and that, whatever might have been his intention, his introduction of flame from an earthly substance, as the symbol of God, opened a

* Zend-a-vesta. † Zend-a-vesta. ‡ Zend-a-vesta.

wide door for superstition. There can be no doubt that the devotion intended for the deity of Zoroaster, has been given to the symbol by many of his followers, who have merited, by such a practice, the reproachful name of worshippers of fire.

Though the Persians, before the period of Zoroaster, reverenced fire as one of the elements, we have no reason to believe that they preserved it in temples*, or addressed their devotions to it. The introduction of this usage may be deemed one of the greatest changes which that prophet made in their religion. In directing his disciples to turn to the sun, when they offered up their prayers,

* The silence of Herodotus on the subject of the great revolution that had taken place in the religion of Persia, (a short period before that in which he lived,) has been before noticed. It appears to prove, that the progress of the changes made by Zoroaster was slow. But, on looking closely at the passage which Herodotus gives us, we also discover, that he writes of the past more than the actual state of the religion of Persia. He observes, it is true, that " he speaks *from his own knowledge*, when he " states, that the Persians have neither statues, temples, nor altars[7]," &c. But after asserting, in the same positive manner, and in the present tense, that " They adore the " sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds[8];" he adds: " But they sacrifice to " these, only from of old, or according to ancient custom. In aftertimes, from the " example of the Assyrians and Arabians, they added Urania to the number." This passage appears to me to refer more to antecedent usage, than to the exact period at which Herodotus wrote. It certainly proves, that, immediately before the time of Zoroaster, the Persians worshipped the host of heaven, but not their images; consequently, the account of these idols given in the Dabistan must either be false altogether, or refer to a period much more remote than that of which the Grecian historian writes.

[7] Beloe's Herodotus, Vol. I. page 193.

[8] This is a literal translation of the text, given to me by a learned friend.

CHAP. VII.

Mode of disposing of the dead.

he accorded with the national belief, and that was also flattered by the great veneration in which he held the elements. But the obedience which he paid to the angel Espendermad, who bade him not soil the earth with carcasses, led him to change some part of the usages of the ancient Persians in respect to the disposal of the dead. According to Herodotus, the Persians used to inter their dead*: but the corpse was not buried till the flesh had been eaten by dogs and birds. It is the practice of the followers of Zoroaster to expose the carcasses of their dead on the tops of cemeteries, built "where neither "man nor water passeth:" and when the flesh is eaten off by birds, or wasted by exposure, the bones, instead of being separately interred,

* Many vases full of human bones have been recently discovered. Several were dug out of a mound near Abusheher when I was residing at that place; and I was told the same kind of vases were found in different parts of Persia. Those which I saw, were of a size that could not have contained the body of a full grown person: but, as the skeletons were complete, the flesh had evidently either been cut or eaten off: and this usage seems illustrated by the following remarkable passage in Herodotus:—

"They have other customs," that author observes; "concerning which, as they are "of a secret nature, I will not pretend to express myself decisively: as to what relates "to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true, that these never are interred, till some "bird, or dog, has discovered a propensity to prey on them. This, however, is un-"questionably certain of the Magi, who publicly observe this custom. The Persians "first enclose the dead body in wax, and afterwards place it in the ground."

It is to be remarked, that though Herodotus, in this passage, states, that the dead body before interment was wrapped in wax, it is probable that this was only the usage of the rich. The lower orders would, to avoid expense, naturally substitute clay; and earthen vessels, for such purposes, would be manufactured. The vases that have been discovered, could evidently never have contained more than the bones; and, consequently, the flesh must either have been consumed by dogs or birds in the manner described, or been allowed to waste away previous to interment.

as formerly, are thrown into a great cavity in the centre of the common sepulchre.

Zoroaster, we are informed, was a great astrologer; and, from his knowledge of the heavenly bodies, could calculate nativities, and foretell events; and this knowledge has descended to the priesthood of his followers: but it would fill a volume to describe every stone of the structure he reared. He had presiding angels over each month, and over every day: the names and duties of these, and of a host of genii, are detailed in his works. The religion which he introduced, was disturbed, after his death, by a thousand schisms. Those of Mani, and of Mazdak, have been noticed. The last great reform, or rather re-establishment of the original orthodox doctrines of Zoroaster, took place in the reign of Ardisheer Babigan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty; and the rites ordained by the chief mobuds* under his reign, are still observed by the followers of this religion.

We now proceed to an examination of the authorities on which the facts connected with the history of ancient Persia are grounded. Kaiomurs, who, according to the authority of the Dabistan, was only the first king of the fifth dynasty of the monarchs of Persia, was considered†, by the followers of Zoroaster, as the first created being: and Mahomedan writers, who follow the Jewish chronology,

* Mobud appears to be the ancient Persian name of a priest. That of dustoor, which is now a more common appellation, is evidently derived from the Arabic.

† This is stated on the authority of the translation of the Zend-a-vesta, by D'Anquetil du Perron. The name of Kaiomurs, as written by that author, appears to be a Shanscrit word, and signifies "body of clay." He is termed Gil Shah, or "king of clay," by all Persian authors, which is evidently a translation of the term in the Zend-a-vesta.

CHAP. VII.

trace his descent to Noah, but term him the first sovereign of that kingdom.

We learn from every cotemporary historian, that the followers of the prophet of Arabia were so irritated by the obstinacy with which the Persians defended their independance and religion, that they destroyed, with bigoted fury, all that could keep alive a spirit they found it so difficult to subdue: cities were razed; temples were burnt; the holy priests that officiated in them were slaughtered; and the books, in which were written whatever the learned of the nation knew, either of general science, or of their own history and religion, were, with their possessors, devoted to destruction. The enthusiastic Arabian, of this era, knew, and desired to know, no book but the Koran. The priests of the Persians, who were termed mujous*, or magi, were all considered as sorcerers, and their profane works were viewed as the implements of their wicked art. For a proof of this feeling, we have only to refer to the popular tales of Arabia, where we find every act of wickedness, or of witchcraft, is the deed of a Gueber, or Gaur†; and that term, which means no more than a follower of Zoroaster, has, from the impressions it excited at the dawn of their religion, become synonimous with the reproachful epithet of infidel over the whole Mahomedan world.

Destruction of the ancient records of Persia.

We may judge from the fate of the accumulated manuscripts of Greece and Rome, how few of the works of a conquered and despised

* This comes from the Persian word mugh, which means an infidel priest: generally applied to the priests of the Guebers, but sometimes to Christians. This word is sometimes used, in Persian poetry, to signify a tavern keeper. This is, however, only a metaphorical application of the term.

† Gaur is a corrupt abbreviation of Gueber, as Moal is of Moghul, &c.

nation, like Persia, would be saved amid the wreck to which that kingdom was doomed. Near four centuries elapsed before any great effort was made to rescue what remained of the books of the ancient Persians from the ruin to which they had been devoted. The first attempt of this kind is ascribed to a prince of the race of Saman: and as that family boasted their descent from Baharam Choubeen, we are, perhaps, as much indebted to their vanity, as their love of knowledge, for the recovery of materials which they, no doubt, sought, from a desire of perpetuating the fame of their ancestors. We know, from sacred history, that the deeds of the kings of Persia were written in a work styled the Chronicles of that kingdom: and we are told by a Grecian author*, who was at the Court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, that he had access to volumes which were preserved in the royal archives. Mahomedan authors state, that scattered portions of this work, which had been preserved by the mobuds, or priests, of the Guebers, were collected †, and given to the poet, Dukiki, who was commanded to form the whole into an epic poem, which should contain the history of the kings of Persia, from Kaiomurs to the death of the unfortunate Yezdijird. Dukiki only lived to write a thousand stanzas of this great work. He was assassinated by one of

Attempt made to rescue what remained of them.

They are collected, and given to Dukiki, to form into an epic poem.

* Ctesias.

† Authors differ with regard to the name of the Samanian prince, to whom this act is ascribed. D'Ohsson ascribes the commencement of the collection to Munsoor the First; and its completion, to the second king of that name. Tahir Mahomed states, that Dukiki actually commenced his poem under the auspices of Ismael, the founder of the Samanian dynasty; while the poet, Jami, with more probability of truth, asserts, that Dukiki lived in the time of Noah, the fourth king of that race.

CHAP. VII.

He is assassinated, and the task devolves on Ferdosi.

his own slaves: and the task, fortunately for the fame of his country, devolved upon Ferdosi, who, under the auspices of the celebrated Mahmood, of Ghizni, composed, from the materials that had been before brought together, and from what his own industry could add, the celebrated poem, entitled "The Shah Namah, or Book of "Kings:" and in his page, clouded as it is by fable, and ornamented by poetic fancy, we meet with almost all that the Asiatic world know of the ancient history of Persia, and of Tartary.

The fragments* from which this poem is taken, were in Pehlivi; which appears, at the period of the Mahomedan conquest, to have been the language in which all but the religious works of the Persians were written†: and it is of great importance to observe, that the

* None of these fragments are left. When the purpose for which they were collected was so completely answered, and the Shah Namah became, as it soon did, the standard volume of the nation, it was natural that the unconnected and scanty materials from which it was formed, should lose their value. A reference to them might have diminished, but could not heighten, the tale of glory which Ferdosi had told. That national vanity, therefore, which had produced this collection, was no longer interested in its preservation. It is also probable that these manuscripts were, if preserved at all, deposited in the royal archives of the monarchs of Ghizni: and, if so, they must have been involved in that terrible destruction, which fell on all that belonged to that proud capital, when it was sacked and burnt by the Affghans, of Ghour.

† We are informed, by what are deemed the best Persian authorities, that when the Arabs invaded that country, they found three languages, the Farsee, Deri, and the Pehlivi; from one or other of which, all the various dialects now spoken in Persia are derived[9]. There were, according to some authors, seven languages in Persia: but the Herowee, the Suckzee, the Zawulee, and Suodee (now obsolete), appear to have been

[9] Introduction to Ferhung Jehangheree.

Shah Namah contains so many Pehlivi words, that it cannot be understood by a modern Persian without a glossary: while Arabic words and phrases, which long before the period of Ferdosi had been generally adopted into the Persian language, are studiously rejected. The poet, indeed, boasts of having excluded them from his work: and his making this boast is of itself sufficient to satisfy our belief, that with whatever ornament his imagination may have adorned his tale, the facts are exclusively taken from Pehlivi records.

mere vulgar dialects: they were never written: and Moullah Mahomed Saaduck (in whose introduction to a dictionary of the ancient Fars there is a short account of the former languages of Persia,) asserts, that "a word from any of these tongues would "have destroyed a stanza." The Pars, or Farsee, is still (though much mixed with Arabic since the Mahomedan conquest,) the general language of the kingdom. The Deri, we are told, was a polished language, spoken in some of the principal cities of the empire, and believed by some to have been the court dialect during the period of the Kaianian dynasty[10]. The word Deri implies eloquent, and is meant to express that in which there is no imperfection. As a proof of the sweetness and elegance of this dialect, we have a tradition from Mahomedan authors, that their prophet declared, that if God had a mandate to issue which was to proclaim his goodness and mercy, he would deliver it in a gentle tone, and in the Deri language: but when he speaks in wrath, added Mahomed, he uses the Arabic tongue. They assert, on the same authority, that Deri and Arabic are the only languages spoken in Paradise. The third language is the Pehlivi; a word to which many meanings have been assigned: but the most probable conjecture is, that it was derived from Pehleh, the ancient name of the countries of Isfahan, Rhé, and Deenawar[11]. The Zund is the holy language in which the Zend-a-vesta of Zoroaster is written: and his followers affirm, that it can only be known to God, angels, prophets, and enlightened priests[12]. The sacred volume is in this language, but has a Pehlivi translation annexed.

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[10] Moullah Mahomed Saaduck's MSS.

[11] Introduction to Ferhung Jehangheree.

[12] Moullah Firoze's MSS.

CHAP. VII.

Ferdosi's account of the Paishdadian dynasty.

Kaiomurs.

Houshung.

Tahamurs.

The Greeks take no notice of the Paishdadian dynasty of monarchs. Ferdosi's account of this race, therefore, merits particular attention. In his reign of Kaiomurs, we can do no more than trace the history of men reclaimed from a savage state, and taught some of the arts of civil life. Houshung was a reformer of the religion of his country; and to him Ferdosi ascribes the introduction of the worship of fire. His son, Tahamurs, was engaged in constant wars with the deeves, or magicians, which is the name given by the poet to all

The above is the account which we receive from eastern writers of the ancient languages (as they term them) of Persia: but if we may reason from analogy, and from the history of other nations, we shall be led to conclude, that most of these were only different dialects of one tongue, which, in the course of ages, underwent many and great changes. The Zund, which approximates nearest to the Shanscrit, may certainly be deemed the most ancient of these dialects or languages; for in the earliest periods of which we have any authentic record, it was the language of the learned and religious. Some of the followers of Zoroaster have ascribed its invention to their prophet: but this is impossible; and the existence of such a belief proves nothing more, than that, in his lifetime, it was a language unknown to the vulgar.

The Pehlivi was, according to Ferdosi, the language of the court in the time of the Kaianian dynasty; and probably for a long period afterwards. It is to be observed, that, except the religious works of Zoroaster and others, all the books written in Persia, before the Mahomedan invasion, were in Pehlivi: but we never hear of a Deri manuscript; a fact which makes it evident, that this term was only used to signify the most polished dialect spoken of the common language of the country: and it might, in that sense, equally apply to the Pehlivi, as to the Parsi, or Persian. The latter term, previous to the Mahomedan invasion, probably meant the language commonly spoken: for, even at that period, all the books appear to have been written in Pehlivi. The Farsi, or Persian language, has been subsequently rendered more copious: and, in its present form, is so mixed with the Pehlivi and Arabic, that it is no easy labour to separate the words that belong to the different languages of which it is constructed.

the enemies of this dynasty. A moderate period is assigned to the reign of each of these three kings; Ferdosi making it only one hundred and ten years, from the accession of Kaiomurs to that of the nephew and successor of Tahamurs, the celebrated Jemsheed.

Jemsheed.

The reign of this monarch was, according to Ferdosi, seven hundred years*. Authors, however, differ as to the length of his reign: but all that is related of Jemsheed is evidently fabulous. It is the history of a period in which considerable changes took place in the state of society. First, we are told, that this prince divided his subjects† into four classes, and that he allotted to each a separate and fixed station in life; which seems to imply, that the condition of the ancient Persians was like that of the modern Hindoos, and that the extraordinary institution of cast, which now exists in India, was once known in Persia. This theory merits investigation, and might be supported by many arguments: but there are some against such a conclusion, which appear very forcible. Neither Greek‡ nor Persian historians state any one

Divides his subjects into four classes.

* Some authors reduce the reign of Jemsheed to one hundred and fifty years. D'Ohsson (on what authority I know not,) terms it three hundred and fifty. I fix it at seven hundred, from the agreement of four copies of the Shah Namah: and this agrees with the Calcutta printed edition of that work, which is collated from a great number of copies.

† The first division of men into classes is, by all Mahomedan authors except Mohsin Fani, ascribed to Jemsheed That author, as has been noticed, refers this act to Mahabad.

‡ Strabo, when speaking of Iberia, informs us, that "four kinds or classes of "people inhabited that country. From what they consider the first class," he observes, "they appoint their kings, according to nearness of kindred and seniority: these admi- "nister justice, and head their armies. The second is of priests, who take charge of

CHAP. VII.

fact, in the ancient history of Persia, which proves the existence of cast, as we understand that term in its application to the Hindoos. We meet with no more than the names of the classes into which Jemsheed divided the Persians; and Ferdosi, who is minute in his description both of the country and of the manners of its inhabitants, after having once mentioned the divisions of the people into classes, never again recurs to the subject. It would appear very difficult, if not impossible, to write the history of a Hindoo nation, without many passages that would mark the existence among that race of this extraordinary institution. Some Mahomedan authors, it is true, go further than Ferdosi* in their account

" their political rights, with respect to their neighbours. The third of soldiers and " husbandmen. The fourth of the people in general; who are slaves of the king, and " perform every menial office." But it is obvious, that these distinctions, which prevail in Circassia at the present day, are merely feudal, like the western divisions of nobles, clergy, free peasants, and bondsmen.

* In almost every copy of Ferdosi that I have consulted, the names of the classes into which Jemsheed divided his subjects, are differently written. The following literal translation of his account of these classes, is from the copy of that work published at Calcutta:—

" One class was called Kanoozean:
" They were acquainted with holy worship.
" He separated this class from the others;
" Made a mountain their place of devotion:
" Know, that religion was their occupation;
" Reading before the splendour of the Almighty.

" Another rank was placed on the opposite hand:
" They were called the Nesareean.
" Wherever lion-hearted men were waging war,

of these classes, and state that Jemsheed directed that the persons he classified should confine themselves to their own occupation. But this general assertion cannot, without other evidence, be admitted as a proof of so important a fact in a nation's history as the division of casts. That the Persians were, during that period which is included in the reign of Jemsheed, divided into the four classes mentioned by Ferdosi, is very probable: but this merely implies, that they were reclaimed from a savage state, and separated into those natural

" These were the brilliant army of the kingdom:
" From them the imperial throne had its stability;
" And from them the name of valour is perpetuated.

" Know, the Nesoodee as the third class.
" There is no place in which they are not praised.
" They sow, they labour, and they reap themselves;
" And at their home they hear no reproach.
" Not subject to command, they wear their coarse garments:
" Their ears are never assailed with calumny:
" They enjoy repose from control and strife:
" Their's is health of body, and the health of the earth is from them.
" Tell me, thou that art intelligent, who uttered this saying,
" 'Indolence makes a slave of the free.'

" The fourth are called Anokhushee:
" They ply the handicraft arts stubbornly:
" Wherever there is work, they are always active:
" Their mind is fixed on its accomplishment."

The division made by Jemsheed is recorded in the Binidad, a Pehlivi work, and Moullah Firozè gives the names of the four classes as mentioned in that work. Asûrinân, the priests; aretishtarân, kings and soldiers; wasterjûshan, cultivators; hûtokhshân,

CHAP. VII.

Introduces arts and sciences.

divisions of society that were suited to the more civilized condition into which they were brought. And, after all, this is only one among a thousand improvements which are ascribed to that prince in the fabulous history they give of his long reign. He built cities; he invented arms; he constructed ships; he turned the attention of the nation to agriculture; he reformed the calendar, and taught men the noble science of astronomy; he was the first that made wine, that manufactured silk, and introduced music: and, to finish all, he became so vain of his perfections, and so intoxicated with power, that he declared

workmen. Of the meaning of the two first names I cannot obtain a satisfactory account. I am told that they are zend and pazend. But waster, in Pehlivi, means grain, or grass; and in the same language hû means good, and tokhsha endeavour, striving, which seems sufficiently to explain the etymology of the two last.

In the Burhan Kuttah the divisions are also given: and from the great learning of the author, and the nature of a glossary, or dictionary, in which the arrangement would help to correct a mistake probably with accuracy, it merits much reliance. The meaning of the names of all the classes is given in that work, under the article Katuzi. "Katuzi," the author states, "means a man of piety, an ecclesiastic. It "must be remarked," he continues, "that Jemsheed divided the race of man into four "classes: one he called katuzi, and directed them to dwell in hills and in caverns, and "to employ themselves in the worship of Almighty God, and in learning, and know-"ledge. The second he called nesâri, and directed them to follow war as their occu-"pation. Another he called nâsûdi, and enjoined them to cultivate and reap the "ground. The last he called anokhûshi, and ordered them to ply the handicraft arts."

The author of the Tarikh Tubree gives an account of this division of the inhabitants of Persia by Jemsheed, into what he terms gooroo, or classes. He calls the first religious and wise men: the second, military: the third, tradesmen and artisans: and the fourth, husbandmen and labourers. He adds, that Jemsheed commanded that every man should confine himself to his own occupation. Khondemir also states, that each class was prohibited from engaging in the occupations of the other; and Mîrkhavund Shah says the same thing.

himself a god, made images of his person, and denounced vengeance on all who did not fall down and worship them. This impiety, we are told, not only brought ruin upon himself, but upon his country. Persia, after enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity*, was invaded and conquered by a foreign prince, the savage Zohauk, whose cruelty and oppression spread terror and desolation over that kingdom. May we not, without presumption, conclude that this is a general account of a people's history for a certain period? It describes their emerging from a savage state, in which men have few wants, and consequently few distinctions, either in rank or occupation; their division into the classes of a more civilized community; their becoming industrious, rich, and prosperous; their lapsing into a state of luxury and irreligion; and, consequently, falling an easy conquest to a foreign enemy. This seems a plain interpretation of the history of Jemsheed, as related by Persian authors. It would be much more difficult to explain that of his conqueror, Zohauk, if we had no other light than that which eastern authors afford to guide us through this dark era of their history. They state, that Zohauk was descended from Shedad†, a prince of Syria, and that he ruled Persia about one thousand years‡. Of this period, they give us nothing except a few fabulous anecdotes: but there is reason to conclude, from the testimonies of

Declares himself a god.

Persia invaded by Zohauk.

His descent.

* Persian authors, to figure this prosperity, say, that pain and death were banished from the earth during the first five centuries of his reign.

† They may allude to the Ben-hadad of the Scriptures, who was one of the most famous of the kings of Syria; and who, we are told, was worshipped by the inhabitants of that country.—Shedad is believed, by oriental writers, to have proclaimed himself a god.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VII.

western writers, that Zohauk was the Assyrian monarch who conquered Persia, and that his long reign includes that part of ancient history in which the latter kingdom was subject to Assyria.

The Assyrian rule.

The duration of the Assyrian power in Persia, according to Grecian writers, occupies nearly the same space of time as that which eastern authors assign to Zohauk*; and the Persians admit that their country was, during the whole of this period, under a foreign rule. Some of the finest structures in Persia have been ascribed to the sovereigns of the Assyrian empire, and particularly to their queen, Semiramis: but we must refrain from conjectures regarding the works of one whose existence is doubted by some authors, and respecting the date of whose reign, the most learned chronologists are not agreed within fifteen centuries†.

Feridoon, the Arbaces of the Greeks.

If we admit that the period of Zohauk's reign was that in which Persia was subject to the Assyrians, we must suppose that the Feridoon of the Persian historians is the Arbaces of the Greeks. This is

* From eight hundred to one thousand years.

† The following table of the different dates ascribed to the reign of Semiramis, is given by the learned Bryant:—

	Years.
According to Syncellus, she lived before Christ	2177
Petavius makes the term	2060
Helvicus	2248
Eusebius	1984
Mr. Jackson	1964
Archbishop Usher	1215
Philo Biblius Sanchoniathon (apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. p. 31.) about	1200
Herodotus about	713

"What credit," this author adds, "can be given to the history of a person, the "time of whose life cannot be ascertained within 1535 years?"

supported by some strong points of agreement in western and eastern writers. Arbaces, the Mede, was induced, by the contemptible character of Sardanapulus, to attack Nineveh, which he took, and overthrew the Assyrian monarchy. Some Persian authors state, that Feridoon took Zohauk in Jerusalem: but this is evidently a mistake, as appears from a passage in Ferdosi, who describes Nineveh as the city he subdued. Another Persian author confirms this account, and gives the name of the real capital, stating that the Assyrian monarch sometimes resided at it, and sometimes at Babylon. Moses, of Chorone, calls this king Varbaces*: and the history he gives of his youth accords, in some degree, with Persian authors: but the strong fact of his having freed his countrymen from the Assyrian yoke, is that on which the conclusion of Arbaces and Feridoon being the same person must rest. The sacred Scripture seldom gives details of the history of any nation except the Israelites: but it seems surprising that the Greeks should give us no account of the fables connected with the birth and education of Feridoon: nor do we receive from them any particulars of those events that led the Medes to throw off the Assyrian yoke; and it is here of importance to remark, that there is no passage in all the ancient history of Persia more fully proved from the page of oriental writers, than the revolt of Kâwâh, the blacksmith, who placed Feridoon upon the throne of that kingdom. The gratitude that converted his apron into the standard of an empire, and the almost sacred respect in which it was held for centuries, are proofs of the character of that service, the memory of which was perpetuated by

The Durufsh-e-Kawanee.

* He also calls him Khodarnis.

CHAP. VII.

so great a distinction; while the actual capture of the Durufsh-e-Kawanee, or standard* of Kâwâh, by the general of the Caliph Omar in the fourteenth year of the Hejirah, must satisfy the most sceptical of the truth of this early part of Persian history.

Persia invaded by the Scythians.

The divisions that took place in the family of Feridoon†, threw Persia‡ into a state of weakness and disorder‖; which was increased by a war with the Scythians, who, after a long contest, made

* Herodotus no where mentions the standard of Persia. Xenophon states, that the royal ensign was a golden eagle, with its wings resting upon a spear: and Quintus Curtius describes it as continuing to be the same in the time of Alexander. But the Persians having a figure of an eagle as an ensign, is no reason for concluding, that the standard of Kâwâh did not also exist. There must have been a royal ensign, or standard, before the service was rendered which led to the adoption of the apron of Kâwâh: and that, probably, was the eagle described. We learn from Persian historians, that the sacred banner of Kâwâh was seldom unfurled. And this is a collateral reason that there must have been other royal ensigns in more common use.

† The history of his sons, Selm, Toor, and Erij, has been given.

‡ Both the Scripture and the Greek writers distinguish, throughout this period, the kingdom of the Medes from that of Persia: but eastern authors speak only of Eeran, which is what I translate Persia: as to Fars proper, there can be no doubt but it was, under Feridoon (Arbaces), and all powerful monarchs, but a province of the general empire, which extended over both what western writers term Media and Persia.

‖ Feridoon was succeeded, agreeably to Ferdosi, by his great grandson, Manucheher. Mirkhond terms him his son. This prince is the Mandauces of the Greek writers. His son, Nouzer, is Sosarmus. Zoo, who was placed upon the throne by Zal, when the Scythians were masters of a great part of Persia, is called Artia by the Greeks; who state, that he was the grandson of Mandauces. The Kershasp of the Persians they term Arbianes. There are few events recorded of any of these princes: and the chief correspondence between the Greek and Persian writers in this portion of ancient history is, that each reckons five princes, from the overthrow of the Assyrian empire, to the election of Dejoces, or Kai Kobad.

themselves masters of Persia, of which country they held possession, according to Persian historians, for a period of twelve years*. The era which comprises the war that preceded this conquest, the heroic resistance which many Persian nobles, who defended their native provinces, continued to offer to the conquerors, and the final triumph of the Persians over the enemies of their country, has been chosen by Ferdosi, as that in which all the scenes of those parts of his poem which may be deemed the most fabulous are laid. It is during this era that his greatest heroes lived: and some of their most wonderful achievements are in battles with the Scythians; or, as he terms them, the warriors of Turan. It is indeed remarkable, that Ferdosi hardly records the name of one king or hero of Assyria, Greece, or of any nation, except Iran and Turan, the modern Persia and Tartary; and this fact will sufficiently

* Ferdosi says, Afrasiab, Prince of Turan, ruled Persia twelve years. The term Turan, as has been often stated, is applied, by Mahomedan authors, to all that country, which, in modern geography, we term Tartary; because it is now inhabited by tribes of Tartars. In the time of Herodotus, and in the reign of Alexander, Transoxania and the adjacent countries were inhabited by the Sacæ, a generic name for the Scythians, and by a particular tribe called the Massagetæ. It was evidently then by this tribe, or by the same tribe of that nation whom the Greeks called Sacæ, that Persia was invaded during the reigns of her first princes: and Afrasiab, the Persian monarch of Turan, was, no doubt, a Scythian prince. It is not easy to reconcile this invasion with that mentioned by Herodotus, who states, that the Scythians invaded Persia in the reign of Cyaxares, and remained in possession of that kingdom for twenty-eight years. This refers to a period nearly a century later than the Persian authors': but this subject is obscure in the page of the Greek historian, and dates are despised by the Persian writers. It is, therefore, in a similarity of facts only on which we can place any reliance.

CHAP. VII.

account for all his scenes being laid in one or other of these countries. His materials were slender: and he had to adapt the story, that he made from them, to the prejudices and the limited knowledge* of his countrymen, who were only familiarly acquainted with those regions to which he has confined the chief actors of his drama. It is from this cause that we find events, which occurred on the banks of the Euphrates, often transferred to those of the Oxus; and while one stanza describes a great expedition into Greece, a hundred pages are devoted to an inroad into Persia of a few freebooters from the plains of Tartary.

Roostum and his family.

Though the history of Roostum and his family is enveloped in fable, there are some facts that seem undoubted. First, that they were the hereditary chiefs or princes of Seistan, or Nimroz: secondly, that they were connected with the royal family of Cabul, as well as that of Persia†: and thirdly, that though they never assumed the title of kings, and had always kept a pageant of the royal blood upon the throne, they had been acknowledged and obeyed as rulers of a great province, and as the leaders of the armies of Persia, from the death of Manucheher, the Mandauces of the Greeks, till the

* It is not likely that Ferdosi had, among his materials, many detailed accounts of the western wars of the Persians: but, if he had, the relation of the actions of Grecian warriors would have been altogether uninteresting to the vanity and pride of his countrymen. The total want of knowledge of the geography of the countries beyond the Euphrates was, in itself, a reason for not making them the scenes of action for his heroes. The history of Alexander the Great is an exception: but even he is only spoken of when in Persia or India.

† They boasted a direct descent from Jemsheed, and had subsequently intermarried with the royal family.

elevation of Kai Kobad*, the first monarch of the Kaianian dynasty: a prince who, there is the strongest ground to conclude, is the Dejoces of Greek writers.

We are told by Herodotus, that Dejoces was elected king on account of his reputation for wisdom and justice, when Persia was in a state of great weakness and anarchy. They called a public assembly, this author informs us, to deliberate on national affairs: and they who were attached to Dejoces delivered themselves to the following effect:—"Our present situation is altogether intolerable: "let us, therefore, elect a king, that we may have the advantage of "a regular government, and continue our usual occupations without "fear or danger of molestation†." After this prelude, Dejoces was proposed, and chosen with universal applause. That sovereign, the same writer adds, built a magnificent palace, fortified his capital, and endeavoured, by the establishment of great state and pomp, and the seclusion of the royal person, to impress his subjects with a respect and awe that would, he conceived, add to the strength of the monarchy.

Ferdosi, in his account of the elevation of Kai Kobad to the throne, remarks, that Zal, the Prince of Seistan, and father of

* Ferdosi does not inform us who was the father of Kai Kobad, but merely states, that he was of the royal blood, and descended from Manucheher. But if he was the Dejoces of the Greeks, and the son, as Herodotus states, of Phraortes, that poet would hardly have found, in the chronicles of Persia, the name of the Median prince who conquered their country. Ctesias, who professedly drew from the same source as Ferdosi, does not mention Phraortes; which may be received as a proof that it was not to be found in Persian records.

† Beloe's Herodotus, Vol. I. p. 159.

CHAP. VII.

Roostum, who commanded the Persian army, assembled all the chiefs of the nation, and addressed them as follows:—"Brave "warriors! instructed by experience, and lessoned by dangers, I "have brought together this army, and endeavoured to render it "formidable: but all hearts are discouraged, from the want of a "prince to preserve union. The national affairs are without a "director. The army marches without a chief. How much better "was our condition when Zoo occupied the throne! Let us "choose then some person of royal extraction, and commit to him "the functions of sovereignty. He will maintain order: for a king-"dom cannot exist without a head. The priests have suggested, "for this high dignity, a descendant of Feridoon, a man distinguished "for his magnanimity, and for his love of justice." After this speech, Kai Kobad was named, and universally approved.

Remarkable agreement between Herodotus and Ferdosi.

The remarkable concurrence of Ferdosi and Herodotus, with regard to the circumstances that attended the elevation of Dejoces, or Kai Kobad, to the throne of Persia, must tend to strengthen our belief of the facts which they both record. The difference of the name given to this king by these authors, is comparatively of small consequence. Kings of Persia had, no doubt, in ancient, as in modern times, several names, or rather appellations, that have been used indiscriminately during their life, and after their death; and, when we add to this fact the corruptions of the varied languages through which their history has passed before it reached us, we cannot be surprised at our almost never meeting with an agreement on this point between Grecian and Persian historians. The correspondent facts in these histories, are the only lights we can expect to guide us,

with tolerable safety, through this dark and intricate period, and are to be esteemed far above dates, which, with reference to the history of Persia before the Mahomedan conquest, are, perhaps, less to be depended upon than the uncertain etymology * of proper names, or assumed titles: but, even with reference to these, we have a strong proof of Kai Kobad and Dejoces being the same person. One Mahomedan author † terms this monarch Arsh: and Ctesias, who writes from the authority of Persian records, calls him Arsæces, which is evidently the same name.

We are told by Herodotus, that Dejoces was succeeded by a son, who was also named Phraortes; and he ascribes to that Median prince the conquest of Persia. This monarch is not noticed by Ferdosi; he probably includes his reign in that of his father, who, he informs us, occupied the throne for more than a century ‡. One Mahomedan historian ||, however, notices the second Phraortes.

* It has been asserted, that the Arphaxad mentioned in the book of Judith, was the Dejoces of the Greeks, because he is said to have built Ecbatana: and if we were to conjecture from etymology, we should conclude that this prince was Dejoces. Arpha, or Arphra, is the same as Phraortes; and xad, or zad, means, in ancient as in modern Persian, son; and Arphaxad might therefore be interpreted the son of Phraortes. Ferdosi says, Kai Kobad was considered as a descendant of Feridoon; or, as it would be written in Pehlivi, Phreedoon, or in the Deri, Aphreedoon, a name not dissimilar to Aphra: and in this view, also, the Arphaxad of the book of Judith would appear to be the Kai Kobad of the Persians: but nothing can be more uncertain than conclusions drawn only from etymology.

† The author of the Mujmah-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ In the Calcutta edition of Ferdosi, Kai Kobad is said to have reigned one hundred and twenty years.

|| The author of the Mujmah-ul-Tuarikh. Mirkhond also states, that some authors believe Kai Kaoos to have been the grandson, not the son, of Kai Kobad.

CHAP. VII.

This author, speaking of Kai Kaoos, who, in the page of Ferdosi, is stated to be the son and successor of Kai Kobad, observes: "Some "historians are positive that Kai Kaoos was the son of Aphra, and "grandson of Kai Kobad; but I believe him to have been the son of "the latter." This is sufficient to show that the name of this king of the Medes is familiar to eastern writers, although he has been excluded, by most Persian authors, (who generally copy Ferdosi,) from the list of kings that intervened between Feridoon and Kai Khoosroo.

There is every reason to conclude, that the history of Kai Kaoos, as we read it in the page of Ferdosi, is that of both Cyaxares and Astyages. Herodotus informs us, that the former made war upon the Lydians, and extended his dominions to the west, as far as the river Halys*: he also states, that in the midst of a battle between the Medes and Lydians, a total eclipse of the sun took place, as had been foretold by Thales, of Miletus. Cyaxares afterwards, according to this author, attacked Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father, but was recalled from this expedition, to save his own country from an invasion of the Scythians. Of Astyages little is recorded by Greek writers, except that he married Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes, King of Lydia, when his father concluded a peace with that monarch.

It has been before stated, that this is the period of his history in which Ferdosi indulges most in fable: but we nevertheless can discover facts in his page, that completely correspond with the general tenor of what Herodotus has recorded. The most remarkable agreement, is in the expedition of Kai Kaoos to Mazenderan. We are told

* This river is described as rising in the mountains of Armenia.

by the Persian poet, that in a battle which was fought in that province, the prince and his army were struck with a sudden blindness*, which had been foretold by a magician. This evidently appears to be the eclipse predicted by Thales. Ferdosi, it is true, informs us, that the event led to Kai Kaoos and his followers being made prisoners: but this is a mere poetical fiction, invented to introduce the wonderful achievements of his hero, Roostum; who, by the efforts of his single arm, is made to subdue a number of demons, and the whole of that army which had defeated his sovereign; whom he not only releases, but enables to conquer the country he invaded: and the result of this war, which extended the empire in the direction of the Halys, is in perfect agreement† with the success of Cyaxares, as described by Herodotus. The expedition against Hamaver‡, mentioned in the Shah Namah, seems to be the siege of Nineveh, recorded by Greek writers, who agree with Ferdosi in stating, that the operations were interrupted by an invasion of the Scythians: and the account Herodotus gives of the marriage of Astyages to the daughter of the Prince of Lydia, corresponds with the Persian author, who informs us of the marriage of Kai Kaoos with the daughter of the King of Hamaver. I have before stated, that it is evident Ferdosi gives an account of the two reigns of Cyaxares and Astyages under one head.

Expedition against Hamaver seems to be the siege of Nineveh.

* I am indebted to a manuscript memoir of my learned friend, Mr. Hamilton, one of the professors in Hertford College, for this striking observation of the coincidence between Herodotus and Ferdosi, in the account of the eclipse.

† Persian authors have no knowledge of the geography of any country but their own; and, therefore, we can never expect any accurate account of the conquests of their sovereigns, when these exceed limits with which they are familiar.

‡ There is hardly a doubt that the Hamaver of Ferdosi is the capital of Assyria.

CHAP. VII.

The latter prince, whose name, we are told by Moses of Chorone, means dragon*, is noticed by no eastern author; but it is very remarkable that this epithet should be applied in the Zend-a-vesta to designate the dynasty to which he belonged.

History of Cyrus, according to Herodotus.

After this short notice of the princes that reigned† before Cyrus the Great, we proceed to consider the history of that monarch. Herodotus informs us, that he was the grandson of Astyages, the King of Media, whose daughter had been married to Cambyses, a Persian chief. Astyages, alarmed at a dream which led him to

* The Persian term is Azdehac.

† The following table will show, at one view, the different kings that have been mentioned, on the authority of the Persians, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, as having reigned from the period at which the Medes cast off the Assyrian yoke; or, according to oriental authors, the liberation of their country from the foreign rule of Zohauk, till the rise of Kai Khoosroo, or Cyrus the Great.

HERODOTUS.	MOSES OF CHORONE.	CTESIAS.	THE JEWS.	THE PERSIANS.	PROBABLE PERIOD OF REIGN.	AUTHORITY.
Arbaces - - - -	Verbaces and Rhodanus -	Arbaces -	Assuerus[14] (Tobit) - -	Feridoon[15] - - -	18 years - A. C. 748 to 730	Ctesias.
- - - - - - -	Mandauces * - - - - -	Mandauces	- - - - - - - - - -	Manucheher - -	15 - - - - - 730—715	- - - - -
- - - - - - -	Sosarmus - - - - - -	Sosarmus -	- - - - - - - - - -	Nouzer - - - -	7 - - - - - 715—708	Ferdosi.
Period of Anarchy	Artucas - - - - - - -	Artia - -	- - - - - - - - - -	Zoo, 5 years - - -	12 - - - - 708—696	Ditto.
	Cardiceas - - - - - -	Arbianes -	- - - - - - - - - -	Kershasp, 9 years -		
Dejoces - - - -	Dejoces[13] - - - - - -	Arsæus - -	Arphaxad of Judith - -	Kai Kobad, or Arsh	40 - - - - - 696—656	Ctesias.
Phraortes - - -	Artunes - - - - - -	Artynes -	- - - - - - - - - -	Aphra - - - - -	22 - - - - - 656—634	Herodotus.
Cyaxares - - -	Cyaxares - - - - - -	Artibaras -	- - - - - - - - - -	Kai Kaoos - - -	40 - - - - - 634—594	Ditto.
Astyages - - - -	Astyages - - - - - -	Aspadan -	Darius, the Mede (Daniel)	Azdehac - - - -	35 - - - - - 594—559	
					189 Years.	

[13] Herodotus assigns to Dejoces a reign of fifty-three years. The reign of this monarch is reckoned from the death of his ancestor, Nouzer, or Sosarmus.

[14] Ahasuerus is a title, and is applied to many kings of Media and Persia.

[15] Ferdosi says Feridoon reigned a thousand years.

believe he should be dethroned by one of his own race, resolved to prevent its fulfilment by putting Cyrus to death, and made the child over to his minister, Harpagus, for that purpose. The minister gave the boy to a shepherd, with directions to slay him: but the shepherd, in consequence of the solicitations of his humane wife, not only preserved the young prince, but took care that his education should be suitable to his birth. After the lapse of some years, this deception was discovered by Astyages, who, though he desisted from his intention of destroying his grandson, punished the neglect of Harpagus, by putting to death the son of that minister. The young Cyrus went to Persia: but Harpagus, who, in secret, continued to cherish the deepest resentment against the cruel Astyages, formed a plot to dethrone that sovereign, and to elevate his grandson. The latter, informed of his design, succeeded in exciting the Persians to revolt, and marched against Ecbatana. The King of the Medes placed his treacherous minister in the command of his army, most of whom went over, accompanied by their leader, to Cyrus, the moment that prince appeared; and the consequence of this defection was the easy reduction of the capital, and the overthrow of the Median empire. Astyages, we learn from the same authority, continued to reside at the court of his grandson and conqueror.

According to Ctesias.

Ctesias calls Astyages Aspadan*; and tells us, Cyrus was not his descendant, but had married his daughter, Amytis, after he had dethroned him. This author adds, that Cyrus and his royal consort, some time after Aspadan was deposed, were anxious to see that

* The construction of Aspadan is Persian. Astyagenes, Moses of Chorone, as has been before stated, assures us is a corruption of Azh-de-hac, or the Dragon: an epithet that was applied to the dynasty.

CHAP. VII.

monarch, and sent an eunuch to Barcaria to bring him to court; but the eunuch allowed him to perish with hunger as they were traversing a forest. According to Xenophon, Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, whom he denominates a Persian prince of the race of the Perseedæ, or descendants of Persus. His mother, we are told by this writer, was Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, King of Media; and he asserts, that Cyrus, when yet a youth, brought an army of Persians to aid his maternal uncle, whose name was Cyaxares the Second, in a war with the King of Assyria, and that the great conquests of Cyrus were made during the reign of his uncle, whose daughter he married, and who early named him his successor. He adds, that this prince died at Babylon*, after seeing a vision which warned him of his approaching end. Herodotus states, that among various accounts he had heard of the death of Cyrus, he is most disposed to believe that which reports him to have been slain in an expedition against the Massagetæ †. Ctesias says

According to Xenophon.

Various accounts of the death of Cyrus.

* It has been conjectured that Xenophon makes Cyrus die in his bed, that he might give his name to a philosophical discourse upon death.

† We are informed by Herodotus, that Cyrus, by the stratagem of leaving them wines, with which they became intoxicated, defeated the army of the Massagetæ, and made the prince of this tribe, who were then ruled by their queen Tomyris, a prisoner. Tomyris, when she heard that her troops were overcome, and her son a captive, sent the following message to the conqueror:—"Cyrus, insatiable as you are of blood, be not "too much elated with your recent success. When you yourself are overcome with wine, "what follies do you not commit? By entering your bodies, it renders your language "more insulting. By this poison you have conquered my son, and neither by your "prudence nor your valour. I venture a second time to advise what it will be cer- "tainly your interest to follow. Restore my son to liberty; and, satisfied with the "disgrace you have put upon a third part of the Massagetæ, depart from these realms

he was killed by the javelin of an Indian, when making war upon the dervishes, a tribe of that nation: and to complete the difference between western writers* regarding this event, Lucian asserts, that

" unhurt. If you will not do this, I swear by the Sun, the great God of the Massagetæ, " that, insatiable as you are of blood, I will give you your fill of it."

Her son, after some time, was released; but slew himself through shame. The queen collected all her forces; engaged, defeated, and slew Cyrus; whose head she struck off, and cast into a vessel filled with human blood, exclaiming, " Survivor and conqueror " as I am, thou hast ruined my peace by thy successful stratagem against my son; but " I will give thee now, as I threatened, thy fill of blood!"—" This account," Herodotus adds, " of the end of Cyrus seems to me most consistent with probability, " although there are many other and different relations."—BELOE's *Herodotus.*

It appears that what has been often imputed to Herodotus as a great defect, is one of his chief excellencies as a historian. He narrates the fables which the Persians themselves believed, informing us of the authority on which he records them. It is from these, as connected with the life of Cyrus, that we are enabled to identify this prince with the Kai Khoosroo of oriental writers. I deem the Persian account of the end of Cyrus, as not materially at variance with his being killed in a war with the Massagetæ. The great monarch and prophet could not be permitted to fall in battle, and to be defeated. He retires to an unknown place and is lost; or, in other words, dies, or is slain, in a distant country: and his companions, the first heroes of Persia, perish in a storm on their return. They probably were slain in the retreat.

* According to all the historians of Alexander, Cyrus was buried at Passargadæ: and that monarch, we are informed, ordered the tomb, which had been defaced, to be repaired. The Persian inscription, which told the traveller not to envy the mighty conqueror his small portion of dust, was translated into Greek, and engraven in that language, under the original inscription. The following account of the visit of Aristobulus to the tomb, is from Strabo. " There (at Passargadæ) he saw the tomb of Cyrus " in a garden. It was a tower of no great size, concealed within a thick grove of trees; " solid below, but roofed above, and having a chapel, with a very narrow entrance. " Aristobulus entered, by the order of Alexander, and contributed some embellishments " to the tomb. He saw there a *couch* of gold, a *table*, with *drinking cups*, a golden " washing or bathing trough, and a quantity of dresses and jewellery."

CHAP. VII.

there is an inscription on some columns that mark the boundary of the empire of Media, which implies that Cyrus, at the age of one hundred, died of grief, on hearing of the cruelties committed by his son.

His history, according to Scripture.

The Scripture makes Cyrus the successor of Darius the Mede*: and attributes to this monarch the destruction of Babylon†, and the release of the Jews from their captivity. Daniel had foretold his success to Belshazzar, son of Nebuchadnezzar; and the prophet was afterwards minister both to Darius, the Mede, and to Cyrus; to whom his countrymen not only owed their release from captivity, but the restoration of a great part of the sacrilegious plunder which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from the temple of Jerusalem; which edifice, Cyrus, when he restored its ornaments, commanded to be rebuilt. Little more is given of the history of Cyrus in sacred writ: but wherever his name is mentioned, it is as a king who was alike eminent for wisdom and virtue, and who enjoyed great renown and extensive dominion upon the earth.

History of Kai Khoosroo, according to eastern authors.

The history of Kai Khoosroo, as given by eastern authors, corresponds in several points with Herodotus. Siawush‡, these

* Darius must consequently either be Astyages, or his son, Cyaxares the Second, as we adopt the authority of Herodotus or Xenophon. Dara, or Darius, is a royal title; and his being termed the Mede, is a confirmation of the general truth of the Grecian account.

† In the account of the siege and capture of this capital, there is no essential difference between Xenophon and Herodotus, nor between those writers and the Scripture.

‡ It has been conjectured that Siawush, the first Cambyses of the Greeks, was the son of Roostum: and the power and lineage of the Persian hero completely accords with the description of the family of Cambyses; who is represented as a Persian prince, descended of Achæmenes, who, I have before stated my belief, was Zal, from the cir-

state, was the son of Kai Kaoos, but educated by Roostum. He was compelled, they add, by the intrigues of the Persian court, to fly to Afrasiab, the King of Turan, whose daughter he married, and by whom he was afterwards slain. He left a son called Kai Khoosroo, whom Afrasiab resolved also to put to death; lest, when he attained manhood, he should revenge the death of his father: but the cruel intention of the monarch was defeated by the humanity of his minister, Peeran-Wisa, who preserved the child he had been commanded to destroy; and having, for the purpose of concealment, committed the royal infant to the charge of a shepherd, he directed that he should receive, in secret, an education suitable to his high birth. Afrasiab some time afterwards discovered that his grandson was alive; but having been persuaded that he was an idiot, he abandoned his intention of destroying him. The young prince soon effected his escape to the court of his grandfather, Kai Kaoos, and was placed upon the throne of Persia during the lifetime of that monarch. The first act of his reign was to make war upon his maternal grandfather, the King of Turan, whose armies were commanded by the minister to whom Kai Khoosroo owed his life. The virtuous Peeran-Wisa was unable to resist a powerful prince, animated by the desire of revenging the blood of his father. He was defeated, and slain; and his death proved a prelude to that of his sovereign, whose territories fell into

cumstance of his being nurtured by a simurgh[16]. The whole story of Siawush, as given by Ferdosi, conveys more the impression of his being a son of Roostum, than of Kai Kaoos.

[16] The Greeks term it an eagle. The Persian word means, literally, thirty fowls, and is meant to describe a fabulous bird of enormous size. It is supposed to be the rock of the Arabian Tales.

CHAP. VII.

the possession of his victorious grandson. Kai Khoosroo, after this conquest, and many other great achievements*, determined to spend the remainder of his life in religious retirement. He proceeded to the spot he had fixed upon; where, we are told, he disappeared: and his train, among whom were some of the most renowned warriors of Persia, perished in a dreadful tempest.

The above is a short abstract of the reign of this prince, as given by Ferdosi. It abounds with fable; and we can trace but few historical facts. The poet has judiciously chosen a period so glorious to his country to dilate on the deeds of his heroes: and as neither he nor his readers were acquainted with Media, nor with the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian empires, except under the general names of Sham and Room, which mean Syria and Asia Minor, he makes Persia and Turan the theatre of all their actions. Taking this view of the life of Kai Khoosroo, we may pronounce, that the transfer of a scene from the court of Ecbatana to that of the capital of Afrasiab, and the substitution of the latter king for the sovereign of Media, are liberties which it was natural for the poet by whom his history was written to take, and which cannot, therefore, be admitted to affect the remarkable coincidence in the whole substance of the narrative of the birth and education of this prince, as given by Ferdosi and by Herodotus. A grandson is born to a king, who, fearful for his own safety, seeks the destruction of the infant, which he delivers to his minister to be put to death. The child is preserved by the person directed to slay him. The monarch discovers this, and consents to let him live. The young prince afterwards makes

* Kai Khoosroo is said to have made many conquests, both in the East and the West; but Persian authors relate none of his actions minutely, except his wars with Afrasiab.

war upon his grandfather, whose army is commanded by the very minister* who had been the instrument of his preservation. He subdues the country that he attacks, and erects a proud empire upon its ruin. The Persian author, it is true, after this conquest is effected, makes Kai Khoosroo put his grandfather, Afrasiab, to death, that he may revenge his father, Siawush, whom that monarch had slain: but this, it is to be observed, is a dramatic justice which Ferdosi could not avoid, without a sacrifice of consistency, in his description of the manners of his heroes, all of whom he represents as inexorable†

* The fate of Peeran-Wisa and of Harpagus is related differently in the Greek and Persian page: but the Persian poet could not taint the fame of the first and most virtuous of the heroes of Tartary by the imputation of treason. He, however, makes Kai Khoosroo lament his death, and bestow upon him the most splendid funeral honours.

† The history of Feridoon and Manucheher is a strong proof of this: and Ferdosi makes Siawush, when he is on the point of death, pray, "that the son, of whom his "widow is pregnant, may revenge his blood." The remarkable attention of Ferdosi to the exclusive right of the nearest relation to revenge blood, merits notice. There is in a speech of Peeran-Wisa to Afrasiab, when he reproaches that prince as the author of the calamities of his nation, an expression that strengthens the conjecture of Roostum being the father of Siawush.

"Mukosh goftumet poor e Kaoos ra,
"Ke dushmun kunee Roostum ou Toos ra."

"I told you not to slay the son of Kaoos,
"As you would render Roostum and Toos your enemies."

The latter chief was the brother of Kaoos, and, therefore, nearly allied to Siawush: but Roostum could have had no particular right to exact vengeance for the blood of this chief, unless he was his relation: and he is evidently described by Peeran-Wisa, as the hero who will become, in consequence of the murder, the personal enemy of Afrasiab.

CHAP. VII.

in avenging the blood of their relations: and in this instance also, his narrative is adapted to the feelings and usages of his countrymen: but, though he differs in this point, he approaches the account of Herodotus in the fact of Astyages remaining at the Court of Cyrus. Kai Kaoos, the paternal grandfather of Kai Khoosroo, is represented as having resigned the throne to that prince, and of residing, till his death, in the enjoyment of the completest regard and respect of his successor.

It is certainly remarkable that Xenophon should omit every mention of the extraordinary occurrences which, according to Persian tradition, marked the youth of Cyrus: but the Cyropœdia is generally considered as a work more meant to display that monarch as an example* to kings, than to record the exact particulars of his life. There may be much of fable in the accounts that have been given of the early part of the life of this sovereign. But it is nowise necessary to the establishment of the fact, that the Kai Khoosroo of Persian history is the Cyrus of the Greeks, to prove the truth of all those events that are connected with his infancy. It is sufficient to show that they are related of one person; and that Herodotus transmitted the same tradition, which has since been recorded by Ferdosi.

Etymology of names assigned to Cyrus.

Though, in tracing the history of such remote periods, correspondent facts, derived from distinct sources, have a value far beyond uncertain etymology, yet the affinity of names may often aid our research. We are told, that the name of Cyrus signified the sun in Persian: and this is the obvious signification of Coreish, which is the Hebrew name given to him in Scripture. Khour means the sun in Pehlivi: and Cyrus, before he ascended the throne, was called

* The Cyropœdia has been compared to the Telemachus of Fenelon.

Agradates*; a term which appears to be the translation of the word Khourdad, or the gift of the sun; the appellation of an angel in the ancient Persian system of worship, and a very probable name† for a prince of that country. With regard to the title of Kai Khoosroo, by which he is generally called, it has been common to many sovereigns of Persia: and the dynasty of the Sassanians are always termed, in Roman history, the Cosroes, or, more properly, the Khoosroos of Persia.

General remarks on the coincidence of eastern and western writers.

An oriental scholar‡ of respectability has endeavoured to shake our belief in all that the Greek writers record of ancient Persia. He informs us||, that, from every research he has been able to make, he can discover no more resemblance between their accounts of that country and those of its own historians, than "between the annals of England "and Japan." This is assuredly not correct: the writers of both nations mix truth with fable, and were, perhaps, alike disposed, by national vanity, to suppress some facts, and to exaggerate others. The operation of these motives must often have rendered their account of the same event very dissimilar: and when to this we add the remoteness of the period, the want of dates, and the many different names and titles which applied to each of the kings and heroes that they have recorded, we shall, perhaps, be more surprised at their casual agreement, than at their frequent difference in the relation

* Palmerius states this in his correction of Strabo. The river Kur, or Cyrus, in Georgia, is said by Ptolemy to be also called Agradates.

† Mithridate, or Mithridad, has the same meaning. Such names have always been usual in the East, and are so at this moment: only a Mahomedan of Persia, instead of Khourdad, would be named *Allahdad*, or *Khudadad*, i. e. "the gift of God."

‡ Richardson. || Vide Richardson's "Dissertation," page 51.

CHAP. VII.

of the same facts, or rather the omission of the historians of one nation to notice some of the most remarkable events recorded by those of the other. The author to whom I have alluded states, that the chronology of the sacred writing has been forced into analogy with the imaginary eras of the Greeks; and adds, that some of the historical parts of Scripture will meet with much more support by comparing them with correspondent facts in Persian history. After noticing a difference of dates of nearly two centuries between the Jewish and Grecian chronology in the reign of Cyrus, he proceeds to show that a Persian chief of the name of Bucht-ul-nassar, (who, according to a respectable Mahomedan author, was sent by Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khoosroo, to govern, as his lieutenant, the western part of his empire,) was the Nebuchadnezzar of the Bible: and he is supported by the same author in stating, that Bucht-ul-nassar took Jerusalem, and was the oppressor of the sons of Israel. The tyranny of his son, the Belshazzar of the Scripture, this writer adds, brought upon him the vengeance of Ardisheer Dirazdust, the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks, who appointed in his room Coreish, a prince of the blood, grandson of Lohrasp, whose mother was descended of a Jewish tribe: and this connexion with the race of Israel is given as a reason, by the Mahomedan historian, for the extraordinary favour which Coreish showed to the Jews, whom he not only released from captivity, but aided in rebuilding the sacred Temple at Jerusalem. The dates (such as they are) of Persian history are made very nearly to accord with that epoch, which is fixed as the actual one, when the order was granted for rebuilding the Temple. In support of this hypothesis, it is stated, that the Bible informs us, that Coreish, or Cyrus, only acted a subordinate part

under Darius the Mede, at the siege of Babylon: and it is conjectured that the name of Darius, which is the Persian word Dara, was given as a title to Ardisheer in common with other monarchs of Persia. The author concludes, on the ground of the similarity of names and the accordance of dates, that the Coreish of this Mahomedan historian is the real Cyrus of Scripture.

I have already stated, that the Persian histories, before the time of Mahomed, have no dates: we can only compute by the number of years they assign to each reign. This computation evidently must become erroneous in the ratio that the period is remote; and about that of which we are writing, we are led, by the great difference that exists in all oriental authors, to put confidence in none. They frequently differ twenty and thirty, and sometimes fifty years in the reign of one king; and when we add to this, that the dates of sacred history are, in some degree, conjectural*, and that the mention of the kings of Persia is always incidental, we must withhold our belief to facts which are supported by such unsatisfactory conclusions. With regard to the name that the Persian chief, Raham Gudurz, is said to have taken of Bucht-ul-nassar†, which is made a ground

* Chronologists are still divided respecting the dates assigned to events in Scripture. These were first inserted in the margin of the Bible by Lloyd, one of the seven bishops imprisoned by James. They rest upon the authority of Archbishop Usher, and the Chronology of this learned prelate is esteemed the best. It is founded upon the Hebrew copy of the Old Testament; and has, on that ground, a pre-eminent title to credit: but it differs as much, especially in the lives of the antediluvians in the 5th chapter of Genesis, from the Samaritan copy, and from the Septuagint, (the Greek translation made about 288 B. C.) as these do from each other.

† The Chevalier D'Ohsson states, that the victories of Raham Gudurz acquired him the name of Nubobelazar; wh ch signifies, he adds, Mercury, Jupiter, and Mars.

CHAP. VII.

of argument, from its supposed similarity to that of Nebuchadnezzar, it has been before observed, that we have no example in the whole of the history of ancient Persia of a chief of that nation being called by an Arabic* title; and the rank of this leader, who was lieutenant of the sovereign of Persia, appears as irreconcilable to the mighty monarch of Assyria, as that of Coreish, whom the Mahomedan historian makes the successor of Belshazzar, is to that of the great Cyrus. The account of Bucht-ul-nassar and of Coreish in the Tarikh Tubree†, is copied by some other writers. But Ferdosi takes no notice of any such names: and as we are certain that he exclusively followed Pehlivi authors, his silence may be received as a presumptive proof that these names are not to be met with in ancient Persian histories. It has been before conjectured, that the learned author of the Tubree, in his general history of the world, may have made an attempt to reconcile the mutilated annals of Persia with what he found in Jewish history: but it has, I trust, been shown, that in the endeavour to establish such an agreement by uncertain etymologies and a vague guess at dates, admitted facts may be brought into doubt, and the cause of truth may receive injury from those who meant to give it their support‡.

* The latter part of this name only, Ul-Nassar, or the Victorious, is Arabic: Bucht is Persian: and this renders the compound more improbable.

† The Coreish of the Tarikh Tubree is never advanced to the throne.

‡ The historical facts recorded in Scripture, relative to the ancient kings of Assyria and Persia, are not numerous, and may be termed incidental. The prophecies regarding these monarchs, and the nations they governed, are more frequent. From the two combined, commentators have written volumes, to explain this part of the ancient history of the world. But the dates of sacred history are still a subject upon which

CHAP. VII.

The reign of Lohrasp.

The events of the reign of Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khoosroo, are differently related by almost every Mahomedan historian. These are neither agreed as to his lineage, his disposition, or his history; and it is remarkable, that the page of Ferdosi has fewer events in this and the succeeding reigns that can be deemed historical, than in the preceding. This is, perhaps, to be referred in a very considerable degree to that national vanity which preserves alone the records of its prosperity and glory, and either blots out altogether, or covers with fable, the traditions of its misfortunes or disgrace: but we must observe, that in proportion as these circumstances lessen the title of Persian historians to our credit, that of Greek writers is increased. We now, indeed, approach the period at which Herodotus lived, and his page becomes consequently more worthy of our attention. Ferdosi informs us, that the elevation of Lohrasp was not entirely approved by the Persian nobles; but that his

the learned are far from agreed: and it would be impossible, even if these were fixed beyond dispute, to ground any conclusion upon their coincidence with Grecian or Persian histories, till we had determined that the latter had equal claim to our credit. There cannot, therefore, be an attempt more arduous than that of the chronologist who endeavours to elucidate the dates and events of this early period of oriental history. The chronology of Scripture is unsatisfactory, from the scantiness of facts, the confusion of dates, the errors arising from the writing of proper names in different languages, and the variety of appellations often used to designate the same person. The profane history of this era, which professes to be more particular, and which affords us long catalogues of kings, and a series of their actions, though delightful when we peruse it for amusement, is found, on minute examination, to be so involved in fable, and so perplexed by contradictory accounts, that we can hardly permit our minds to be convinced of more than the certainty of a few important facts, which prove the existence of particular kings, and the occurrence of some great revolutions in the monarchies of Assyria and Persia.

CHAP. VII.

good qualities overcame their reluctance to acknowledge him: and that, after a reign of one hundred years, he resigned his throne to his son, Gushtasp, and retired to Bulkh, where he was slain in a general massacre of the followers of Zoroaster, whose opinions he had adopted. There is every ground to believe, that the reign of Lohrasp includes both that of Cambyses and of Smerdis Magi. The dates cannot easily be reconciled: but the events, which are of more consequence, may. The successful expedition of his army to the West, appears to be the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses: and the manner and period at which he lost his life, obviously relate to the massacre of the magi.

Gushtasp.

His reign is supposed to include that of Cambyses and Smerdis Magi.

The Persian historians term Gushtasp the son of Lohrasp: but, if he is the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks, as is generally conjectured, his descent, as given by Herodotus, would better accord with that which the Persians assign to Lohrasp. But we can do no more than offer a conjecture, founded upon what precedes and follows the life of this prince, that his reign, which oriental writers inform us comprised sixty years, includes both that of Darius Hystaspes, and of his son, the celebrated Xerxes: and we may conclude, (if we adopt this hypothesis,) that the invader of Greece was the renowned son of Gushtasp, Isfundear, who always commanded his father's armies; and who, among other enterprises, is said, by Ferdosi, to have conducted a great expedition into Asia-Minor*. From Persian authors we have nothing but fable upon this subject; and Greek writers have, by their vain and unparalleled exaggeration† of the num-

Supposed to be Darius Hystaspes.

Isfundear supposed to be Xerxes.

* This country is generally known to Persians by the term Room, or Muluk-e-Mughrub; i. e. the region of the West.

† According to Herodotus, the followers of Xerxes amounted to five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty. Isocrates, in his

bers of their enemies, thrown a veil of doubt over this memorable event, which warrants us in disbelieving all they have narrated, except that their country was invaded by a powerful army under a Persian prince, and that this army was defeated. The Greeks assign a reign of thirty-six years to Darius Hystaspes, and of twenty-one to Xerxes, which agrees within three years of the period that Persian authors give to Gushtasp: but this casual agreement of dates cannot be admitted as evidence, farther than in support of proofs of a more conclusive character.

According to the Greeks, Artaxerxes Longimanus, son of Xerxes, upon his father's death, ascended the throne of Persia. Eastern authors state, that, on the death of Gushtasp, he was not succeeded by his son, Isfundear, but by his grandson, Bahman, who was known by the name of Ardisheer Dirazdust*, or Ardisheer with the long hands: and there can be no doubt whatever, from the similarity of name, and the epithet which described a personal deformity, that

Ardisheer Dirazdust is Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Panathenaicos, estimates the land army, in round numbers, at five millions. And with them, Plutarch in general agrees. But such myriads appeared to Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other writers, so much beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four-fifths, to bring the calculation within the line of probability.

* Khondemir relates, that the name of this prince was Ardisheer; that the epithet, Dirazdust, was applied to him, because he had long arms; and that the name of Bahman was given to him on account of his good disposition, which was the signification of that word in the Syrian language. Bahman, in Shanscrit, (as has been already stated,) signifies "possessing arms;" and the stanza from Ferdosi has been quoted, in which he observes, that this monarch's fingers, when he stood upright, came below his knees. All these proofs render it certain that Ardisheer and Artaxerxes are the same: and this point being admitted as beyond all doubt, is of great importance in determining the epoch both of Cyrus and of Xerxes.

CHAP. VII.

Artaxerxes and Ardisheer were one and the same person. It is also recorded by the Greek historians, that Xerxes was slain by his relation, Artabanus, who is described as a powerful and ambitious chief, that had placed Artaxerxes upon the throne, with an intention of seizing it for himself. He had, the same authors assert, many dependants, and his sons were the most celebrated among the warriors of Persia for their personal prowess and their courage.

Puts Artabanus to death.

Artaxerxes, having become aware of his designs, put Artabanus to death. This act produced a war, in which several of the heroes of Persia were slain. But the prince succeeded in his object — the extinction of the name and power of the family of Artabanus; and took vengeance for the blood of his father, by putting to death every one that had been concerned in his murder. If we compare the account which Persian writers give of this transaction, and divest it of what is evidently fiction, we shall find a complete correspondence in every essential which can be necessary to establish, that the Persian and Greek authors record in this part of ancient history the same event.

The similarity of the history of Artabanus to that of Roostum.

Roostum, the hero of Persia, was hereditary Prince of Seistan, and nearly related to the royal family. He was powerful, (eastern authors inform us,) not only from his character and possessions, but from the number and quality of his relations and dependants: and his sons were the most renowned among the warriors of Persia for their valour and prowess. This chief slew Isfundear: but he protected Ardisheer, the son of that prince, who, through his influence, ascended the throne. Ardisheer, however, soon became jealous of Roostum, and not only caused that chief to be slain, but invaded and subdued his hereditary province, and put to death all his family, on the cowardly pretext of revenging the blood of his father. The

above is the substance of what Persian authors record upon this subject: and its exact agreement with Grecian writers*, combined with the positive identity of the Persian king, Ardisheer Dirazdust, with Artaxerxes Longimanus, proves, almost beyond a doubt, that the celebrated Xerxes of the Greeks is the Isfundear† of oriental authors.

* The Greeks always speak of Xerxes as the sovereign of Persia. But Persian authors say that Isfundear never had the name of king, though, for a time, when viceroy at Bulkh, he possessed regal power. This is no material difference: and we may suspect, that the national vanity which swelled a Persian army, at such a distance from the seat of government, into five millions of men, would not hesitate to anticipate what appeared his certain destiny, by placing a crown upon the head of the royal leader of such a mighty force. Besides, it is far from improbable that Isfundear might have been associated in sovereignty by a father, who is stated to have always employed him in the command of his armies, and the government of a part of his empire.

† The history which Ferdosi gives of this prince is very fabulous: and his hero, Roostum, is brought from that repose, which a century before Kai Khoosroo had deemed him entitled to enjoy, on account of his great age, which was then four hundred, to fight one whom he loves and venerates, because the cruel and jealous Gushtasp, envious of Isfundear's glory, had persuaded that prince to undertake the dangerous enterprise of bringing Roostum bound to his presence. The hero, who cannot submit to this extreme disgrace, engages Isfundear, and kills him, but bewails the cruel necessity that had compelled him to such an act; and takes charge of the deceased prince's son, the young Bahman, or Ardisheer Dirazdust, who afterwards mounts the throne. Roostum is murdered; and the king makes war upon his family, on the ground of revenging the death of his father. It is obvious that the poet, not able to dispense with the hero of his poem, has no mode of reconciling his exploits of Roostum with the history of the country, but by giving him an antediluvian age, and ascribing to him all that tradition had recorded of a race of heroes that lived during the periods of which he writes. But it is to be remarked, that Ferdosi, with all his exaggerations,

CHAP. VII.

Observations on the history of Ardisheer.

We are told in the eastern histories of Ardisheer, that he was a good and great prince; and he is said not only to have conquered Seistan, the hereditary province of the family of Roostum, but to have been eminently successful in some expeditions to the westward. We are also informed, that he treated the Jewish nation with great favour: and all authors concur in their accounts of the improvements that he made in the internal government of his kingdom. This history of Ardisheer generally accords with that of Artaxerxes *

never altogether omits the historical facts he possessed: and we clearly trace, in his tale of Roostum and Isfundear, that a prince of Persia was slain by a powerful chief of that country; that the chief aided the son of the prince whom he had put to death to ascend the throne; and that, after some period, he was murdered, and his family destroyed by the monarch he had supported: and these facts appear, when connected with the identity of Ardisheer and Artaxerxes, quite sufficient to prove, that, amid all the extravagant fables with which this part of his poem is decorated, the author has still preserved the principal historical facts, and that his Isfundear can be no other but Xerxes.

* Artaxerxes is mentioned in Scripture under the name of Ahasuerus, which was probably a title like Khoosroo, as it is given to several Persian kings. He is believed to be the monarch who married Esther; and he became, in consequence of his love to her, and the services rendered to him by her uncle, Mordecai, the powerful friend and protector of the Jews. This account is supported by several Mahomedan authors, who affirm the fact of the kindness of this king to the Jews, and state, as the reason, that one of his favourite ladies was of that race. It may also be received in support of this fact, that the tomb of Esther and Mordecai stands in the centre of Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana. The sepulchre is not splendid: but we must recollect it was not likely that either Ahasuerus or his successors would build a mausoleum, as such mode of interment was contrary to the religion they professed: but their permitting the Jews to build a tomb in the most public place of Ecbatana, implies an extraordinary respect for those, to perpetuate whose memory such an edifice was erected.

Longimanus, as given by the Greeks; who relate his punishment of the family of Artabanus, whose possessions he seized; his expedition to Bactria against his brother; and his great reforms in the internal government of his dominions.

Persian historians mention that this prince sat upon the throne one hundred and twelve years: but the Greeks, who, at this period, merit superior credit, limit his reign to forty-one. It is here worthy of observation, that no other prince of the name of Ardisheer, or Artaxerxes, is ever noticed by oriental writers: and it would seem not impossible that the similarity of name between this prince and his grandson, Artaxerxes Mnemon, as well as the successor of that prince, the Ochus of the Greeks, who was also called Artaxerxes, may have led to their history being blended* with that of Ardisheer Dirazdust.

Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus.

Persian authors take no notice of Xerxes the Second and Sogdianus, whose united reigns only amounted to eight months: and considering the character of their traditions, we could not expect any mention of such ephemeral rulers. But the nature of those intrigues, which raised, and cast down, these monarchs, may dispose us to grant some credit to their account of Homai†, who, they inform us, was Queen of Persia for thirty-two years, and then resigned her crown to her son, Darab the First. This princess was, according to oriental writers, the daughter of Ardisheer.

Xerxes the Second and Sogdianus.

Homai.

* The aggregate reigns of the three princes of this family, whose history is given by Greek writers under the name of Artaxerxes, amounts, within a few years, to the period which Persian authors assign to that of Ardisheer Dirazdust, or Artaxerxes Longimanus.

† The meaning of this name is, a bird of Paradise.

CHAP. VII.

They relate, that when that monarch died, she was pregnant by him: but that, ashamed of the incestuous intercourse, she not only concealed the birth of the infant, but ordered it to be put to death. It was, however, miraculously preserved: and, under a strange name, became distinguished as a military leader. When the mother discovered the son whom she had abandoned, she resigned her crown to him; and the young prince, on his ascending the throne, assumed the name of Darab: his former appellation is not mentioned.

Darab the First.

Whoever peruses the accounts which the Greek authors give of the morals of the Persian kings at this period, will meet with facts to satisfy him, that the incestuous intercourse, of which eastern writers accuse Ardisheer and his daughter, may be fairly received in support of the truth of this tradition; and amid the confusion that followed the death of that monarch, his daughter might have been elevated to the throne. We have evidence in the subsequent history of Persia, when the same religion and manners prevailed, that there was nothing very repugnant to national prejudice in such a measure*; and we learn from other sources, that the queens of this period enjoyed a great degree of power. The Parysatis† of the Greeks, who was the daughter of Artaxerxes, and the wife of her brother, Darius Nothus, is represented as possessing an influence and authority in the government, that would seem to approximate her to the Homai of Persian authors. The principal argument against such a conclusion, is the coincidence we find

Homai is compared to the Parysatis of the Greeks.

* The two daughters of Khoosroo Purveez were successively raised to the throne. —Vide page 163, 164.

† This word is from the Persian Peri Zada, or "of fairy race;" and is a common female appellation in Persia.

Coincidence in the history of Darab the First and Darius Nothus.

between the Persian account of the first Darab of their history, and the Grecian Darius Nothus*, or Darius the Bastard: nor is it easy to refuse some degree of credit to what Ferdosi and other eastern writers relate, regarding the actual reign of Homai, when we consider, that though they have omitted the names of several kings in their catalogue of the former rulers of their country, they cannot be charged with having interpolated one. But it has been before remarked, that this is the most obscure epoch of their history. We have, indeed, in their tales of this period, hardly an event† from which we can draw a comparison with those facts that have been preserved by other nations.

If the conjecture of the first Darab‡ of oriental authors and the Darius Nothus of the Greeks being the same person be unfounded,

* Both the Persians and Grecians state that sovereign to have been of illegitimate birth: and both inform us that he changed his name to Darius upon ascending the throne.

† The very imperfect traditions which the Persians have preserved of this part of their history, puts it out of our power to compare their accounts with either Ctesias or Xenophon. We have, in fact, no distinct mention of the monarch at whose court the former resided. The name of the younger Cyrus is not noticed by oriental writers: and they never make the slightest allusion to that celebrated expedition which has given immortality to its commander.

‡ The account that some Persian authors give of the intercourse and alliance between Darab the First and Philip of Macedon, is an obvious fable, meant to palliate the disgrace of a conquered people, by establishing the right of Alexander as heir to the throne of Persia: and this fable, therefore, which makes the first Darab of the Persians and Philip cotemporaries, cannot be admitted to affect the conjecture which supposes that monarch to be Darius Nothus. It is further to be observed, that the story of Alexander's birth is decidedly disavowed by some of the most respectable Persian historians; and even the poet, Nizamee, in his fine poem on Alexander, rejects this

CHAP. VII.

we must reject the reign of Homai altogether, on the supposition that it refers to some confused traditions of the power and grandeur of the queen, Parysatis, mixed, perhaps, with the tale of the incestuous intercourse between Artaxerxes Mnemon and his daughter, Attossa; and, under this view, if we suppose the reign of Darius Nothus and Artaxerxes Mnemon to be included, by Persian authors, in that of Ardisheer, the dates will nearly correspond*, and the Ochus of the Greeks will be the first Darab of the Persians. With respect to the second Darab, there can be no question: his identity with the Darius Codomanus of the Greeks is completely established by the conquest of Persia by Alexander.

Darab the Second, or Darius Codomanus.

The reign of Alexander the Great.

The traditions which eastern writers have preserved of the Macedonian hero, are very imperfect; and upon a few historical facts they have reared a superstructure of the most extravagant fable. It is unnecessary to examine the connexion between their history of Alexander and that of the Greeks: they agree in most of the leading facts: such as the invasion of Persia, the defeat and subsequent death of Darius, the generosity of the conqueror, and the strong impression which his noble and humane conduct made upon his dying enemy. The Persians do not concur with the Greeks in their description of Darius: they allege, that he was deformed in body and

pedigree as a fable. It is, however, to be remarked, that some western as well as eastern romances state, that Alexander was not the son of Philip; and the adultery of Olympias is adduced as the ground upon which she was repudiated by that monarch, though the divorce did not take place till some time after the birth of Alexander.

* Ardisheer reigned, according to Persian authors, one hundred and twelve years. The united reigns of that prince, of Darius Nothus, and Artaxerxes Mnemon, amount to one hundred and six years.

wicked in mind: but he is obviously thus described, to reconcile the vanity of a nation to the tale of its subjugation. We have, in their page, an allusion to the friendship which Alexander established with Taxilis, or Omphis, and an account of his battle with Porus, and his expedition against the Scythians: but in none of these accounts do we find more than the mere event upon which we can place any reliance: the rest, not excepting the circumstances recorded of his death, are all fable. His great name has been considered sufficient to obtain credit for every story that imagination could invent: but this exaggeration is almost all praise. The Secunder of the Persian page is a model of every virtue and of every great quality that can elevate a human being above his species; while his power and magnificence are always represented as far beyond what has ever been attained by any other monarch in the world.

The confusion into which Persia was thrown at the death of Alexander, has caused a great blank in the records of that nation; whose historians, as has been before stated, take no notice whatever of his immediate successors. A period of nearly five centuries, during which the two branches of the Arsacides* governed that country, is reduced to less than three by Persian writers; whose imperfect and contradictory statements warrant us in pronouncing, that all they possess regarding this epoch is an incorrect catalogue of names. Ferdosi, indeed, passes it over as one of which no trace of history had been preserved. He states, that

The reign of the Arsacides.

Persians have no authentic records of this period.

* We learn from western authors, that there were twenty monarchs of the first branch of the Arsacidæ, who ruled over Parthia two hundred and seventy years: and of the second, there were eleven kings, whose collective reigns occupied a space of two hundred and twenty-one years.

CHAP. VII.

at the death of Alexander the Great the empire of Persia fell into a state of confusion, in which it remained for two centuries; governed by petty rulers*, and distracted by internal wars: and adds, that so unstable was the authority of these contending chiefs, that Persia may be considered, during the whole of this time, as a nation without a sovereign. After this short and general observation, he proceeds to the life of Ardisheer, the founder of the Sassanian race of kings.

The total omission of the history of this period by Ferdosi, is calculated to increase our reliance upon that author; for it proves that, however he may have indulged his imagination in the embellishment of his subject, he was scrupulous in taking its substance from the Pehlivi manuscripts from which he composed his poem: and we may assume, from his silence, that in these no mention was to be found of the Parthian dynasties. The reason of this blank in the history of Persia appears obvious. In that nation, as in others of similar condition, the terms learned and religious were synonimous. The priest alone cultivated letters; and the great neglect into which the rites of Zoroaster fell†, during the reign of the Arsacides, may be

* The Moolook-u-Tuaif.

† Sylvester de Sacey, in his very learned work upon the antiquities of Persia, affords us abundant proof of the religion of Zoroaster having been neglected during the rule of the Parthian kings. He informs us, on the authority of Greek writers, that though the magi existed as a body long before the time of Artaxerxes, they were held in no respect, and even treated with contempt by the civil magistrates; and we must conclude, that a religion could hardly have been observed by those who despised its ministers. But we derive still more convincing evidence of the change that occurred, from the coins that have been preserved of the Parthian kings, and of the monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty. The former have no figures upon them that are,

deemed the principal cause why the same authors who have blazoned the fame of Artaxerxes* and his successors, should, as far as they had the power, have consigned the race of monarchs, by whom they were immediately preceded, to oblivion.

Royal descent of Ashk, or Arsaces.

Though western writers have not denied that descent from the ancient kings of Persia which oriental authors claim for Ashk or Arsaces, they have almost all agreed in describing the Parthians† as being originally Scythians, or Tartars, who, according to their statements, ruled over Persia for several centuries. There are, however, several reasons which suggest a doubt of this fact; and one of the best informed of ancient writers‡ expressly states, that

Parthians supposed to be originally Carduchi.

"the Parthians, whose territories were upon the banks of the "Tigris, were formerly called Carduchi." The geographical position of Carduchia, the modern Kurdîstan, the character of its barbarous and unsubdued inhabitants, and their constant hostility‖ to the kings of Persia, renders it very probable, that, invited by the confusion into which that country was thrown by the divisions among the successors of Alexander, the Carduchi descended from their mountains, to share in the spoil of a broken

in any shape, allusive to the religion of Zoroaster: and the inscriptions upon them are in the Greek language: while the latter are ornamented with a marked symbol of the worship of fire, "an altar and sacred flame:" and all the inscriptions are in the ancient language of Persia.—*Antiquités de la Perse*, page 43—45.

* Ardisheer.

† Fergusson asserts this, in his Roman history, on the authority of Justin and Dio Cass. The authors of "The Universal History" also state that they were Scythians.

‡ Strabo.

‖ Xenophon was informed, that the Carduchians "were a warlike nation, and not "subject to the king."—SPELLMAN'S *Cyrus*, page 111.

CHAP. VII.

Reign of the Parthians.

empire. But it would be as useless to know, as it is difficult to ascertain, whether the original Parthians*, or, in other words, the first tribes to whom that name was given, came from the banks of the Oxus, or those of the Tigris: for it is obvious, that when that appellation became general to the kingdom of Persia, it must have included a hundred races, besides those to whom authors have laboured to trace it. All we can safely conclude is, that the period at which the greater part of the kingdom of Persia was known to the European world as Parthia, was one during which that country was distracted by the continual contests of its own princes, and independant chiefs. That a sense of common danger enabled several of the Parthian monarchs to meet their foreign enemies with great armies, there can be no doubt: and we also know, that the monarchs whom this circumstance, or their superior character, had elevated to supreme rule, assumed the proudest state, and the highest titles. But these facts are not sufficient to prove that the Arsacides ever attained a rank equal to those races of kings by whom they were preceded, and followed. The Parthian rulers can perhaps only be deemed the heads of a great confederacy of feudal chiefs, each of whom aspired to regal power†: and, though

* The term Parthia is unknown to Asiatic writers. We are informed by western authors, that it means, in the ancient Scythian, exiles; and, as such, it is given as a proof of their descent. I have been quite unable to trace this etymology, and conceive that it would prove nothing, if traced.

† It has been before observed, that Pliny states that the kingdom of Parthia was divided into eighteen kingdoms.

The condition of Persia, under the Parthian kings, is well described by our own eloquent historian. " The weak indulgence of the Arsacides," he observes, " had " resigned to their sons and brothers the principal provinces and the greatest offices

ignorance and bigotry combined could alone have condemned so long a period of a nation's history to oblivion, there is nothing left that can rescue it from the reproach of being a barbarous epoch; and one, in which we can discover but few traces, or monuments, that are calculated to perpetuate the glory either of the sovereigns that reigned, or the country which they governed.

The Sassanian dynasty.

From the commencement of the Sassanian dynasty the history of Persia assumes a new character: and there is as fair an agreement between eastern and western writers as can be expected from authors of different nations. Persian writers have no dates, even at this epoch; but the period they assign to the reign of each prince generally accords with the more exact chronology of western authors: and we are led, by these circumstances, to grant our belief to the general truth of their history of the Sassanian monarchs, who occupied the throne of Persia till that kingdom fell under the dominion of the Caliphs of Arabia.

The ancient history of Persia, as given by the authors of that nation, may be divided into distinct periods*. "The fabulous;" which includes all that precedes Kai Kobad, the Dejoces of the

" of the kingdom, in the nature of hereditary possessions. The *vitaxæ*, or eighteen " most powerful satraps, were permitted to assume the regal title; and the vain pride " of the monarch was delighted with a nominal dominion over so many vassal kings. " Even tribes of barbarians in their mountains, and the Greek cities of Upper Asia " within their walls, scarcely acknowledged, or seldom obeyed, any superior: and the " Parthian empire exhibited, under other names, a lively image of the feudal system, " which has since prevailed in Europe."—GIBBON, Vol. I. p. 329.

* Sir William Jones states it as his opinion, " that the annals of the Paishdad, or " Assyrian race, may be considered dark and fabulous; those of the Kaiani family " as heroic and poetical; and those of the Sassanian kings as historical."—Sir WILLIAM JONES's *Works*, Vol. I. p. 76.

CHAP. VII. Greeks: "the poetical," or that part which contains some facts, and much fiction; in which we must reckon from the time of the commencement of the Kaianian dynasty, till the reign of Ardisheer Babigan: and "the historical;" which begins with that monarch, and terminates with the overthrow of the dynasty that he established.

Of the first*, or fabulous period, it is impossible to attempt to fix the dates, with any approach whatever to correctness. In the

* The following is a table of kings before the conquest of Alexander, according to Persian and Grecian authors.

The fabulous monarchs mentioned in the Dabistan, are—

Mahabad, and thirteen successors of the same name; supposed to be the fourteen Menus of the Hindoos:

Jy-Affram, who established the Jyanian dynasty: the number of his successors unknown; the last was named Jyabad:

Shah-Kuleev, who established another dynasty, of which the last prince was Shah Mahbool; supposed to be the Mahabali of the Hindoos, and the Belus of the Assyrians:

Yassan, who established the dynasty of the Yassanians, which ended in Yassan-Ajem[17].

[17] The aggregate reigns of these monarchs is estimated at many thousand millions of years.

MONARCHS OF THE PAISHDADIAN DYNASTY, AND PERIODS OF REIGN, ACCORDING TO FERDOSI.

	Years.	
Kaiomurs	30	
Houshung	40	
Tahamurs	30	
Jemsheed	700	
Zohauk	800 or 1000	Conjectured to be the term of the Assyrian conquest.
Feridoon	1000	
Manucheher	120	

second, we are aided by Grecian writers: but the difference between those and Persian authors, from the period of Dejoces to the CHAP. VII.

	Years.	
Nouzer	7	
Afrasiab	12	Conjectured to be the term of the Scythian conquest.
Zoo		Both these princes were cotemporaries with Afrasiab, and ruled part of Persia.
Kershasp		

THE KAIANIAN DYNASTY OF KINGS.

Names of Kings, and Period of each Reign, according to Ferdosi.	Years.
Kai Kobad	120
Kai Kaoos	150
Kai Khoosroo	60
Lohrasp	120
Gushtasp	60
Bahman	112
Homai	32
Darab the First	12
Darab the Second	12
Total	678

Names of Kings, and Period of each Reign, according to Greek writers.	A. M.	Years.
Dejoces	3294 to 3347	53
Phraortes	3369	22
Cyaxares the First	3409	40
Astyages	3444	35
Cyaxares the Second	3468	24
Cyrus	3475	7
Cambyses	3482	7
Smerdis the Magus	3483	1
Darius Hystaspes	3518	35
Xerxes the First	3539	21
Artaxerxes Longimanus	3581	42
Xerxes the Second	3581	1
Sogdian	3582	
Darius Nothus	3599	17
Artaxerxes Mnemon	3646	47
Ochus	3666	20
Arses	3668	2
Darius Codomanus	3674	6
Total		380

CHAP. VII.

invasion of Alexander, is near three centuries. This, however, seems of less importance, when we consider that the Persian chronology of this period has no foundation, but a vague tradition of the duration of each monarch's reign. To several of their princes they assign more than a century: and, even in these uncertain and extravagant periods, hardly two authors agree. It would be a waste of time to reason upon any accordance in such dates: I have, therefore, in comparing the accounts of oriental writers with those of the Greeks, neither deemed the casual agreement nor disagreement of dates to be a circumstance that could ever be brought to support or invalidate conclusions, deduced from the more certain and satisfactory source of coinciding facts.

From the death of Alexander till the reign of Ardisheer Babigan, the second Artaxerxes of the Greeks, it is still more impossible to reconcile the Persian dates with those of either Grecian or Roman historians: which arises from the simple fact of Asiatic writers having no account of this period, that merits the name of history. They give us, as has been stated, a mere catalogue of kings, and their calculation of the years that the monarchs they mention reigned, is less, by some centuries, than the actual time which this epoch includes: for we cannot be mistaken in our estimate of the duration of the reigns of the Parthian rulers, who flourished during the most remarkable period of Roman history.

The computed dates of Persian authors, from the reign of Ardisheer Babigan till the overthrow of Yezdijird, as well as the principal facts they record, correspond sufficiently with western writers to entitle us to term this an historical epoch. The accounts we have of the monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty are blended with some fables, and frequently embellished with hyperbolical descriptions: but no

castern work is altogether free from these faults: and when we reflect upon the blank there appears to have been in the Persian annals till the rise of this family, and the complete ruin in which that kingdom was involved by the Mahomedan conquest, there will appear more cause to congratulate ourselves upon the correctness of the general outline of what has been preserved, than for regret at those inaccuracies and omissions which we must expect to meet with, even in this portion of the ancient history of Persia.

AMONG the traces of a great nation's former glory, there is none upon which the mind dwells with more serious thought, than on the magnificent ruins of its ancient palaces. How forcibly are we reminded of our condition when told, that an edifice, in the erection of which a kingdom's wealth had been exhausted, which was adorned with every ornament that the art of the world could supply, and whose history was engraven on the imperishable rocks with which it was constructed, was not only fallen into decay, but that its founder was unknown, and the language, in which its history was inscribed, was no longer numbered among the tongues of men! Persia abounds with such remains of forgotten splendour: for, to use the elegant and emphatic words of a poet of that nation, "the spider weaves "the web in the palace of Cæsar! The owl stands sentinel upon "the watch-tower of Afrasiab*!"

Ruins of Persepolis.

The ruins of the palace of Persepolis are by far the grandest that yet remain: and, from what is left of this proud edifice, we may pronounce, that it once rivalled the noblest fabrics of Greece or of

* "Purdadaree-me-kunnud dir Kuser-e-Kyser ank-e-boot!
"Boom-noubut-me zunnud dir goombud Afrasiab!"—FERDOSI.

CHAP. VII.

Rome. This is no place for a minute description of its beauties. These have occupied the time and the talents of eminent travellers and artists: nor shall I add to the various opinions which have been offered regarding the founder of this great monument of Persian art and magnificence, or offer any conjectures upon the meaning of its rich and varied sculpture. Till the inscriptions on its walls are deciphered, these facts will probably remain unknown. Persian authors* ascribe this palace to Jemsheed: and they name it his

* The author of the Zeenut-ul-Mujalis gives the following short account of Persepolis, which, I can state from personal observation, is not much exaggerated in the descriptive parts: and it is curious, as it shows what Persians believe regarding these famous ruins.

"Jemsheed," this writer states, "built a fortified palace at the foot of a hill, which "bounds the fine plain of Murdasht to the north-west. The platform on which it was "built has three faces to the plain, and one to the mountain. It is formed of a hard "black granite[18]. The elevation from the plain is ninety feet: and every stone used "in this building, is from nine to twelve feet long, and broad in proportion. There "are two great flights of stairs to this palace, so easy of ascent, that a man can ride "up on horseback; and on the platform a palace has been erected, part of which "still remains in its original state, and part in ruins. The palace of Jemsheed is that "now called the Chehel-Setoon[19], or forty pillars. Each pillar is formed of a carved "stone, is sixty feet[20] high, and is ornamented in a manner so delicate, that it would "seem difficult to rival this sculpture upon hard granite[21] in a carving upon the "softest wood. There is no granite like that[22] of which these pillars are made, to

[18] It is a hard lime-stone.

[19] All Persian authors state that antimony is found in these ruins.

[20] In these measures, the author has used the word guz, which I have translated guz-shah, or royal yard, "three feet:" there are other guz, shorter.

[21] The author of the Fars Namah is quoted, who says it is almost impossible to break this granite: and that, if broke and ground, it is excellent to stop the bleeding of wounds.

[22] The pillars here mentioned are evidently cut out of the rock at the foot of which it stands, as more pillars, half-finished, lying on the mountain, attest.

Tukht, or throne. They add, that Homai, the daughter of Ardisheer, greatly improved this royal mansion, which she made her constant residence; and that it was destroyed by Alexander*. The City of Istakhr, near which it stood, long survived the destruction of the throne of Jemsheed: and we learn, from historians on whom we can depend, that its inhabitants were distinguished by their inveterate hatred of the conquerors of their country; and, as if inspired by those fragments of former glory with which they were surrounded, they maintained a character for pride and courage, that was not entirely subdued till several centuries after the Arabians first overran Persia†.

Not only the palace of Persepolis, but the face of the mountain at the foot of which it is situated, and many of the rocks in its vicinity, are ornamented with sculpture, in which we may trace a connexion with the page of Ferdosi; and there is ample evidence to prove, that the Persians were in the habit of describing, by sculpture, both their religious ceremonies, and the principal events of their

" be now found in Persia: and it is unknown from whence it was brought. Some " most beautiful and extraordinary figures ornament this palace; and all the pillars " which once supported the roof, (for that has fallen,) are composed of three pieces of " stone, joined in so exquisite a manner, as to make the beholder believe that the " whole shaft is one piece. There are several figures of Jemsheed in the sculpture: " in one, he has an urn in his hand, in which he burns benjamin, while he stands " adoring the sun. In another, he is represented as seizing the mane of a lion with " one hand, while he stabs him with the other."

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The final ruin of Persepolis is attributed to Sumeanah-u-Dowlah, the unworthy son of the virtuous Azd-u-Dowlah. Sumeanah-u-Dowlah could not have exercised power before the year 372 of the Hejirah; A. D. 982.

CHAP. VII.

history. Several of the figures at Persepolis are represented as adoring fire; and in the vicinity of Shahpoor, (a city about eighty miles to the west of Shiraz, which was the capital of Shahpoor, or Sapor, the First,) we find, carved upon the rock, a representation of that monarch holding the Roman emperor, Valerian, prisoner, while he receives some ambassadors, who supplicate the release of the royal captive. Opposite to this monument of triumph are some more pieces of historical sculpture; in which there is one compartment that represents a king, seated in state, amid a group of figures standing before him, one of whom offers two heads to the monarch's notice. If we wanted other evidence, this alone would mark the state of civilisation to which a nation had advanced, that could suffer its glory to be perpetuated by a representation of so barbarous a character.

Sculpture on the rocks of Shahpoor.

City of Shuster.

To Shahpoor the Persian historians also ascribe the foundation of the modern City of Shuster, which is situated on the Karoon, at a distance of nearly thirty miles to the east of the ancient capital of Shus, or Susa*. Shus, these authors inform us, is a Pehlivi word, signifying pleasant; and Shuster is the comparative degree of that word, and means more pleasant. The same tradition adds, that Shahpoor compelled his Roman captives to aid in building this city: and travellers are shown the tower where the Persians believe the unfortunate Valerian was confined: but what renders this city most remarkable among the ancient monuments of Persian grandeur, is the dyke in its vicinity, which its founder threw across the Karoon, to turn the course of that river into a channel more

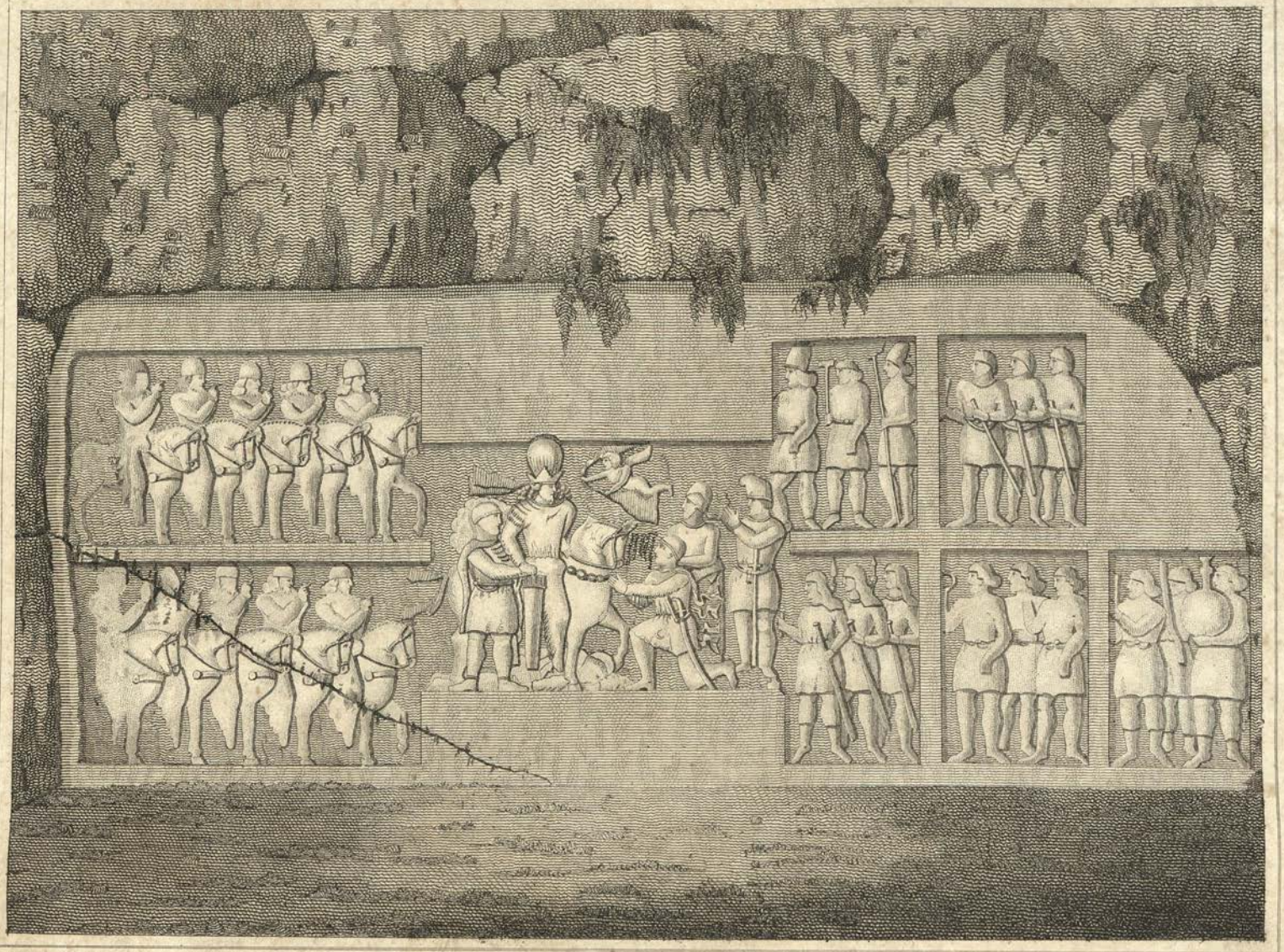
* Kinnier's "Geographical Memoirs of Persia."

W.Webbe del.

C.Heath direxit.

SCULPTURE ON THE FACE OF A MOUNTAIN NEAR THE RUINS OF SHAHPOOR.

Published March 1st 1815, by John Murray, Albemarle Street.



W.Webbe del.

C.Heath direxit.

SCULPTURE ON THE FACE OF A MOUNTAIN NEAR THE RUINS OF SHAHPOOR.

Published March 1st 1818 by John Murray, Albemarle Street.

favourable to agriculture. This dyke is formed of cut stones, cemented by lime, and fastened together by clamps of iron: it is twenty feet broad, and no less than twelve hundred in length. The whole is a solid mass, excepting in the centre, where two small arches have been constructed, for the purpose of allowing a part of the stream to flow in its natural bed. This great work is more worthy of our attention, from being almost the only one of a useful nature that we can trace amid those vast ruins, which speak the pomp and magnificence of the former monarchs of Persia: and it has, as if preserved by its superior character, survived all the sumptuous palaces and luxurious edifices of the same age. The trifling damage which it had sustained from time and the rapid stream of the Karoon, was repaired a few years ago; and it again fulfils its original purpose, of fertilizing the beautiful plains of Desful.

Description of the dyke in its vicinity.

The City of Shuster, though much reduced in size, is still the capital of a province: it lies at the foot of a range of mountains, and overhangs the rapid stream of the Karoon. A bridge, of one arch, which has an elevation of more than eighty feet, connects it with the country on the opposite bank*. Thirty-six miles to the west of Shuster we begin to trace the ruins of the ancient Shus†, or Susa. These are situated between the modern town of Desful, and the eastern banks of the Karasoo River; along which they stretch upwards of twelve miles. They consist, like those of Babylon, of large

Ruins of Shus, or Susa.

* Kinnier's "Geography of Persia."

† It is sometimes written Sus: the modern pronunciation is Shus.

CHAP. VII.

Tomb of Daniel the prophet.

mounds* formed of bricks and coloured tiles†. At the foot of one of these mounds stands the tomb of the prophet Daniel‡: it is a small building, but sufficient to shelter some derveishes, who watch the remains of the prophet, and are supported by the alms of pious pilgrims, who visit the holy sepulchre. These derveishes are now the only inhabitants of Susa: and every species of wild beast roams at large over that spot, on which some of the proudest palaces ever raised by human art, once stood||.

The remains of the sumptuous palaces of the luxurious Khoosroo Purveez have been noticed in the life of that monarch: but in the same part of Persia, the province of Irak§, in which these were

* "A short distance from the Karasoo is one immense elevated mass, about a mile "in circumference, and near a hundred feet in perpendicular height. Beyond this "is another, not quite so high, but of more than double the circumference. These "two mounds have some resemblance to the pyramids at Babylon; with this difference, "that, instead of being entirely of brick, they are formed of clay and pieces of tile, with "irregular layers of brick and mortar: each layer is five or six feet in thickness, to "give strength and support to the mass."—KINNIER'S *Geography of Persia.*

† Some large blocks of marble, covered with hieroglyphicks, have been found amid these ruins: they appear to resemble those of Egypt; and from their never having been discovered in any other part of Persia, I conclude that they were brought by victorious monarchs to Susa, as trophies of their success on the banks of the Nile.

‡ Though the building at the tomb of Daniel be comparatively modern, nothing could have led to its being built where it is, but a belief that that was the real site of the prophet's sepulchre.

|| There would hardly appear a doubt that these ruins are those of Susa: their extent, nature, the materials of which the city was built, the tomb of Daniel, and the traditions of the country, are all strong confirmations of this fact.

§ This province includes the greatest part of the ancient kingdom of Media.

W. Webb® del.

C. Heath direxit.

FRONT VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION CALLED TAUK-E-BOSTAN.

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situated, we find some sculpture, not only far superior to what any of these palaces can boast, but even to that of the far-famed Persepolis.

Sculptures of the Tauk-e-bostan.

At a distance of six miles from the modern City of Kermanshah, the excavations from the rock, which are termed Tauk-e-bostan*, present us with some figures cut in so masterly a style, that we are almost inclined to believe the Persian monarch, under whose auspices this work was executed, might have obtained the aid of Grecian or Roman artists. The mountains in which these excavations are made, form the northern boundary of the plain of Kermanshah. The most considerable is an arch cut in the rock, fifty or sixty feet in height, twenty in depth, and twenty-four in breadth: over the centre of the arch is an emblematical figure, resembling a crescent; and on each side an angel†, with a wreath, or a diadem, in one hand, and a cup in the other. At the extremity of this arched excavation is the gigantic figure of a man on horseback, clothed in full armour. There are three figures‡ over this, and the sides of the cave are covered

* The literal translation of this name is, "the arch of the garden."

† The figure on the right is tolerably perfect; but the hand and arm of the left figure are the only vestiges of it now visible, in consequence of a large fragment of the rock on which it was cut having fallen down. The angel on the right is well proportioned, and dressed in loose flowing robes. It would appear, from the shape of the rock, that there must have been some other sculpture and inscriptions immediately above these, which time, and the inclemency of the weather, have defaced and destroyed.

‡ These three large figures are in an upright posture: they, however, are so much defaced, that nothing but the general outline can be defined. On the right, a female holds a diadem, or circle, in her right hand, with which she is offering to crown the principal male figure in the centre; in her left she holds a goblet, in such a manner as if she were pouring a libation. Over the head of the centre figure, which is

CHAP. VII.

with very fine sculpture, representing, in one compartment, the hunting of the wild boar along the banks of a river by men in boats and on elephants: and on the opposite side, the same figures, on horseback and on elephants, are represented as pursuing deer. There are a variety of other sculptures at the Tauk-e-Bostan; and the labour and knowledge of a French scholar has, by explaining a Pehlivi inscription*, enabled us to identify two figures that are cut

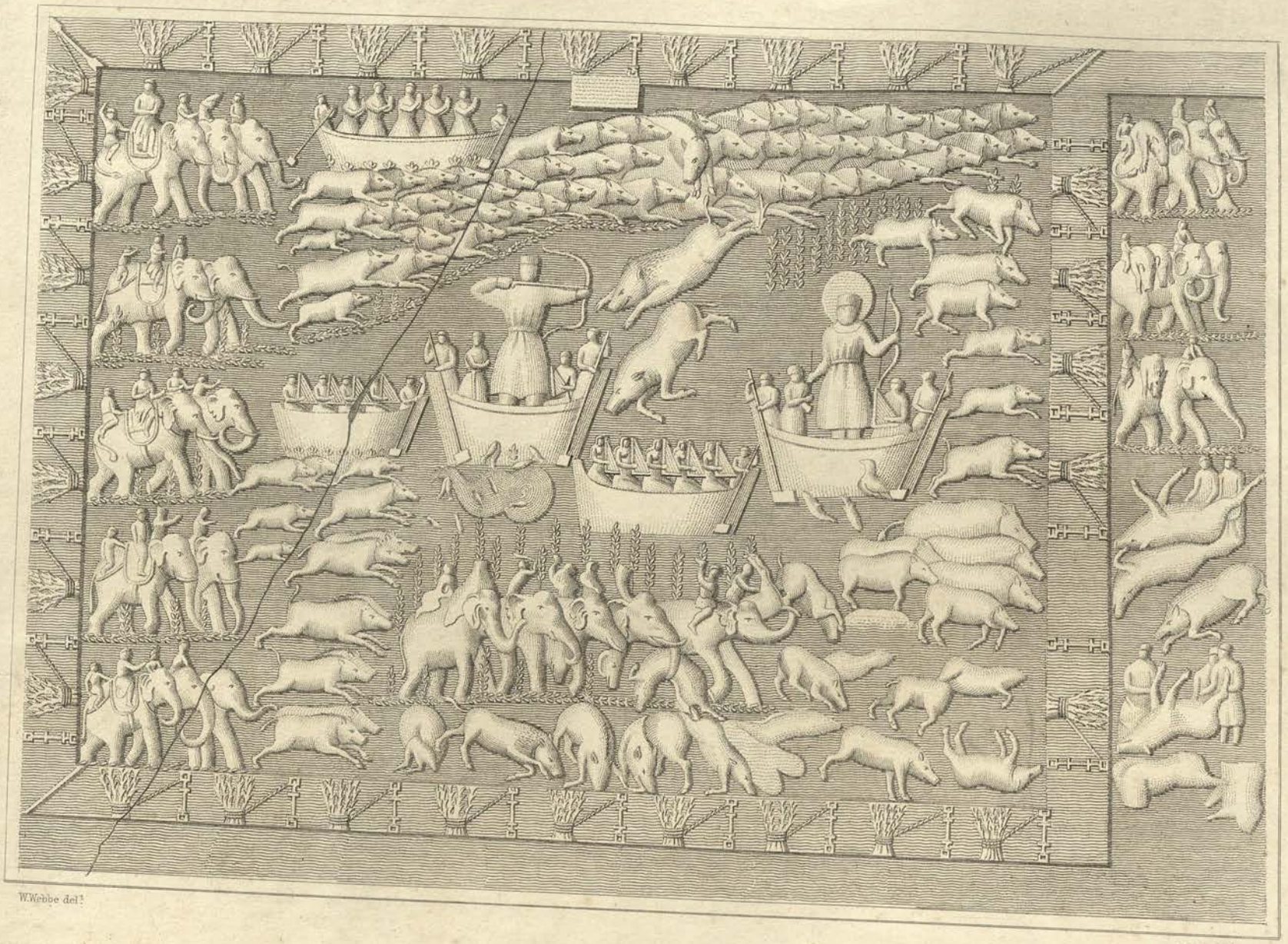
larger than the others, is a crescent. The right hand of this figure appears to be grasping a ring, with the male figure on his left; in his left hand is a straight sword, resting on the ground, between his feet. The figure on the left is dressed in a long mantle; but what he holds in his left hand cannot be ascertained: the face of this image is still perfect; he has a long beard, and wears a helmet on his head, with a ball on the top of it.

* Silvester de Sacey, a member of the Institute at Paris, had made the following translation of this inscription, which is divided into two parts.

The First.—"This figure is that of a worshipper of Hormuzd, or God, the excellent Shahpoor, king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, a celestial germ of a heavenly race, the son of the adorer of God, the excellent Hormuzd; a king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, a celestial germ of a heavenly race, grandson of the excellent Narses, king of kings."

The Second.—"This figure is that of a worshipper of Hormuzd, or God, the excellent Varahram, king of kings, king of Iran and An-Iran, a celestial germ of a heavenly race, son of the adorer of God, the excellent Shahpoor; king of kings, of Iran and An-Iran, a celestial germ of a heavenly race, grandson of the excellent Hormuzd, king of kings."

I gave this inscription to Moullah Firoze, a learned priest of the Parsees at Bombay, and he assured me that the translation of de Sacey was correct. Firoze explained the word An-Iran to mean unbelievers: Eer, he informed me, was a Pehlivi word, which signified believer; Eeran was its plural: in Pehlivi the *a* or *an* prefixed, is a privative, as in Greek and Shanscrit; and, consequently, An-Eeran meant unbelievers. The King of Eeran and An-Eeran he interpreted to mean King of

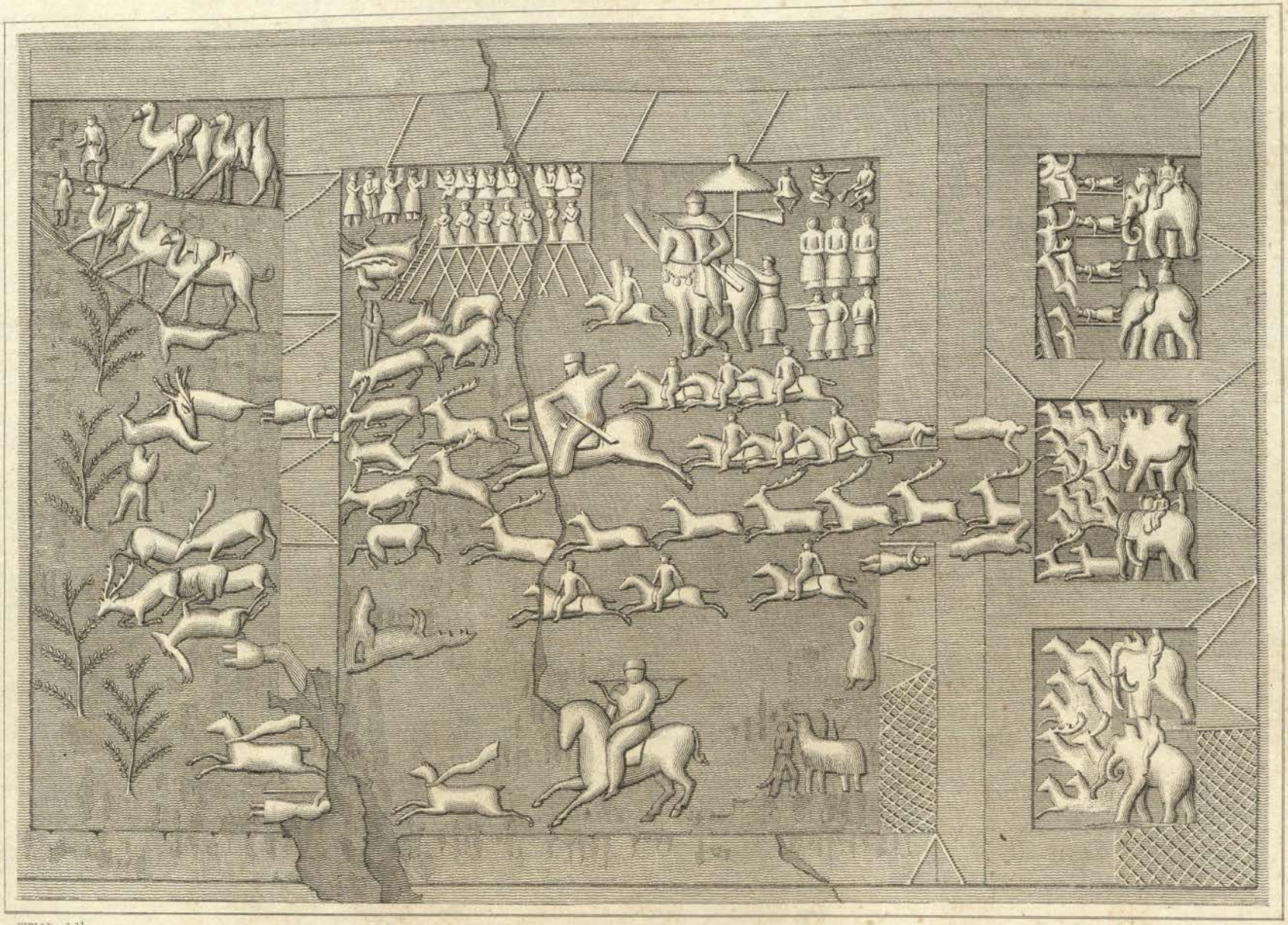


W.Webbe del.

C.Heath direxit.

SCULPTURE ON THE NORTHERN SIDE OF THE INTERIOR OF THE CAVE OF TAUK-E-BOSTAN.

Published March 1st 1815, by John Murray, Albemarle Street.



W. Webbe del.

C. Heath sculp.

SCULPTURE ON THE SOUTHERN SIDE OF THE INTERIOR OF THE CAVE OF TAUK-E-BOSTAN.

Published March 1st 1815, by John Murray, Albemarle Street.

W.Webbe del.

C.Heath direxit.

SCULPTURE IN THE INTERIOR OF A SMALL ARCH NEAR THE TAUK-E-BOSTAN.

Published March 1st 1815, by John Murray, Albemarle Street.

W. Webbe del.t

C. Heath direxit.

SCULPTURE ON THE FACE OF THE ROCK NEAR THE TAUK-E-BOSTAN.

Published March 1.1815. by John Murray Albemarle Street.

out of the face of the rock, as Shahpoor Dulachtaf, and his son, Baharam. We discover, in another part of this sculpture, a representation of two sovereigns (probably Shahpoor and Baharam,) holding a ring, or circle, in their right hands, and standing upon a prostrate Roman soldier. A figure, supposed to be their prophet, Zoroaster, stands by their side: his feet rest upon a star, and his head is covered with a glory*, or crown of rays. There is no doubt that all this sculpture was executed in the reign of Baharam, the founder of the City of Kermanshah: and the ring, we may conclude, is meant as a type of the world, which the monarchs grasp; while the prostrate Roman soldier, upon whom they trample, is an emblem of the fallen state of that empire.

Ruins of Babylon.

The ruins of Babylon have been often described: they consist of large and misshapen mounds†, amid which, none of that regularity which distinguished the vast palaces of this once proud city can now be traced. Of Ctesiphon, an arch, one hundred and sixty feet in height and eighty-five feet in the span, still stands. Of Seleucia, not

Arch of Ctesiphon.

Believers and Unbelievers, or of Persia and other nations. It was, he said, a title like King of the World. This, however, is, like all conjectures founded on etymology, very uncertain.

* I am informed by the Parsees, or Guebers, that in almost all the paintings or sculptures that represent Zoroaster, he is always distinguished by a crown of rays, or glory, as in that I have described.

† If the arrow-headed character is ever deciphered, we may hope to discover many of the particulars of the history of Babylon as well as Persepolis, as great numbers of bricks of various shapes are found at Babylon, covered with inscriptions in this character. That learned orientalist, Doctor Wilkins, has discovered, that the inscriptions which have been brought to Europe are of two different characters; and these appear, when nearly examined, very distinct from each other: he has also proved that this language was written from the left to the right.

CHAP. VII.

a fragment remains. But it would be endless to give even the catalogue of ruined cities and bridges which once ornamented the Tigris. Along the banks of this celebrated river, we now see the place of former magnificence occupied by the scattered tents of Arabian robbers, whose only desire is to increase that waste with which they delight to be surrounded.

Urumia.

In the north-western parts of Persia there are few traces to be found of the ancient splendour of that country. Urumia, a town in Aderbijan, celebrated for being the birth-place of Zoroaster, and for its temples, has nothing left of its former grandeur. In

Tauris, the modern Tabreez.

Tabreez*, the capital of Media, which, under the Armenian prince, Teridates, usurped the name and attempted to rival the glory of Ecbatana, we can discover hardly any remains of its former greatness: but nature has combined with man against this city,

Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan.

which has oftener been reduced to ruins by earthquakes than by wars. Even Ecbatana itself, the modern Hamadan†, has nothing

* The ancient Tauris.

† The sepulchre of Mordecai and Esther is the most remarkable building we find in this ancient capital: and it is alone remarkable, from the name of those who are interred beneath it, for the building which stands near the centre of the city is very humble: we discover, from an inscription on the outer wall, that it was rebuilt one hundred years ago; but this can only allude to the small dome. The tombs, which are of a black coloured wood, are evidently of very great antiquity: but the wood has not perished; and the Hebrew inscriptions, with which it is covered, are still very legible. These are the following verses, with the alteration of one expression, from the book of Esther:

"Now in Shushan, the palace, there was a certain Jew, whose name was Mordecai, "the son of Jair, the son of Shemei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite[23].

[23] Chap. ii. ver. 5.

Rhe.

to reward curiosity; and the site of Rhe, (the ancient Rhages,) is hardly to be traced. The capital of Mazenderan, Sari, is noticed in the first dawn of Persian history, and continues, with its name unchanged, a place of some consequence. Within the last century, four temples* of the ancient Persians were yet standing in that city, which appear to be the only edifices of this description that have escaped the hand of time, and the persecuting spirit of the Mahomedan religion, if we except those near Baku in Mazenderan, where there are still some very ancient places of worship sacred to the element of fire. These are built of stone: they may be termed arched vaults, as the elevation of the highest is not above fifteen feet. To one of the smallest of them Hindoo pilgrims still resort. A cane or pipe is fixed into the ground near the altar, and through it a light

Four ancient temples at Sari.

Places of worship at Baku.

"For Mordecai, the Jew, was next unto King Ahasuerus, and great among the "Jews, and accepted among the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his "brethren, and speaking peace *to all Asia*[24]."

In the Bible, the last phrase of this verse is, "speaking peace to all his seed." The more general term, Asia, has probably been added by the vanity of the writer of the inscription: but it is possible that may have been inaccurately translated. The Jews, at Hamadan, have no tradition of the causes of Esther and her uncle being interred at that place. They probably were removed from Susa, after the death of Artaxerxes, (Ahasuerus). The Jewish festival of Purim, which is celebrated on the thirteenth and fourteenth of the month of Adar, in commemoration of the slaughter which the Jews made on those days of their enemies, is still kept up: and at this festival, Jewish pilgrims resort to the tombs of Mordecai and Esther from every quarter, and have done so for centuries.

* They are built in the shape of rotundas, about thirty feet in diameter, and one hundred and twenty in height.—HANWAY, Vol. I. page 199.

[24] Chap. x. ver. 3.

CHAP. VII.

blue flame issues, like that which is emitted by burning spirits, but more pure. Though this phenomenon would be produced by opening the soil in several other parts near Baku that are equally impregnated with fire, yet the flame in this temple is deemed sacred and miraculous by the pious pilgrims who resort to it from the distant banks of the Ganges.

Khorassan* can, no doubt, boast of many ruins; and Bulkh, which was long the seat of empire, perhaps of still more. These countries have hitherto been little examined, and may merit the attention of some future traveller. Seistan, the hereditary principality of the family of Roostum, is now almost a waste: but the remains of great cities† along the fruitful banks of the Helmund‡, bear ample testimony to its former prosperity and glory: and the names of every spot, and of every family, tend to confirm those traditions which inform us that this region, which is now abandoned to a few wretched tribes, whose chief occupation is plunder, was

Ruins in Seistan.

* This province lies to the east of Istakhr, the former capital of Persia, and is from that termed Khour-assan, or the eastern province: Khour, in Pehlivi, signifies the sun, and, metaphorically, the East.

† The late Captain Christie, an officer of enterprise and talent, travelled through this province in 1810. He describes several remarkable ruins, particularly those of the cities of Poolkha and Dooshak, or Seistan. The latter, he states, must once have occupied as great a space as the site of Isfahan. The houses in this city were built of sun-dried bricks, with vaulted roofs, and in general appear to have been two stories high. The modern town of Jullalabad stands amid these ruins: it contains about two thousand inhabitants, whose ruler, Baharam Khan, terms himself Kaianee, and claims descent from the ancient monarchs of Persia. Captain Christie fell in with a tribe named Nousheerwan. He travelled through a fine valley called Sohrab, and passed a town called Kai Kobad.

‡ Or Heirmund.

once the proud abode of princes and of heroes. The countries on its confines, Mekran and Baloochistan, have few traces of ever having emerged from that poor and sterile state to which they seem to have been condemned by nature.

Character and manners of the ancient inhabitants.

This short and general view of the antiquities of Persia leads us to consider the character and manners of its former inhabitants: and we are apt to conclude, that there are sufficient traces left to warrant a belief that they were well advanced in all the arts of civilized life, and that they enjoyed, under the rule of some of their ancient kings, a happiness and prosperity far beyond what they have ever since experienced. This opinion has been so generally adopted, that it would almost appear presumption to doubt its correctness. But truth can never suffer from inquiry or discussion: and there is no part of history of more consequence than that which relates to the government and manners of the nations described.

Former civilisation and prosperity.

Many arguments to support the assertion of the former civilisation and prosperity of Persia are founded on the extent and magnificence of their edifices: but let us recollect, that amid the ruins with which that country is covered, we find few* that were dedicated to purposes of real public utility. The polished fragments of vast palaces, and the remains of flattering sculpture, prove only that there were rich and powerful monarchs, not that they had happy or civilized subjects. The object of ambition among all eastern kings, is to enjoy grandeur, and to leave a great name. Their grandeur is comprised in their personal state and magnificent

* The dyke across the Karoon at Shuster is, perhaps, the most remarkable exception.

CHAP. VII.

palaces; their fame in conquest. These are the passions which animated the breast of a Kai Khoosroo, an Ardisheer, a Nousheerwan, a Chengiz, a Timour, and a Nadir Shah: and it is evident that, to effect such objects, (whatever may be his personal character,) a monarch must be absolute, and his subjects strangers to freedom. That Persia has been, from the earliest days, under this description of government, there can be no doubt. At some periods, chiefs of provinces, and heads of noble families, have assumed and maintained an independance of the sovereign: and as these are the only objects that we can now trace in this distant scene, we are inclined to believe theirs was the general condition: but it must be obvious, on reflection, that their pretensions and power could only have the effect of multiplying tyrants, and of vexing the community with internal discord.

Grecian account of the former state of Persia.

We are, however, told in Grecian history, that ancient Persia was inhabited by a wise and enlightened race of men, who lived under a just government; and we read in Scripture, that the laws of the Medes and Persians were unchangeable. The accounts which Greek authors have given of the ancient state of Persia, are not in contradiction to what I have stated, as every reader will discover, who attends to the few historical events they have recorded. But the facts they relate should be carefully separated from those fabulous parts of their writings, in which Greek authors* desire to instruct their own rulers, and inspire their countrymen with a love of virtue, by ascribing every quality that can dignify human nature to the ancient kings and inhabitants of a country, with whose real

* There can be no doubt that this observation applies particularly to Xenophon.

history they were but imperfectly acquainted, and had, therefore, full scope for the indulgence of their imagination.

Ancient government.

Of the exact form of the ancient government of Persia, we only know enough to state that it was an hereditary monarchy; that the power of the sovereign was deemed absolute; and that his person was regarded with almost sacred respect. The kings of Persia, from the most early ages, have assumed extravagant titles, and lived with great splendour: but they have been always subject to the check, and sometimes to the control, of a military nobility; many of whom, descended from the royal family, held the richest provinces of their kingdom as principalities. It would appear, that in the most ancient times these nobles were always assembled before a monarch was placed upon the throne. Their assent was in fact necessary, as they were from birth the leaders of the army of the country, which was formed from the different quotas that they furnished. The immediate ministers of the crown seem, as at present, to have been generally chosen from men of learning and experience, but of low birth. Ministerial power was often usurped by chiefs of great family, but never granted: its being in the hands of a powerful military noble implies, in such a government, that the prince is a pageant or a prisoner. The luxury in which Persian kings have always indulged, extended to the nobility of that country; and in prosperous times, it must have been generally diffused over the whole empire. That this luxury could not have existed without a knowledge of many of the arts of peace, and a certain progress in civilisation, is obvious: but this progress was continually retarded by the internal wars consequent to the system of the government, and by the recurring irruptions of savage tribes of warriors, who issued,

CHAP. VII.

in one quarter, from the shores of the Euxine and the Caspian; and in another, from the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

There would appear every ground to conclude that the form of the ancient government of Persia was nearly the same as that of all barbarous states, the foundation of whose greatness is military power: but there is, perhaps, no better way of judging the condition of a people than by a reference to the mode in which the ruler collects the revenue from those subject to his authority. The collection of the revenues of Persia, we are informed*, was first settled by Darius Hystaspes†, when he divided his kingdom into twenty great satrapies‡. That monarch fixed the regular tribute to be paid by each of these inferior governments. This, the same author tells us, was an innovation: he adds, that Cyrus only received presents: and that, in consequence of this new measure, Darius was termed a merchant; while Cyrus was considered by his subjects as a parent‖. The propriety of these appellations must refer to the personal character of the sovereigns to whom they were applied, not to the system of collecting the revenue which they adopted: for certainly that pursued by Cyrus was at once the rudest, the most uncertain, and

Ancient mode of the collection of revenue.

* Herodotus.

† The Gushtasp of oriental writers.

‡ Darius Hystaspes divided Persia into twenty satrapies, or governments: and, according to the authority of Herodotus, he fixed its revenue at an amount equal to two millions eight hundred and seven thousand four hundred and thirty-seven pounds of our money; a sum which Doctor Robertson deems so small, as to be almost irreconcilable with the many facts concerning the mines, magnificence, and luxury of the East. The learned historian would be surprised to learn, that this amount corresponds almost to a fraction with the revenue which is, at this moment, collected in Persia: and that kingdom is certainly at this period in a prosperous condition.

‖ Cambyses, who also took presents, is termed, in the same passage, a despot.

the most oppressive. We are told that it existed in Persia even before his reign, and it has continued to the present day to be the bane of that kingdom. The sovereign, on his ascending the throne on the annual festival of the feast of Nowroze*, or commencement of the year, and on the occurrence of any fortunate event, such as the birth of a son, or a marriage in the royal family, expects, or, to speak more correctly, exacts a present from his powerful nobles and officers of state; and these follow the same system with their vassals and dependants. The amount of such present is arbitrary. It is regulated by the dictates of avarice, the possession of wealth, the power to oppress, and the means of resistance: and the collision of these opposite causes of action must always produce effects the most unfavourable that can be conceived for a nation's happiness.

Ancient laws of the Persians.

With regard to the laws of the ancient Persians, if we are to understand by that term, civil institutions, which are made for the punishment of criminals according to established usages, and to guard the lives and property of individuals from injustice and power, we may safely pronounce that they never could have existed in a nation which was always under despotic rulers: but, on examination of those passages of holy writ in which the laws of the Medes and Persians are mentioned, it will be discovered that the king's word was, in the most ancient days as at present, deemed the fixed and immutable law of the land; and that no more was meant by that phrase, than that when the monarch had once commanded, though it

* This feast, as has been before stated, is supposed to have been first instituted by Jemsheed.

CHAP. VII.

was to commit injustice, he even could not depart from what he had uttered*.

Habitation.

That the greatest part of the population of ancient Persia inhabited towns and cities, is proved both by history and by the antiquity of some of the most extensive ruins which have been discovered in that country; and we are led to conclude, that in the earliest age of which the Persians have any trace, they must have depended more upon agriculture than on their flocks for their support: for, we are informed, they long regarded those who ate animal food with horror†: but we learn from the same authorities, that even in those days a number of tribes used to dwell in tents. The nature,

* Many passages from the Bible might be quoted to prove the truth of this plain interpretation: that of Daniel being cast into the lions' den is one of the most remarkable. The character of the power of the King of Persia has undergone no change. The late king, Aga Mahomed Khan, when encamped near Shiraz, said he would not move till the snow was off the mountain in the vicinity of his camp. The season proved severe, and the snow remained longer than was expected: the army began to suffer distress and sickness: but the king had said, while the snow remained upon the mountain, he would not move: and his word was as law, and could not be broken. A multitude of labourers were collected and sent to remove the snow: their efforts, and a few fine days, cleared the mountain, and Aga Mahomed Khan marched. This anecdote was repeated to me by one of his principal chiefs, who was present, and who told it me with a desire of impressing my mind with a high opinion of Aga Mahomed Khan, who knew, he observed, the sacred nature of a word spoken by the King of Persia.

† Zohauk, as has been stated, was the first who introduced this usage; but perhaps it was only some of the higher classes, or the order of priests, (as is the case in India,) that lived upon vegetables and milk: but as these were the recorders of this innovation, they would ascribe their feelings of horror to the whole nation.

Wandering tribes.

indeed, of the soil and the climate of Persia is singularly favourable to such a life: and the character of the government of that country must always have given it additional charms. The wandering tribes can enjoy, by moving their tents from elevated to low plains, a continual spring; but their favourite residence has always been amid high and inaccessible mountains. They are reconciled by habit to privations which the hand of power can hardly increase: and their manner of life inspires them with a savage freedom, that only admits of the exercise of a very lenient authority. That of their chiefs is patriarchal: they repay his kindness with inviolable attachment: but, from impatience of insult and oppression, they are prompt to disobedience and revolt. Enemies of learning, and careless of religion, they disdain improvement; and look down from the summits of their barren mountains with a mixture of pity and contempt upon the luxurious, but enslaved inhabitants of splendid cities. The character of such a race can never change: and there is probably no difference between the ancient and present Eellyattee, or man of a wandering tribe, in Persia, except that the former ascended a mountain to adore the sun, or pronounced in a temple of fire the name of Zoroaster; while the latter repeats that of Mahomed, and murmurs a short and hurried prayer in a language* of which he is ignorant.

Observations on the progress of civilisation.

There is every reason to believe, that the manners of the ancient inhabitants of Persia were softened, and in some degree refined, by a spirit of chivalry which prevailed throughout that country, from the commencement till the end of the Kaianian dynasty. The quality of courage was hardly held higher than that of generosity

* Arabic.

CHAP. VII.

and humanity: and we find the first heroes not more praised for valour than for their clemency and munificence. If we give any credit to Ferdosi, most of the laws of modern honour appear to have been understood and practised with an exception in favour of the ancient Persians, whose duels or combats (which were frequent) were generally with the most distinguished among the enemies of their country, or of the human race. The great respect in which the female sex was held, was, no doubt, the principal cause of the progress they had made in civilisation. These were at once the cause of generous enterprise and its reward. It would appear, that in former days the women of Persia had an assigned and honourable* place in society: and we must conclude, that an equal rank with the male creation, which is secured to them by the ordinances of Zoroaster, existed long before the time of that reformer, who paid too great attention to the habits and prejudices of his countrymen, to have made any serious alteration in so important an usage.

Though there is reason, from what has been said, to conclude that the inhabitants of ancient Persia had made some progress in civilisation, and that a spirit of generous valour was cherished among the higher orders of the military class of that country, there is no ground to suppose that the community ever enjoyed a good government, or just laws. In the more remote ages, the power of the sovereign was but faintly acknowledged by great

* We are told by Quintus Curtius, that Alexander would not sit in the presence of Sisygambis till told to do so by that matron; because it was not the custom in Persia for sons to sit in presence of their mothers. There can be no stronger proof than this anecdote affords, of the great respect in which the female sex were held in that country at the period of his invasion.

feudal lords, who held lands (which had become hereditary) upon the tenure of military service. This, which appears to have been the first rude state of every monarchy in the universe, was changed, as the paramount chief, or king, gained strength: but when the various petty princes, or lords of provinces and of tribes, were subdued, the only government that an absolute ruler of such a country could substitute, led, by a natural course, to the same state of affairs at which the labour had commenced. It was a progress, not on a line that advanced, but on that of a circle, which terminated where it began. The wisest and most powerful monarchs of Persia, as has been shown, knew no other mode of settling their empire but that of dividing it into petty governments, each of which was ruled by a lieutenant, or officer, whom western writers call satrap*, and who held his government on condition of paying certain revenues, and of furnishing a fixed quota of troops. As the sovereign power became weak, it was evident its officers would usurp upon it, and the result would be the establishment of families, strong from influence and wealth, and the fall of the monarchy by the insurrections

* This appears to be a corruption of chattrapa, or "lord of the umbrella of state," which, it is probable, these provincial rulers only were allowed to bear. The distinction of bearing an umbrella is common to many countries of Asia; and that it was known in Persia, there can be no better evidence than the sculpture of Persepolis, where the umbrella of state often marks the prince, or chief, of the group of figures. Chattra, which signifies "umbrella," is a term common to Persic and Shanscrit. Pa, a contraction of pati, (i. e. lord,) is now lost in the former, though preserved in the latter language. The name, or rather title, of chattra pati, or "lord of the umbrella," distinguishes one of the highest officers of the federal government of the Mahratta state.

CHAP. VII.

and rebellions of those petty principalities which it had reduced and recreated. This, however, is an outline which describes the condition of every uncivilized state in the world: but it is obvious, that no nation to which it applies can be said to possess either good laws or good government.

Morals of the ancient Persians.

With regard to the morals of the inhabitants of ancient Persia, we are left entirely in the dark. The historians of that nation never write of common men: and it is perhaps unfair to judge of the mass by what we find recorded of their kings and heroes. If we should, the sentence would not be favourable. But such illustrious personages have, in all ages, and in all countries, deemed themselves exempt from vulgar restrictions: and we can only observe, that if the example they gave was generally followed, the morals of the Persians could not have been much better than their government and their laws.

Learning.

It is difficult to say to what extent learning was cultivated among the ancient Persians. Nousheerwan was the first monarch whom historians notice as the founder of a college: but the mobuds, or priests, had their books of religion; and the Chronicles of the Kings of Persia were preserved with great care. The learned of this nation were early distinguished for their knowledge of astrology, which implies a limited acquaintance with the noble science of astronomy: but this study, as well as all others, appears to have been confined to their mobuds, or priests: and it is evident that their boasted learning, under the greatest of the Sassanian kings, was much below that of their western neighbours; for we are told, that the philosophers of the Roman empire returned disappointed

from the court of Nousheerwan*. Whatever treasures in science and learning the ancient Persians might have possessed, are lost or destroyed†: and it will not appear illiberal to conclude, that the reputation of the country has owed much to a loss, which has given rise to a regret that is disposed to magnify the value of what it cannot hope to recover.

The ancient Persian must, from his climate and food, have been athletic and strong, and of good personal appearance. An author of just fame‡, who has probably taken his comparison from some of the oppressed followers of Zoroaster, who still remain in that country, and whose very looks have been changed by their hard condition, has pronounced that the former inhabitants of this kingdom were inferior to the modern, whose beauty of frame has, he conceives, been improved by the blood of the Georgians, Circassians, and other nations with whom they have intermingled. But, if we are to judge from the descendants of the ancient Persians

* Gibbon.

† I never have been able to hear of the existence of any work in the ancient Pehlivi that could be deemed historical. Sir John Chardin informs us, that Abbas the Great made every possible search after manuscripts in that language; and that he actually put one of the priests of the Guebers to death in consequence of his disappointment. The collection made by this monarch amounted to twenty-six volumes; and Chardin informs us, that they were lodged in the Royal Library at Isfahan. The respectable traveller gives us a plate, said to be taken from these volumes: it only exhibits a specimen of the kufick and arrow-headed characters. He also states, that a Gueber read to him, for three months, out of a book relating to their religion and usages, said to have been written in the time of Yezdijird. I can have no doubt that this was one of their books of Rowayat, or ordinances, of which the Gueber priests at Yezd, and at Bombay, have several.

‡ Sir J. Chardin.

CHAP. VII.

who are settled in Guzerat and at Bombay, and of the purity of whose blood there can be no doubt, as they never intermarry with other races, we should decide, from the present appearance of this body of men, changed as they must be from a residence of eleven centuries in an enervating climate, that the former inhabitants of Persia were superior, not inferior, in looks to the present, who belong to a hundred mixed races, which have poured upon that kingdom since the overthrow of Yezdijird.

CHAPTER VIII.

An Account of the Government of the Caliphs in Persia, and of the Petty Dynasties of Ben Leis, Samanee, and Dilemee.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 651.
A. H. 31.

We now commence a new era in Persian history. The arms of the followers of Mahomed effected a great revolution in that country: but, though its religion was completely changed, and the manners of its inhabitants much altered, the government continued essentially the same. There is so little left regarding ancient Persia, that a fear of even neglecting trifles, which might throw a light upon such an epoch, may have led to prolixity on that part of the subject. From its conquest by the Arabians, to the reign of Nadir Shah, it will be sufficient to give a general and concise account of the numerous dynasties which governed that kingdom. From the elevation of Nadir, more detail will be necessary, as every event will then derive an importance, from its connexion with the present state of that kingdom.

Character of eastern history.

In the modern part of Persian history, we cannot complain of the want of materials: but the best Mahomedan authors are only entitled to the character of good annalists. They give the occurrences of the year with exactness, and sometimes enliven the record with a few characteristic anecdotes of the monarchs whose history they write. But, though their style is often remarkable for its perspicuity, and

CHAP. VIII.

the facts they state may be depended upon, (unless when writing of those princes under whose protection they lived,) their page can seldom boast of much interest. A Persian author, it is true, is in general exempt from a political bias: and though his volume may have the colour of his religious feelings, it is never written to support any system, and can therefore hardly ever mislead: but this negative merit arises out of the scenes amid which he lives, and the actions that he has to detail. Asiatic historians seldom speculate upon changes in the manners of men, in the frame of society, or on the form of governments. They are entire strangers to the science of political economy, and never reason upon any subject connected with the rise or fall of nations, except with reference to the personal character of their rulers. It must be obvious, that such writers, though they may be more free from error, can never attain any portion of that excellence which belongs to those who, living under happier auspices, have mixed the wisdom of philosophy with the facts of history in a manner which has enabled them to instruct future ages, by their narration of the events of the past.

From what has been said, it will appear that the defects of eastern history are not to be ascribed to any want of talents in its authors, but to the condition of the society in which they lived, and to the subjects of which they treat. The tale of despotism, which is the only one they have to tell, is always the same: and the quick succession of absolute monarchs, and servile ministers, often render the volumes which record their lives a mere catalogue of names and of crimes. The difficulty of constructing a work from such materials is great, and it is hardly lessened by their abundance.

Invasion and government of the caliphs.

After the flight of Yezdijird, the leaders of the armies of the caliph soon overran the whole of Persia, from the Euphrates to the Oxus, destroying, with bigot fury, all that was useful, grand, or sacred, in that unhappy country. A great proportion of the conquered inhabitants, preferring the abandonment of their religious tenets to oppression or death, adopted the faith of their new masters; while those who were unable to endure the scene, fled, self-banished, into a distant land. The progress of the conquerors was rapid and wonderful: colonies, from the burning desert of Arabia, were extended over the cold countries of Khorassan and Bulkh: and they flourished in the soil to which they were transplanted. Their descendants still remain a distinct race*, and continue to preserve the manner and the appearance, though they have lost the language, of their forefathers. When the great conquest was complete, lieutenants were appointed to the different divisions of the country; and Persia was held as a province, under the vast empire of the Arabian caliphs, for more than two centuries. Its history, during that period, is to be found in that of its conquerors; and even there it occupies but a small and unimportant space. The only events of consequence, are petty revolts of insubordinate governors, who, when

* I have conversed with a man of the tribe of Ben-Shybanee, who belonged to a branch of that tribe, settled within four days' march of Bokharah: his countenance and manner were as completely Arabian as an inhabitant of Yemen, which he accounted for by saying, that none of his tribe intermarried with the other inhabitants of the country. The Arabs, in Khorassan, in Bulkh, and even in the vicinity of Bokharah, are still numerous: but, except in the former province, they have no chiefs of any distinction, it having been the policy of both the Tartars and Affghans to scatter and weaken them. Though many of these tribes have preserved the name and appearance of Arabians, they have completely lost the language of that country.

CHAP. VIII.

the power of the caliphs declined, tried to render the provinces to which they were appointed hereditary principalities, and humbled themselves to that paramount power when it was strong and efficient.

A. D. 810.
A. H. 195.

In the government of Khorassan we trace three generations descended from Tahir*, who exercised almost regal power: and when the caliph, Mamoon, desired to remove the grandson of Tahir, he was compelled to employ an uncle of that governor to attack him; a strong presumptive proof, that this system had already created a number of great feudatory lords, or chiefs, over whom the caliphs could only maintain their nominal authority by the wretched expedient of exciting feudal and family divisions. A country could not long remain in such a state. The fever of religious enthusiasm soon passed: the person of the caliph was no longer held sacred, nor his mandate obeyed with that implicit obedience which the followers of Mahomed gave to his first successors. He had become a pageant, who resided at his palace in Bagdad, and acted by the direction of some chief who was a nominal slave of his authority. His temporal power was at as low an ebb as his religious:

* The story of the two sons of the celebrated Haroun-ul-Rusheed, is familiar to every reader of oriental history. The caliph, Ameen, the son of the beautiful, virtuous, and high-born Zobiedah, was the weakest and most wretched of men; while his brother, Mamoon, whose mother was a slave, commanded the esteem of all, by his courage, enterprise, and wisdom. Their father, respecting the descent of the one, and the character of the other, left his empire between them: but Ameen not only tried to degrade his brother from that high dignity, by leaving his name out of the public prayers, but sent an army to destroy him. The fortunes of Mamoon were intrusted to the skill and valour of Tahir-zul-Yemneen, who defeated the army of the caliph, Ameen, and afterwards slew that prince.

and his discontented and mutinous armies were hardly able to protect, from usurpation, the districts in the immediate vicinity of his capital, much less to hold in subjection distant provinces, whose governors used his name in public prayers, but disdained to give any further mark of their duty or their allegiance.

The sceptre of the once proud kingdom of Persia, thus fallen from the nerveless grasp of the despicable successors of Omar and of Aly, seemed to present itself to any bold leader who had the courage to seize it. So dazzling a prize must have tempted many to their ruin. It was at last obtained by a man who, though born in the lowest ranks of life, was ennobled by the qualities of valour, generosity, and wisdom. Yacoob-ben-Leis was the son of a pewterer of the name of Leis, in Seistan. He worked, when very young, at his father's trade: but all his gains, and all he could obtain from an indulgent parent, were squandered among a number of boys of the same age, with whom his boldness and prodigality made him a favourite. As he grew up, his means became unequal to his increased wants, and those of his young friends, whom he was in the habits of supplying. Tempted by the distracted state of the country, he became a robber; and was followed, in this desperate profession, by those whom his liberality from childhood had attached to his person and fortunes. The number and character of his followers, and the success of his enterprises, soon gave him fame and wealth; and his generous and humane usage of those whom he plundered, added to his name and popularity. In such a state of society, the transition from the condition of a successful robber to that of a chief of reputation, was easy and natural. A man who possessed activity and courage, and who was able to command a number of adherents,

Early life of Yacoob-ben-Leis.

Becomes a robber.

CHAP. VIII.

could not fail of early attaining rank and consequence. Salah-ebn-Naser, who had usurped the government of Seistan, when threatened by an attack from Tahir-ebn-Abdullah, ruler of Khorassan, was glad to obtain the services of the robber, Yacoob; who rose so rapidly to power, that he was intrusted by Dirhem-ebn-Naser, the successor of his brother Salah, with the command of his army. The first use which he made of this power, was to seize* the chief that had bestowed it upon him, whom he sent prisoner to Bagdad, and claimed, as a recompense for his success in displacing a rebellious ruler, the government of his native province, which he promised to hold as the servant and lieutenant of the Lord of the Faithful. His pretensions do not appear to have been opposed by the weak and cruel Mutawukel, who probably was caliph at this period, as the usurpation of Yacoob must have been prior to his assassination†. Yacoob lost no time in adding to his strength: his first efforts were directed against the Governor of Khorassan, from whom he took the important Fortress of Herat‡: he next turned his

Enters the service of Salah-ebn-Naser.

A. D. 851.
A. H. 237.

Usurps the government of Seistan.

A. D. 861.
A. H. 247.

* This account is taken from the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh. Khondemir says, that Yacoob continued in the command of Dirhem's army till the death of that chief, when the troops proclaimed him ruler.

† This caliph was put to death in the year of the Hejirah 247, by some conspirators, who were headed by his son, Moutaher. He was murdered as he was drinking with his friends. His vizier, Futteh, seeing he could not defend his master, exclaimed, "O "Mutawukel! I do not desire to survive thee!" and received from a conspirator the death he wished. Mutawukel had a jester, as all Asiatic princes have. This man, when he saw the work of death commence, crept into a corner: but when he observed the vizier's fate, he rushed out, and, imitating his solemnity of manner, exclaimed, "O "Mutawukel! I do most anxiously desire to survive thee!" The men of blood could not help smiling, and the wit escaped.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

arms against the province of Kerman, which he reduced: from thence he marched to Shiraz, and succeeded in making himself master of that city. A. D. 868. A. H. 255.

When he returned from this expedition, he sent a present to Muatamed-ul-ullah*, the son of Mutawukel, who then sat upon the throne of Bagdad, by an officer, who was commanded to say, that Yacoob considered himself as one of the lowest of the caliph's slaves†. This mission, however, did not prevent the caliph from remonstrating with that chief, when he again invaded Fars: and an offer was made to grant him, if he desisted from the enterprise, a regular investiture for the government of the countries of Bulkh and of Bokharah, in addition to that which he held of Seistan. He accepted these terms; and assuming the title, which he had now a right to do, of the caliph's lieutenant, marched in the direction of Bulkh; of which, and the City of Cabul, he soon made himself master; and then turned his arms against Khorassan. In the same year he fought an action near Nishabore, with the last prince of the family of Tahir‡, whom he took prisoner, and sent, with one hundred and sixty of his family and relations, to Seistan. The victorious Yacoob proceeded in his career; and, in another battle fought near Sari, in Mazenderan, completely routed the governor‖ of that province, who fled towards Ghilan. Yacoob

A. D. 869. A. H. 256.

Appointed a lieutenant of the caliph.

Makes himself master of Bulkh and Cabul. A. D. 870. A. H. 257.

Defeats the last prince of the family of Tahir.

Defeats the governor of Mazenderan.

* The name of this prince was Abas-Abul-Ahmed. The name in the text is his title. It signifies, "The trusted of God." † Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zul-yemneen, or "the ambodexter," was the title given to Tahir, the founder of this family, from his having used both hands, when he clove the general of the caliph, Ameen, in two, at the head of his army.

‖ Hussein-ben-Zyd-Alavee. From their names, it would appear that, at this period, all the lieutenants of the caliphs in Persia were of Arabian families.

CHAP. VIII.

pursued him, and lost almost the whole of his army by the unhealthiness of the climate. Checked by this misfortune, he found himself compelled to retreat to Seistan; from whence he immediately sent another mission to Bagdad, claiming that reward which he contended he had merited, for doing his duty, as a faithful servant of the caliph, in attacking and defeating the revolted governors of Khorassan and Taberistan. The caliph, who could not but deem this message an insult, commanded that Yacoob (whom he pronounced a rebel,) should be publicly cursed in all the mosques of the countries he had conquered *: but that chief smiled at the impotent mandate of his nominal sovereign, and advanced against Fars, which he compelled to submit to his authority †. The means of Yacoob appeared, after this success, equal to the great object of his ambition, which was to seize Bagdad, and to usurp the power, if not to destroy the government, of the caliphs. Muatamed dreaded the result; and weakly sought to evade the contest, by sending him an investiture as governor of the provinces of Khorassan, Taberistan, and Fars; which, in addition to what he possessed, would have formed a great kingdom: but Yacoob rejected this offer with disdain: "Tell your master," said he to the envoy, "I already "am indebted to my sword for the countries he so generously "desires to bestow upon me. Let him keep his investiture for "some person who will own the obligation, and who is disposed to "question my title." The proud insolence of this message proclaimed, too openly to be mistaken, the ambitious designs of him who sent it, and roused, for a moment, the torpid Court of Bagdad.

Sends a mission to Bagdad.

Is cursed in all the mosques.

Subdues Fars.

His message to the caliph.

A. D. 875. A. H. 262.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The government of Fars had been usurped by Mahomed-ben-Wasil, who opposed Yacoob, but was defeated.

Every possible exertion was made to raise and equip an army; and the command was committed to Muaffick, the brother of the caliph, who appears to have merited the great trust that was reposed in him upon this occasion. He met and defeated Yacoob in the vicinity of Bagdad: but that chief, undismayed by a casual reverse of fortune, soon recruited his army, and advanced again to the attack of that capital. The caliph, who dreaded a war, in which the loss of one battle must have terminated his power, if not his existence, sent another mission to Yacoob. When it reached the camp of that leader, he lay dangerously ill of a painful complaint. But his situation did not prevent his insisting upon the envoy being brought to his presence; and he commanded, at the same time, that his sword, some coarse bread, and dried onions, should be laid before him. "Tell your master," said he to the envoy, "that, if I live, "that sword shall decide betwixt us: if I conquer, I will do as I "please; if he is victorious, that bread, and those onions, which thou "seest, is my fare; and neither he, nor fortune, can triumph over a "man accustomed to such diet*." This act, which indicated the stern resolution of his mind, is the last recorded of this chief, who died† two days afterwards, leaving almost the whole kingdom of Persia to his brother, Amer.

Is defeated near Bagdad.

His death. A. D. 877. A. H. 264.

Yacoob-ben-Leis is described, by all authors, as a man whose manners were very winning, and characterized by great simplicity. The attachment of his followers was extreme, and the playmates of his boyhood rose to the first stations of his government. He seems,

His character.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Khondemir places his death in the year of the Hejirah 265.

CHAP. VIII. from his speech to the envoy of the caliph, to have entertained a just pride in his abstemious habits: and we learn that his tent, when in the field, was hardly better than that of the lowest soldier in his army. His contempt of luxury, combined with the qualities of courage and firmness, which he possessed in a very eminent degree, appear to have rendered him worthy of a success, that he never abused by any wanton act of cruelty or oppression. But we read the history of Yacoob from very partial historians. The Persians, warmly attached to the principles of the Sheah sect, are delighted with a chief who made so formidable an attack upon the power of the Sunnee caliphs. They relate the following anecdote of Yacoob, as a proof of his attachment to their opinions. He was one day informed that Abou Yusoof, an officer of his army, had cursed Osman*: conceiving the personage cursed was Osman Sunjuree, a cotemporary ruler, with whom he was on terms of friendship, he immediately ordered Yusoof to be brought before him, and punished. His vizier (who was a Sunnee) desired to inflame his anger, and pointing at the prisoner, exclaimed: "There is the man who has dared, with profane lips, to curse "the holy companion of our prophet!"—"I have been acting "under a mistake," said Yacoob, with a smile; "I thought it was "another great personage he had abused: release Abou Yusoof, I "have no alliance with that Osman†!" Yacoob was the first of

* This name is written Othman by the Arabians. He was the third caliph; whose right to the caliphate, as well as that of his predecessors, Aboubeker and Omar, the Persians (being of the Sheah sect) dispute. Aly, they affirm, should have succeeded Mahomed, who was his uncle and father-in-law; and the prophet, they contend, appointed him to be his successor.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VIII.

a family, which continued, for a short time, to exercise sovereign authority over great part of Persia. It was distinguished from other dynasties by the name of Suffaree; which signifies a pewterer, and denoted the original occupation of its founder.

A. D. 877. A. H. 264.

Amer succeeds Yacoob-ben-Leis.

Amer*, the brother and successor of Yacoob, showed a very different disposition to what that chief had done in his conduct towards the caliph, to whom he addressed a respectful letter, and readily consented to hold Irak-Ajum, Fars, Khorassan, Seistan, and Taberistan; or, in other words, the kingdom of Persia, as the nominal slave of the Lord of the Faithful. We are told†, that, soon after his accession, Amer directed every commander of a thousand horse to appear with a golden mace in his hand; and when he saw a hundred chiefs with this mark of their rank, he sighed inwardly, and exclaimed: "Oh! that Providence had "permitted me to lead an army like this to the defence of Hus-"sein and Hassan‡ on the plains of Kerbelah!" This pious wish has, according to Mahomedan writers, given to this prince a high place in the regions of eternal bliss.

For some years, the affairs of Amer prospered: he continued to acknowledge the authority, and to send annual presents to the caliph: and he performed, by deputy, the duties of Governor of Bagdad, the chief station in the empire. The first reverse that he experienced, was a serious rebellion in Khorassan. The inhabitants of that province demanded that the caliph would relieve them from the oppres-

A rebellion in Khorassan. A. D. 884. A. H. 271.

* He is generally, from a common mistake of this name, called *Amrou*. This arises from pronouncing the last vowel of the name, which is silent, being only added to distinguish the name of Amer from Omar.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ The unfortunate sons of Aly, and grandsons of Mahomed.

CHAP. VIII.

sion of his government. The affairs of the court at Bagdad were entirely conducted, at this period, by Muaffick, the brother of Muatamed. That wise and brave prince, who saw all the importance of reducing the dangerous power of the family of Ben Leis, not only appointed a new governor to Khorassan, but assembled a large army to support this measure, and commanded that Amer should be publicly cursed in every mosque of that province; a mode of excommunication which must have had some effect, as it appears to have been one of the expedients to which the caliphs had constant resort, to support their declining authority. But Muaffick trusted more to temporal than spiritual means; his army advanced against Amer, and gave him a signal defeat. We are told, that, after this action, Amer fled, by the route of Shiraz*, to his native province of Seistan; and a long period seems to have elapsed before he recovered the effects of this reverse. When his power was restored, he made another attack upon Khorassan, and was successful, not only in defeating and slaying the governor†, but in making himself completely master of that turbulent province. The conduct of Amer upon this occasion, proves that the paramount authority of the caliphs, as the head of the Mahomedan religion, was still supported by public opinion. Amer not only sent the head of the

Publicly cursed in the mosques of that province.

A. D. 884. A. H. 271. Is defeated by the army of the caliph, and escapes to Seistan.

A. D. 899. A. H. 286.

Reconquers Khorassan.

* From his flying in this route, the action must have been fought in the southern part of Irak.

† This chief appears to have been an usurper. In the History of the Arabians, Vol. III. page 306, he is called Mahomed-ben-Zyd, and is said to have assumed the title of caliph. I have followed the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh in this part. Khondemir says, it was not Mahomed-ben-Alavee, but his general, Raffa, that Amer defeated. D'Herbelot states, that Amer sent Mahomed-ben-Alavee a prisoner to Bagdad.

Governor of Khorassan to Bagdad, accompanied by rich presents*, but solicited forgiveness and restoration to power. The caliph, pleased with this act of submission, and desirous of employing him at a distance, gave him a grant of Khorassan, Seistan, Bulkh, and the province of Maverul-Naher, or Transoxania, and directed his name to be read in the public prayers at Bagdad, next to his own. But Amer was not satisfied; and formed a plan for making himself at once master of the person and government of the caliph. To accomplish this object, he advanced towards Bagdad, and, when near, went forward with four hundred horse to pay his respects to his nominal sovereign, who, however, having suspicions of his real design, devised a counterplot to seize him, and Amer only saved his life by the fleetness of his horse, after losing one of his eyes, and almost all his followers, in a sharp conflict at the palace of the caliph†. The disappointed chief no sooner reached his army, (which was encamped at Jelwan, in the vicinity of Bagdad,) than he commanded a retreat.

Is restored to the favour of the caliph.

Whom he forms a plan to seize.

The caliph, irritated at this attempt, and anxious to weaken the power of so dangerous a subject, instigated a Tartar lord, named Ismail Samanee, who had already gained great fame by his exploits in his own country, to usurp the government of Transoxania. Amer detached one of his generals against Ismail: and, when he was defeated, determined (contrary to the advice of all his counsellors,) to cross the Oxus himself. He carried seventy thousand men with him upon this expedition. The Tartar chief, we are informed by

A. D. 900. A. H. 288.

* Among these presents was that of a very curious idol. It had four hands; and in its ears were two rich jewel ear-rings. It was mounted on a cow as large as a camel, and appears to have been an Hindoo image.—*Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.*

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VIII.

the same author, did not bring above twenty thousand to the field; but valour proved superior to numbers, and the army of Amer was completely routed*. That prince fled, but his horse having fallen, he was made prisoner. The change of fortune was immense; and the reverse was marked by a trifling occurrence of so ludicrous a nature, that even the unfortunate Amer was compelled to mirth, at the astonishing alteration that a few hours had made in his condition. While he sat upon the ground, a soldier prepared a coarse meal to appease his hunger: as this was boiling in one of the pots used for the food of the horses, a dog put his head into it, but, from the mouth of the vessel being small, he could not draw it out again, and ran away with both the pot and the meat. The captive monarch burst into a fit of laughter: and on one of his guards demanding what cause upon earth could induce a person in his situation to laugh, he replied: "It was but this morning the "steward of my household complained that three hundred camels "were not enough to carry my kitchen furniture: how easily is it "now borne by that dog, who has carried away both my cooking "utensils and dinner†!" This anecdote places the character of Amer, on one essential point, in complete contrast to that of Yacoob, whose diet of bread and onions was, in a country where the example of the chief has such influence on his fol-

Is defeated, and made prisoner, by Ismail Samanee.

* I follow the authority of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. D'Herbelot, writing from Khondemir, does not mention the circumstance of any defeat of the general of Amer before his advance; and states, that the horse of Amer, seizing the bit in his mouth, ran off with the monarch into the ranks of Ismail, who, by this means, obtained an easy victory over his disheartened army.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

lowers, as likely to raise him to power, as the luxury of his brother was to produce his downfal. Amer was sent, by his conqueror, to Bagdad, where he was confined for some years: his execution was the last act of the Caliph Muatezzeed, who gave orders for it only a few minutes before his own death*.

Is sent to Bagdad, and put to death.

A. D. 901.
A. H. 289.

Amer enjoyed power for twenty-three years. He used one means to preserve it, not unsuited to the nature of his government: he purchased numbers of young slaves, had them carefully educated, and then presented them to his principal military and civil officers; and from these private agents, (who were brought up to be spies,) he knew all that passed, and was so well acquainted with the secrets of the families of his chiefs, that many, not aware of his means of information, believed him to possess supernatural knowledge. Though Amer had none of the great qualities of his brother Yacoob, he was not deficient in either courage or good sense: his disposition is said to have been cheerful; and, as an instance, it is related†, that when he was reviewing his army, seeing a man mounted upon a very lean horse, he exclaimed: "My soldiers have all lean horses and fat "wives."—"My wife," said the person to whom the speech alluded, "is much leaner than my horse; and, if your majesty doubts my "assertion, I will bring her to muster." The prince smiled, and gave the fellow some money, desiring him to fatten both. With Amer fell the fortunes of this family. His grandson, Taher, struggled for power in his native province: but after a reign of six years, during which he conquered part of Fars, his authority was subverted by one of his

His government and character.

* Some authors deny this, and say he was released at the death of his caliph.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 903.
A. H. 290.

own officers, by whom he was seized, and sent prisoner to Bagdad. The only other prince of the family of Ben Leis that attained any eminence, was a chief of the name of Kuliph*; who, with the aid of Munsoor Samanee, established himself in Seistan, and maintained his power over that province till the period of Mahmood, of Ghizni, by whom he was defeated and made prisoner.

The history and character of this last prince of the family of Ben Leis are completely at variance: and we read in the same page that recounts his barbarous and inhuman actions†, the most extravagant

* Kuliph was descended from Yacoob-ben-Leis in the female line.

† We are told by the author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, that the great object of the ambition of Kuliph was to conquer the neighbouring province of Kerman, then held by the Dilemee family. His army, which was commanded by his eldest son, was at first successful, but afterwards defeated with great loss: and, when its leader returned to Seistan, he was slain by his merciless father, who, after this unnatural act, pretended to mourn over the body, and insisted upon his right to revenge the blood of the youth upon the ruler of Fars, who had compelled him, he said, to commit this murder. But he in vain entreated the inhabitants of Seistan to make a second attack upon Kerman. In this dilemma, he fell upon an expedient suited to the atrocity of his character. The cazy, or chief judge of Seistan, was deservedly popular from his justice and piety. Kuliph entreated this old man to proceed upon a peaceable mission to Kerman, to settle, by an amicable negotiation, all differences with that country. The cazy, delighted at the prospect of doing good, assented to his request: but, after his first conference with the ruler of Kerman, he was poisoned by the secret agents of Kuliph, who instantly spread a report, that this horrid outrage was the act of the inhabitants of Kerman; and, while this was believed, he found no difficulty in raising an army. The inhabitants of Seistan readily enrolled themselves, to revenge their venerable and beloved magistrate: and their fury gave them success. Kerman was subdued: but the son of Kuliph, who commanded his troops, threw off all allegiance to his father, whose enormous guilt he had probably discovered. Kuliph marched to reduce his son: but he was deserted by his followers, and compelled to shut himself up in a fort, where he

praises of his great wisdom, and unbounded liberality. These apparent contradictions are easily reconciled. This prince lived in the Augustan age of Persian literature, when the example of that munificent patronage, which the royal families of Saman and of Ghizni extended to men of learning and of genius, was imitated by every petty ruler of a province; and none of those appear to have lavished their bounty with more judgment than Kuliph; for we find a name, that should have been handed down to the detestation of posterity, covered by historians with a veil of panegyric, and enshrined by poets in the temple of virtue.

was upon the point of being taken, when he pretended to fall sick, and affected such excruciating pain, that all who were near him thought he was at the point of death. In this situation, he sent the following message to his son. "A few hours must terminate my existence: I have none but you to whom I can leave what I have in this world, either of power or of wealth. The hoarded treasures of our family must not pass into a stranger's hands. Hasten to receive my last blessing, and to learn where all that I possess is concealed." The youth was completely deceived, and hurried to his father; who, the moment his son was close to him, sprung up, and stabbed him to the heart. This act proclaimed his recovery; and he returned to his capital amid the execrations of his subjects, who soon afterwards invited Mahmood, of Ghizni, to seize Seistan. That monarch accepted the invitation, and advanced with a large army into the province. Kuliph, deserted by his followers, could make little resistance against so formidable an attack: he shut himself up in the strong fort of Taak, of which Mahmood instantly undertook the siege. The ditch was filled with faggots of wood, and the gate almost destroyed by an elephant, before Kuliph solicited mercy. We are told, that, when praying for pardon, he addressed Mahmood by the high name of sultan. The new title was grateful to the monarch's ear, and recommended him who had used it to clemency; and the last of the family of Yacoob-ben-Leis, that is noticed in history, was sent to Ghizni, where he lived four years, and died a natural death. The above is the substance of this prince's life, as given in the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 901.
A. H. 289.

From the date of the downfal of the House of Ben Leis to that of the rise of the celebrated Sultan Mahmood, of Ghizni, is a period of near a century; during which the empire of Persia was divided between two families, the Samanee and Dilemee*. The power of the dynasty of the Samanees extended over Khorassan, Seistan, Bulkh, and the countries of Transoxania, including the cities of Bokharah and Samarcund: and they at times possessed, and often ravaged, part of Irak. This race, though originally raised by the favour of the caliphs, threw off, in the pride of power, even nominal allegiance to those sovereigns; while their rivals and enemies of the family of Dilemee, always acknowledged the supremacy of the caliphs: and, during the whole period of their rule, one of this family was vizier of the empire, and consequently vested with the management of affairs at Bagdad. But though the Dilemee princes styled themselves the slaves of the Lord of the Faithful, they exercised sovereign power over the greatest part of Irak, Fars, Kerman, Khuzistan, and Laristan, making peace and war as independent princes. This family survived, though with reduced power, the dynasty of the Samanee, and were not wholly destroyed till the capture of Bagdad by Togrul Beg, the founder of the House of Seljookee.

The minute history of the wars of the monarchs of these dynasties, and of those of their real and nominal dependants, would be alike useless and uninteresting. A short account of the founders of each family; of the characters of some of the most distinguished princes; and of the most striking events that marked their rule, will throw every light that can be desired on such a period.

* This dynasty is often called that of Aly Bowah.

CHAP. VIII.

Ismail, the founder of the Samanee dynasty.

Ismail, the first king of the race of Saman, traced his descent* from Bahram Choubeen, the warrior who contended for the Crown of Persia with Khoosroo Purveez†. Saman, the great-grandfather of Ismail, is termed, by European writers, a keeper of herds, and a robber: but this merely designates the occupation of a Tartar chief. That his family was noble, is proved by the notice which the Caliph Mamoon, when on an expedition to Merv, took of his grandsons; for we are distinctly informed, that he desired the governor, whom he left in Transoxania, to employ those young men on account of their ability and high descent‡. Noah, the eldest, was appointed to the important charge of the government of Samarcund; Ahmed, the second, was sent to subdue the province of Ferghanah‖; another was appointed to Herat; and a fourth, vested

* The genealogy of this family is given by some authors. It was probably made after they became sovereigns.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‖ The following description of this province is extracted from the memoirs of the celebrated Baber, the founder of the royal family of Delhi, who was born in Ferghanah.

"This province, (Baber observes,) has Kashghur to the east; on the west, Samarcund; to the south, the hilly country that bounds Buduchshan; to the north were the ancient cities of Maclegh, Matu, and Maka; but these have long been destroyed by the Usbegs, and the country is now a desert. This province is small, but very fertile, both in grain and fruits. It is surrounded by hills on all sides, excepting the west, towards Samarcund; and from that quarter alone it is exposed to invasion. The River Sihoon[25], sometimes called the River of Khojund, coming from the north-east, divides the country, and flows west: and, after passing to the north of Khojund, and to the south of Fiakut, now called Shamer Khia, the river then inclines northerly, and flows through Turkistan without meeting any other river. It loses itself in the sands."

[25] The Jaxartes of eastern geographers.

CHAP. VIII.

with the command of the troops in Maver-ul-Naher. These were the first employments of this family: and they are of a nature to stablish its claim to distinction, even before it was raised to power by the favour of the caliph. Ahmed, who had proceeded to Ferghanah, afterwards succeeded his brother Noah in the government of Samarcund, which he held under the family of Tahir, the viceroys of the caliph in Khorassan. Ahmed left seven sons; to the eldest of whom, Nasr, he made over his government before his death. When Yacoob-ben-Leis had destroyed the family of Tahir, the Caliph of Bagdad invested Nasr with the government of Maver-ul-Naher, in the hope that the elevation of so powerful a rival would check designs which aimed at the destruction of the caliphate. Nasr accepted the situation: but, not desiring to leave Samarcund, sent one of his younger brothers, whose name was Ismail, to Bokharah. Ismail established an intimate friendship with Raffeah*, an officer who then ruled Khorassan, and through his influence obtained the government of Khaurizm in addition to that of Bokharah. Nasr, who was easily persuaded that this act of his brother was only a prelude to an attack upon Samarcund, assembled an army to reduce him. Ismail called upon his friend, Raffeah, who joined him in person, and succeeded in negotiating a peace between the two brothers; but it was not of long duration: Nasr again took the field: he advanced to Bokharah, where his army was defeated, and he himself fell into the hands of Ismail, who, instead of treating him with severity, refused even to be seated in the presence of an elder brother, whom he declared he still loved and respected, how-

Ahmed succeeds his brother Noah in the government of Samarcund.

Is succeeded by his son Nasr. A. D. 874. A. H. 261.

Makes war upon his brother Ismail.

By whom he is defeated, and taken.

* Raffeah was a deputy of Mahomed-ben-Zeyd Alavee, who has been before mentioned.

ever much he considered him to have been deluded by bad advisers. Ismail not only gave Nasr his full liberty, but insisted upon his returning to Samarcund to resume his government, saying, he should be quite content to hold that of Bokharah as his lieutenant. Nasr at first could not be convinced that his brother was serious in his professions; but when he found by his actions that he was sincere, gratitude and admiration took entire dominion of his heart, and he continued, till his death, to cherish the warmest fraternal feelings towards Ismail. That chief was, if possible, more distinguished for his valour than his generosity, as nothing but heroic courage could have given him the decisive victory he obtained over Amer-ben-Leis, whom he engaged, as has been before related, with less than half his numbers. After this action, the power of Ismail was established* over Khorassan, Bulkh, and Seistan, as well as Samarcund, Bokharah, and Khaurizm. He had, before it was fought, obtained great fame by the success of an expedition against a chief in Tartary, styled the King of Turkistan, whose territories were situated beyond the Jaxartes. This ruler was defeated and made prisoner by Ismail; and we may form some idea of the quantity of booty which his army obtained on this occasion, when we are told, that every horse-

Is reinstated in his government.

A. D. 892. A. H. 279.

Ismail takes prisoner the King of Turkistan.

* When Ismail sent Amer-ben-Leis prisoner to Bagdad, the caliph, Muatezzeed, returned him the investiture for Seistan, Mazenderan, Kij, and Isfahan. Ismail received these marks of favour with a show of the most pious gratitude. He prostrated himself twice before he was robed in each separate dress of honour, and (if we are to believe Persian historians) gave the bearer of his honours seven hundred thousand dinaars: three hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence, calculating the dinaar at nine shillings and two-pence each.

CHAP. VIII.

man shared, in the distribution of plunder, (which Ismail, actuated by the true spirit of a Tartar chief, made, after his victory,) the sum of one thousand dirhems* in money. A short period after he had conquered Amer, Ismail subdued the city and province of Rhe, the whole of Taberistan, and part of Irak. After his return from the invasion of Persia, he again advanced into the north-eastern parts of Tartary, and subjected many provinces in that quarter to his rule.

His death. A. D. 907. A. H. 295.

This justly celebrated prince died at the age of sixty; and, if we are to credit his historians, few absolute monarchs were ever more regretted.

And character.

All eastern authors agree in their character of Ismail Samanee. He was, they state, brave, generous, pious, and just. We are informed, that he spurned at the proffered treasures of Amer-ben-Leis. "Your family," said he to that chief, (when he was prisoner, and offered to reveal his riches,) "were pewterers: fortune favoured you "for a day, and you abused her favours, by plundering the property "of the faithful. That wicked act has rendered your downfal as "rapid as your rise. Seek not to make my fate like yours, which "it would be, if I soiled my hands with such sacrilegious wealth†." But the virtue of this prince endured a still more severe trial. His army, after he had taken Herat, was in a state of the most extreme distress for want of money. Ismail had given his word not to levy a contribution upon that city; but the clamours of his soldiers loudly demanded that he should consider their merits and their wants before a faith that had been, they argued, too hastily pledged. Ismail was,

* This share, which is stated to have been independent of horses and camels, amounts to thirty-one pounds five shillings, calculating the dirhem at five pence half-penny each.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

however, firm: and as the army became every hour more distressed and discontented, he ordered them to march away, lest the temptation to violate his word, which he had ever held sacred, should be too great. He had gone, we are told by Persian historians*, but a short distance, when a ruby necklace of one of his ladies was carried away by a vulture, by which, from its red appearance, it was mistaken for meat. The bird was watched, and at last seen to deposit the jewel in a dry well, which was immediately searched. The necklace was recovered, and several boxes of treasure were found lying near it, which proved to be part of the wealth of Amer, that his servant, Sam, had stolen from his palace at Seistan. The monarch rejoiced at this boon of fortune. He instantly paid his army, and bade them take a lesson from what had happened, and learn, that God would never desert that man who withstood temptation, and preserved inviolate the faith that he had solemnly pledged†.

Ismail was succeeded by his son, Ahmed‡, an inglorious and cruel prince, who contended with his uncle, his brothers, and other

Ismail is succeeded by Ahmed.

* This tale is, I believe, told by almost all Persian historians: they have copied it from each other. Ismail was a great and virtuous prince: and it is likely that any remarkable occurrence of his life would be blended with fable, that a lesson might be conveyed to other monarchs. This mode of instruction is common with all eastern nations, and was not disdained by the first Greek writers.

† According to the author of the Kholausat-ul-Akhbar, Ismail exclaimed, when his generals urged him to violate his word, "That Being, who, with the scourge of his "destiny, compelled the horse of Omar Laiss to place his rider at my disposal, is also "able to supply the wants, and repair the equipments of my soldiers, without the guilt, "on my part, of a breach of faith with his creatures."—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 236.

‡ The character of Ahmed may be judged from his guards. Two lions watched

CHAP. VIII.

relations, for the extensive possessions of his father, more by intrigues at the Court of Bagdad, than by arms. After a reign of seven years he was murdered by some of his domestics; and his son, Nasr, then eight years of age, was placed upon the throne of Bokharah and Khorassan. This prince was more fortunate than his father. After a variety of petty wars with his rebellious* generals, he was ultimately successful, not only in obtaining the undisputed possession of all his grandfather's territories, but in adding to them the important towns of Rhe, Isfahan, and Koom, in Irak; to the conquest of which he was invited by the Caliph Mocktadir, who solicited him to expel his rebellious lieutenants* from these cities. Nasr enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. He died at Bokharah, leaving all his territories in peace. This monarch is celebrated for many virtues, but particularly for his generosity and justice. He has obtained great fame as the munificent patron of Rudiki†, a Persian bard, who, though born blind, soon

Is murdered. A. D. 913. A. H. 301.

And succeeded by his son Nasr,

Who makes several conquests.

A. D. 925. A. H. 313.

His death and character. A. D. 942. A. H. 331.

the door of the chamber in which he slept. These happened to be removed on Thursday the twenty-third of Jumadee-ul-akhur, A. H. 301, when the assassins entered and slew him. Ahmed, we are informed, received his investiture from the Caliph Mokhtuffy Billah, which proves that the kings of the Samanee family continued nominal dependants upon the sovereign Lords of the Faithful.

* The chief of these was Faick, or Fattack, who had rebelled and seized Rhe: he was soon defeated: and Ameer Nasr, after taking possession of Rhe, proceeded soon after to the conquest of Koom and Isfahan.

† The following translation of a few lines from his Dewan, or collection of odes, by the late Doctor Leyden, is at once characteristic of Rudiki's manner, and of the taste of my deceased friend.

" He who my brimming cup shall view
" In trembling radiance shine,
" Shall own the liquid ruby's hue
" Is match'd by rosy wine.

attained, from the superiority of his genius, the highest rank at the court of this liberal ruler. History, indeed, gives no instance of a poet so honoured. His establishment was raised by Nasr to a level with that of the proudest nobles: and we may conjecture the style in which Rudiki lived, when assured that he was served by two hundred slaves, and that his equipment was conveyed, when he attended his patron in the field, by four hundred camels. CHAP. VIII.

Nasr was succeeded by his son, the Ameer Noah, whose life was a series of petty wars. These were principally with one of his own generals, Abou Ali, by whom he was both deposed and restored: he ultimately succeeded, however, in obliging that chief to fly his dominions. But Abou Ali, aided by the influence of one of the family of Dilemee, then vizier to the Caliph Mothi, obtained a grant of Khorassan, of which province he took possession, and struck money in the name of the caliph. The Ameer Noah died at this period, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Malick, who was killed by a fall from his horse when playing at ball*. His

Nasr is succeeded by Ameer Noah.

A. D. 954. A. H. 343.

Abdul Malick.

" Each is a gem from Nature's hand,
" In living lustre bright:
" But one congeals its radiance bland,
" One swims in liquid light.

" Ere you can touch, its sparkling dye
" Has left a splendid stain:
" Ere you can drink, the essence high
" Floats giddy through the brain."

* The name of this game is *chougan*. It is played on horseback on a level plain. Two pillars are fixed near each other in the centre of the space where they play, and

CHAP. VIII.

Munsoor. A. D. 961. A. H. 350.

brother and successor, Munsoor, compelled the Dilemee ruler of Fars and Irak to pay him an annual tribute of one hundred and fifty thousand deenars* of gold: and the peace, by which this tribute was fixed, was cemented by his marriage with the daughter of Rukun-u-Doulah, the reigning prince of that family †. Munsoor died after a reign of fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Kassim Noah, who is generally termed Ameer Noah the Second, and whose reign was marked by extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. He was obliged to fly from Bokharah, to save himself from a combination formed against his power by two of the most powerful of his nobles ‡, who invited Bograh Khan, a ruler of Eastern Tartary ||, to attack his capital: but his fortunes were retrieved by the sudden death of this formidable enemy, which happened § soon after he had taken Bokharah, and whose army instantly returned to their own country.

A. D. 975. A. H. 365. 11 Rujub.

Abdul Kassim Noah.

A. D. 990 to 993. A. H. 380 to 383.

the game is won when the ball is struck through the space between them. It is a species of horse golf: there are often ten or twelve on each side. The clubs they strike with are crooked, and so short, that the rider must lean near the ground when he strikes. It is a rule, that the horse should be at the gallop when the blow is made.

* About sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ The names of these nobles were Faik and Abou Aly Sumjoovee. The former had been expelled his government of Bulkh and Herat on account of his frequent rebellions: the latter, at the period he joined in this conspiracy, was governor of Khorassan.

|| Bograh Khan was the ruler of the Turkish tribe of Hoekee: his possessions extended over Ferghanah, Kashgar, and Khoten, to near the wall of China.

§ Bograh Khan was seized with a fever in Bokharah: his physicians recommended his native air: he had made three marches on his return to his own kingdom, when the increase of his malady compelled him to halt, and he died.

This event enabled the Ameer Noah to repossess himself of power, and compelled his rebellious nobles to fly to Khorassan, where they solicited and obtained the aid of the ruler* of Irak and Fars. Noah, unequal to a contest with their combined forces, sought the support of Subuctageen, a chief of high reputation, who had established a principality at Ghizni. That noble, who already exercised the power of a sovereign, was proud to be considered the ally of a monarch, to whose family his predecessors had owed allegiance: and the accession of so powerful an auxiliary encouraged the ameer to march immediately against his enemies. He encountered them near Herat, and obtained a signal victory, which has become memorable in oriental history from being the first field of the son of Subuctageen; who gave an earnest, on that glorious day, of the great fame which he was destined to acquire, as Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni. The ruler of Bokharah amply rewarded his friends. Subuctageen was honoured with the title of Nasr-u-deen, or "the victorious of the faith;" and his son, with that of Syf-u-doulah, or "the sword of the state." But to the latter, a more substantial favour was added. The young Mahmood was made Governor of Khorassan, and instantly proceeded with his father to take possession of that province, which he held during the life† of Ameer Noah‡. When that ruler died, his son, Munsoor, occupied the throne for a short period, (little more than a year,) which was marked by disgrace and misfortune. He first fled before

Is succeeded by Munsoor. A. D. 997. A. H. 387.

* Fakhr-u-Doulah, one of the Dilemee princes.

† Subuctageen afterwards marched to the aid of the ameer, who was threatened by Elij Khan, (the son of Bograh Khan). This invasion was prevented by an unwise and inglorious peace, by which the able and restless Faick, who had excited Elij Khan, was made Governor of Samarcund.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VIII.

those rebellious nobles that had opposed his father, and afterwards was degraded by them into a mere pageant. One of the first steps which they took in his name, after they had reduced him to this condition, was to appoint a new ruler to Khorassan. But Mahmood, who had succeeded, by the death of his father, Subuctageen, to all his power, soon compelled the governor, whom they had nominated to that station, to fly: and on hearing that these nobles had deprived Munsoor of sight, and elevated his brother, Abdul Malik, to the throne, he sent a secret envoy, warning the latter prince against their designs: but Abdul Malik was also a pageant in the hands of ambitious men, who caused him to advance to Merv to encounter Mahmood, by whom his army was defeated with great loss. The miserable prince fled to Bokharah, where Elij Khan, who had added Khaurizm to his other possessions, soon arrived: and, as he pretended friendship, and seemed the only support left to the sinking dynasty of Saman, he was admitted into the city, of which he instantly made himself master, seized the unfortunate Abdul Malik, whom he bound, and sent to his capital of Ourgunge, where the days of this miserable prince terminated. Muztunza, the only remaining son of the Ameer Noah, fled, disguised in a female habit, from Bokharah to Maver-ul-Naher. The troops of Elij Khan pursued him; and he in vain sought safety in the protection of the Arab tribe of Badeah, whose chief, Mehrou, an officer in the service of Mahmood, instantly slew him*. This barbarous act did not pass unpunished. The prince he served, actuated either by policy or indignation, put

A. D. 998. A. H. 388.

A. D. 998. A. H. 389. Abdul Malik raised to the throne.

Escapes to Bokharah.

A. D. 998. A. H. 389. 10 Zekod.

His death.

His son, Muztunza, is slain. A. D. 1004. A. H. 395.

* Some authors state, that this young prince put himself at the head of a banditti, and continued, for seven years, to subsist by plunder. This story would better suit the first than the last of such a race as the House of Saman. I have, therefore, rejected it, and followed the account given by the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

Mehrou to death, lest his reputation should be stained with the imputation of having connived at the murder of the last prince of a family to whom he owed such great obligations*.

Descent of the family of Dilemee.

The flatterers of the family named Dilemee†, from the name of their native village, Buyah, from that of one of their ancestors, trace their descent to the ancient kings of Persia: but the first of this race that history notices, was a fisherman of Dilem. His name was Abul-Shujah-ul-Buyah. Some authors state, that he entered into the service of Makan, the governor of his native province: and, when that chief was subdued by Asfar, another ambitious noble, the sons of Buyah became attached to the fortunes of the conqueror‡. Their rise must have been very rapid; for we find, a few years afterwards, when Muravij, the son and successor of Asfar, was assassinated, that Aly Buyah, the eldest son of Shujah, was in the command of the chief part of his army, with which he encountered and defeated Yakoot, who was one of the caliph's lieutenants, and governor of Isfahan: and by the immense plunder that he obtained from that victory, he became at once a leader of reputation and of power.

Abul Shujah-ul-Buyah.

Aly Buyah.

A. D. 933. A. H. 321.

After this success, Aly Buyah pursued Yakoot into Fars, defeated him again, and took possession of the whole of that province, as well as those of Kerman, Khuzistan, and Irak. This chief was afterwards tempted, by the weak and distracted state of the caliphate, to a still higher enterprise: accompanied

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† This family are sometimes called the Dialamah, which is the plural of Dilem.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 945.
A. H. 334.

by his two brothers*, he marched to Bagdad. The Caliph Mustukhfy fled, but was soon induced to return: and his first act was to heap honours on those who had taken possession of his capital. Aly Buyah, on agreeing to pay annually six hundred thousand dinars of gold†, was appointed viceroy of Fars and Irak, with the rank of Ameer-ul-Omrah‡, and the title of Umud-u-dowlah‖. Equal rank was given to his younger brother, Ahmed, who received the title of Muaz-u-dowlah§, and was nominated vizier to the caliph; an appointment which, at that period, implied the government of Bagdad, and the few provinces subject to it, with the conduct of all affairs connected with the management of the little influence that the caliphs retained over the different usurpers of their extensive, but nominal dominions¶. Hassan, who was his second brother, received the title of Rukun-ul-doulah, (pillar of the state,) and acted, during the life of Aly Buyah, under that chief. The rise of this family was, in a great degree, owing to the possession of the treasures of Yakoot, the former Governor of Fars, which accident gave to Aly Buyah. That chief, we are told, when reclining on a couch in the palace of Yakoot, at Shiraz**, observed, more than once, a snake show its head through a crevice in the wall and retire again. Determined to

Discovers treasures.

* Hassan and Ahmed: according to some authors, the youngest of his brothers, Ahmed, conducted the first expedition to Bagdad.

† About two hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds.

‡ Chief of the nobles.

‖ Pillar of the state.

§ The dignity of the state.

¶ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

** The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh gives this anecdote, which is also related by every other Persian historian of this period.

get rid of so dangerous a visitor, he ordered that part of the wall to be thrown down: and the workmen had proceeded but a short way with their task, when they found hidden boxes of treasure, which proved to be the wealth of his predecessor. But, according to Persian authors, this was not the only instance of his good fortune. One day a tailor, who had served the former governor, had come to make him some clothes: he happened to call for a stick, meaning a measure; but the guilty conscience of the tailor gave another interpretation to this word, and he exclaimed, as he threw himself upon the ground, "Be merciful! do not flog me to death, and I will "discover all the cloth belonging to Yakoot!" The surprised Aly Buyah bade him do so; and the man produced seventeen chests of cloth belonging to the former governor, which he had purloined at his flight*. This discovery caused a strict scrutiny, which produced many others of a similar nature: and Aly Buyah became possessed of the wealth and means that enabled him to enlarge his power. His elder brother, Murdaveenee, envious of his good fortune, advanced to attack him; but he was slain by his own servants; and left Aly Buyah, without a rival, in possession of all the countries from Khorassan to the vicinity of Bagdad. He was ably supported, in the power he had acquired, by his brother, Muaz-u-doulah; who, after dethroning the Caliph Mustukhfy, continued through life to exercise absolute authority† over Mothi, the son of Mocktadir, whom he

A. D. 945.
A. H. 334.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh and Khondemir.

† Muaz-u-doulah, who was a bigoted adherent to the sect of Aly, when his power was fully established, commanded that the first ten days of the month of Mohurrum should be set aside for a general mourning over the fate of Hussein, the son of Aly, who was slain on the plains of Kerbellah, in the sixtieth year of the Hejirah. The

CHAP. VIII.

elevated to the throne. Aly Buyah had no children: and when he found his end approach, he requested his brother, Rukun-u-doulah, (whom he had appointed to manage the province of Irak,) would send his eldest son, Azud-u-doulah, to aid him in the discharge of his duties. The young chief was received at Shiraz with the most distinguished honours by his dying uncle, who immediately placed him in charge of all public affairs. Aly Buyah only lived a year after the arrival of his nephew. No prince was ever more deeply regretted by his subjects: he had used the favours of fortune with singular moderation: and the good understanding upon which he lived with his brothers, Muaz-u-doulah and Rukun-u-doulah, while it promoted his success, is a proof of that kindness and generosity of temper which all Persian historians have ascribed to this ruler. He was succeeded by his brother, Rukun-u-doulah; who, however, continued to reside in Irak, and gave over the charge of the affairs of Fars to his eldest son, Azud-u-doulah: and at his death, though he divided the territories he possessed among his sons, he commanded they should all yield obedience to that prince. A few years after Azud-u-doulah obtained the rule, his uncle at Bagdad died, and left his power to a son of very inferior ability. One of the first acts of this young prince* was to quarrel with his cousin, and a contest ensued, which terminated in the loss of his life, and the complete establishment of Azud-u-doulah in the office of vizier to the

A. D. 948.
A. H. 337.

A. D. 949.
A. H. 338.
His death and character.

Is succeeded by Rukun-u-doulah.

Azud-u-doulah obtains the rule.

A. D. 977.
A. H. 367.

commemoration of this event has been ever since religiously observed by the Sheahs; and the annual ceremony has tended, in no slight degree, to keep alive their hatred against the Soonees.

* The name of this prince was Izz-u-doulah, which means "the pride, or glory, of "the state."

caliph, as well as ruler of Fars and Irak. This great man enjoyed, till his death, this extensive power over a part of Arabia and the finest provinces of Persia. He was treated by neighbouring princes as a sovereign*, which he in fact was; although respect for the prejudices of the age made him retain the title of Slave of the Lord of the Faithful, and appear only as the minister of the pageant caliph. He greatly improved the capital of the empire, carefully repairing all the damages it had sustained from sieges. He discontinued the tax upon religious pilgrims, and restored the sacred buildings at Medinah, Kerbelah, and Nujuff, to their former splendour. He also built hospitals for the poor in the City of Bagdad; to which he appointed physicians, with regular salaries; and purchased a sufficient quantity of medicines for the annual use of these charitable institutions†. This prince was alike attentive to the prosperity of Irak and Fars, as he was to the provinces of Arabia: and all the evils which these had suffered from preceding wars, were repaired under his long and happy rule. The most remarkable of his works that now remain, is a dyke over the river Kur‡, which passes through the plain of Murdasht. This dyke, which is situated at but a short distance from the ruins of Persepolis, and gives water to fertilize the whole country near it, is called Bund-Ameer, or the dyke of the

CHAP. VIII.

Becomes vizier to the caliph.

Improvements in the empire made by him.

* We are told, that he obtained, by an artifice, an embassy from the Greek Emperor of Constantinople. A secret agent, disguised as a merchant, pretended to discover at that city an old fragment of writing, which contained a prophecy foretelling the future greatness of Azud-u-doulah, and imposed upon the credulity and superstition of a weak court.

† In the History of the Arabians, one hospital only is mentioned: this is said to have been large, and amply endowed by its princely founder.—Vol. IV. page 61.

‡ This is the name given to it by Khondemir, and some other authors.

CHAP. VIII.

ameer, or lord, (Azud-u-doulah): and this name has been given by the ignorance of early travellers in Persia to the river itself. Historians, however partial to the memory of this prince, have imputed three severe, if not oppressive, measures to him. He raised the land-tax, laid a duty on cattle, and created a revenue from a monopoly of the sale of ice; a cheap and essential article of enjoyment in a country subject to such great vicissitudes of climate.

A. D. 982. A. H. 372. His character.

We are informed by Persian historians, that the reigning caliph read the prayers at the funeral* of this good and great man, who is one of the few characters, amid the vast catalogue of oriental despots, on whose name we can dwell with pleasure. He long possessed the authority of a sovereign; and, during the latter period of his rule, all the honours due to a monarch were paid to him by cotemporary princes and by his own subjects. In the former, this conduct proceeded from respect to his character and power; in the latter, it was the result of gratitude and of affection; and both were countenanced by the mandate of his nominal master, the Lord of the Faithful, who commanded that his virtuous and beloved vizier should be addressed and treated as a king. Except his first struggle with his weak and ambitious cousin †, and the expulsion of one of his brothers ‡

* There is a difference, of no less than twenty years, between the date of his death in the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh and the History of the Arabians: but this error exists throughout the history of the family of the Dilemee princes. The History of the Arabians is very incorrect: in it, Azud-u-doulah is termed the son of Muaz-u-doulah; and, from this, I am disposed to think, the author of that work has confounded him with his cousin, Izz-u-doulah.

† Izz-u-doulah.

‡ The name of this brother was Fukhr-u-doulah, or "the illustrious of fortune."

from Khorassan, of which he had usurped the government, we do not find him engaged in any war of consequence; and he cultivated all the arts of peace with an ardour that showed the sincerity of his disposition to promote the general happiness of those whom he governed. His name is still fondly cherished in a country, over which he endeavoured, through a reign of thirty-four years, to diffuse prosperity and joy. But in a dynasty of absolute rulers we seldom find a succession of virtuous and able men; and this prince was the last of his family that is entitled to our notice. His power and possessions became, from the moment of his death, a subject of contest between his brothers, sons*, and nephews. It would be a waste of time to dwell upon such a scene. After a lapse of thirty years, we find his nephew, Mujid-u-doulah†, (who had for a short time governed Khorassan, and assumed a regal state,) taken in Rhe, by the victorious Mahmood, of Ghizni. Mujid-u-doulah had been raised, by the death of his father, when very young, to the government of that city and the surrounding country. During the minority of this prince, all the power was in the hands of his mother, who was of high birth, and of great energy of character. Mahmood commanded one of his officers to inform this lady, that she must submit to his authority, or prepare for war. "Had "such a message been sent," replied this heroine, "in the life "of my deceased lord, it must have occasioned great embar- "rassment. That is not now the case. I know Sultan Mahmood;

Mujid-u-doulah.

* To his eldest son, Sumeanee-u-doulah, the final destruction of the once famous Istakhr, or Persepolis, is ascribed.

† This chief was the son of Fukhr-u-doulah, the brother of Azud-u-doulah.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

CHAP. VIII.

" and, from his character, am assured he will never undertake an " expedition without calculating all the chances. If he attack and " conquer a weak woman, where is the glory of such an achieve- " ment? If he be repulsed, the latest ages will hear of the shame of " such a defeat*!" Mahmood, either swayed by the above reasons, or others of more weight, did not prosecute his designs upon Rhe till Mujid-u-doulah was of age, and had assumed the reins of government. He then advanced an army; by the leader of which the prince was deluded to an interview, and seized: his treasures and dominions passed into the hands of Sultan Mahmood; who sent him, and his family, prisoners to Ghizni. From that period, the power of this dynasty was limited to the provinces of Fars and Kerman; but they also exercised authority over Irak-Arab, or the territories immediately surrounding Bagdad, as they retained the high office of Ameer-ul-Omrah† till the capital of the caliphs was plundered by Toghrul-beg-Seljoukee, who, upon that occasion, seized Malick Rehim Dilemee, then vizier, and kept him prisoner till his death. For nearly forty years more we find some of this family governors of Shiraz, under the Seljoukee kings; and the last‡ of the race of Dilemee mentioned in history, died in the service of Alparselan.

Mujid-u-doulah and his family sent prisoners to Ghizni.

A. D. 1055. A. H. 447.

A. D. 1094. A. H. 487.

During the period that the dynasties of Saman and of Dilemee divided the empire of Persia, many chiefs maintained themselves in

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Chief of the nobles.

‡ In this short history of the Dilemee, I have followed the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh; but I have consulted other Persian authors, and find there is no substantial difference in any of the facts recorded, though some of the dates on which they occurred differ in an immaterial degree.

small principalities; which they often preserved, amid the dangers to which they were exposed, by balancing between these two powerful families. Among these the House of Shemgur*, whose capital was first Rhe, and afterwards Jirjan, in Khorassan, was one of the principal, and is consequently noticed in all histories of this age. At the death of this chief, he was succeeded by his son, Besitoon, of whom nothing particular is related. But the next of this family, Kaboos†, has obtained a reputation, which he appears to merit, from the generous courage with which he maintained the laws of hospitality, when one of the family of Dilemee, who had thrown himself upon his protection, was pursued by the vengeance of his powerful brothers‡. Kaboos, on this occasion, not only refused the largest rewards, but endured the loss of all his possessions, and shared for a period a proud exile with his guest, whom he at last succeeded in restoring to power; and he deemed himself repaid, by the gratitude of the prince whom he had so nobly protected‖. Kaboos is celebrated for his extraordinary wisdom and learning. His words were repeated as maxims; and he appears, in all accomplishments§, to have been advanced beyond the age in which he lived. But his virtue was stern and severe, and not calculated to gain the affections of men, who, living in troubled times, desired to make amends, by indulgence in all their passions, for the dangers and vicissitudes to

Rule of the Shemgur family.

A. D. 967.
A. H. 357.

A. D. 975.
A. H. 365.

Character of Kaboos.

* He was originally an officer in the army of the Ameer Noah.

† His title was Shema-ul-Muluk, or "the candle of the kingdom."

‡ Muaz-u-doulah and Azud-u-doulah. Both sought to seize their rebellious brother, Fukhr-u-doulah, to whom Kaboos gave protection.

‖ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

§ Rozut-ul-Suffa.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 1012.
A. H. 403.
Who is succeeded by Manucheher.

which they were continually exposed*: and Kaboos was slain by his own mutinous officers, whose excesses he had probably desired to restrain. He was succeeded by his son, Manucheher, who submitted to the power of Sultan Mahmood: but that monarch not only continued him in his family possessions, but gave him his daughter in marriage†. The chiefs of this family have been classed with kings; but they have no pretensions to such distinction. By taking advantage of a period of general weakness and distraction, they established, for a few years, an independent rule over certain districts; but their power had never either solidity or magnitude.

* Our great philosopher, Bacon, when speaking of that love of dissipation, by which soldiers are distinguished, observes, "I know not how, but martial men are given to "love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid "in pleasures."

† This chief died in the year of Hejirah 462. He was succeeded in the government of Jirjan by his son, Ghilan Shah.

CHAPTER IX.

Account of the Sultans or Monarchs of Ghizni.

An account of the monarchs of Ghizni.

THE history of the first monarchs of Ghizni, whose rule was established for a short period over a great part of Persia, affords a more pleasing subject than that of the preceding dynasties; for that absolute power which is, in Europe, softened by the usages and the knowledge of a civilized age into a moderate government, has, among the nations of Asia, always the same character, and nearly the same course. The few shades of distinction which do exist, depend chiefly upon the personal disposition and power of the despot; and often more upon the latter than on the former: for no country can be happy or prosperous which is exposed to continual war; and that appears, from the earliest period, to have been the state of every eastern kingdom, the sovereign of which was not powerful. It follows, that the greatest happiness which the mass of the population can obtain under such a government must have its source in the power and fame of the monarch, and the comparative blessings which his subjects enjoy form the substantial ground of their pride in such rulers. We must not, therefore, solely refer to base and venal motives, that flattery which they bestow on

CHAP. IX.

them. Insensible to the value of liberty, and ignorant of all other forms of government, they naturally prize that state of their own in which they find they have most security and enjoyment: and they are not only content, but proud to humble themselves before one exalted man, when they see, in the magnitude of his power, a certain refuge against more intolerable and oppressive evils.

Abustakeen*, one of the chief nobles of Bokharah†, having renounced his allegiance to that court, retired, with his followers, to Ghizni, then an insignificant town, to escape the resentment of Munsoor, a prince of the House of Saman, whose elevation to the throne he had opposed, on the ground of his extreme youth‡. It does not appear that the original followers of this chief amounted to more than seven or eight hundred: but he defeated, with these, a considerable force that was sent to attack him; and by that, and other successes, established a petty principality, of which Ghizni‖ became the capital. When he died, his son Isaak succeeded him: but that weak and dissipated prince survived his father but a short time; and the suffrage of all ranks gave the rule to Subuctageen, a man

A. D. 976. A. H. 365. Abustakeen is succeeded by his son Isaak.

* This chief is often called Abestagi; and sometimes Aleptekeen, or Alputtekeen: the former of which appellations Major Price thinks is the true reading of this name. I have used the one most familiar to the European reader.

† He was Governor of Khorassan when Munsoor was elevated to the throne; and he is said by several authors to have maintained himself in the rule of that province for some years.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‖ This city is situated about sixty miles direct south of Cabul. The climate is good; but, from its elevated site, the winter is very severe. This once famous capital is now reduced to a miserable town, with about one thousand poor families in it.—ELPHINSTONE'S *MSS.*

of Turkish * descent, who, according to some historians †, was purchased as a slave by Abustakeen; while others, with more probability, state, that he was a common soldier of his personal guards, and, as such, entitled to the name of "the slave of the king‡," which, among eastern nations, is deemed a distinction. But the descent of such a man is of little consequence, except that his fame must rise in proportion to the lowness of his origin. He had been promoted and employed by the discernment of Abustakeen; and his character, as has been stated, obtained him the support of all the adherents and officers of that chief, who deemed his elevation to power alike essential to their security, and their advancement. Nor were they mistaken: the country of Ghizni attained, under his administration, the greatest prosperity. He enlarged its dominions, established the fame of its warriors, and became the first of a family which, though of short duration, outshone, at one period, the glory of the proudest dynasties of Asiatic monarchs.

Subuctageen's reign had nearly closed immediately after it commenced. He had aided a chief of the name of Tegha to recover the Town of Bust‖, from which he had been expelled. Tegha, in

A. D. 977.
A. H. 367.

* The expression of the original is *Turk*, and *Tajuck*, which implies men of the most opposite classes of society; Turk signifying a Turkish born soldier, and Tajuck the opposite.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ The term of Gholam, or slave, has always been given as a title to the personal guards of eastern monarchs. If the son of the first noble in Persia is admitted among the guards, he claims the envied title of Gholam-e-Shah, or "the slave of the "king."

‖ It is often written Bost: there is no doubt that it is the ancient Abeste. The River Heirmund flows past this city, which is about three hundred miles from Ghizni.

CHAP. IX.

return for this aid, agreed to pay tribute, and to consider himself an adherent of the ruler of Ghizni; but soon afterwards showed a reluctance to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered. Subuctageen took an opportunity, when they were hunting together, of expostulating with him upon his conduct: and Tegha, irritated by some expressions of that prince, suddenly assailed him, and gave him a severe wound before he had time to defend himself. Their followers, seeing their chiefs engaged, rushed to a conflict, which was maintained for some time with great fury, but terminated in the flight of Tegha, and his attendants, to Bust; which was immediately attacked by Subuctageen, and soon fell into his possession: but its governor effected his escape from the just indignation of the conqueror.

Subuctageen is assailed and wounded by Tegha.

Takes the City of Bust.

The reputation which Subuctageen obtained by his conduct upon this occasion, was soon eclipsed by the glory that attended his holy wars (as they were termed) upon the infidels of India. To the attack of that country he was equally invited by the desire of fame, of plunder, and of fulfilling the mandates of the prophet, (in whom he believed,) by converting, or destroying, idolaters. He defeated Jypaul *, then ruler of northern India, took Cabul, and overran the fine province of the Punjaub †, in his first expedition ‡.

Defeats Jypaul, and takes Cabul. A. D. 977. A. H. 367.

* This name is sometimes written Chipaul.

† This province is called Punjaub, or "five waters," from the five celebrated rivers that flow through it; the Sutledge, the Beeah, the Ravee, the Chunab, and the Behut; which are the ancient Hysudrus, Hyphases, Hydraotes, Acesinas, and Hydaspes. The climate is exceedingly healthy; and the country is highly cultivated, and very populous. It is at present inhabited by the Sikhs, a warlike nation, who are distinguished by the singularity of their religion and usages.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. IX.

In his second, he was still more successful; having defeated the Indian monarch* in a great action. After which, he accepted the submission of Jypaul; who agreed to make him valuable presents, and to pay, in future, an annual tribute to the princes of Ghizni. The heated zeal of young Mahmood, the son of Subuctageen, spurned at these offers; and he vehemently urged his father to enter into no compact with accursed idolaters; whom it was, he said, pious to destroy. The Indian prince, when he heard of Mahmood's intolerance, bade him beware how he drove brave men to despair†. "My followers," he observed, "who appear so mild and submissive, will, if they see "no escape, or are irritated beyond their power of sufferance, soon "change their character: they will murder their wives and children, "burn their habitations, loosen their hair, and encounter your army "with all the energy of men, whose only desire is revenge and "death‡." Subuctageen knew that there was truth in what

Jypaul becomes his tributary.

* The author of the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh gives the same fabulous account as the Indian historian, Ferishta, of the causes of the victory which Subuctageen gained upon this occasion. "There was," he states, "a clear well in the camp of the Indian "monarch of such a quality, that the effects produced by any impure substance being "cast into it were terrible. Subuctageen sent a secret emissary to throw dirt into "this mysterious fountain. The moment his order was obeyed, the sky was overcast, "and a dreadful tempest arose. The coldness of the air was so excessive, that (to use "the expression of the Mahomedan author) the tear was congealed in the eye, and the "blood rendered stagnant in the veins. Both armies suffered; but the delicate Indians "in a tenfold degree to the hardy warriors of Ghizni."

Fables of this description meet general belief, both from Hindoos and Mahomedans. The former are more pleased to refer disgrace to the impiety than to the cowardice of their ancestors; and the latter glory in any tale that supports their faith, by proclaiming them favourites of the Almighty.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ This speech conveys a true picture of the character of the Hindoos of the military class: and the History of India abounds in examples of their acting in the manner here

CHAP. IX.

Jypaul said, and refused to listen to the advice of his son: but the policy of Mahmood's suggestion was confirmed by the conduct of the faithless Hindoo, who, taking advantage of the retreat of Subuctageen to Ghizni, confined the officers who had been left to receive the tribute, and refused to fulfil any one of the engagements into which he had entered. Aware of what he had to expect after such conduct, he assembled troops from every quarter of his extensive dominions; which appear, from the list of chiefs that joined him, to have included all the countries from the Indus to the province of Malwa in one direction, and to Bengal in another*. But this vast army, which, we are told, exceeded three hundred thousand men, was attacked and defeated by Subuctageen, whose force did not

But refuses to fulfil his engagements.

Subuctageen attacks and defeats him.

described. When with the army of Nizam-u-doulah, in the year 1790, I witnessed a scene of this kind. The Hindoo Rajah of Deudroog (a hill fort in the Deckan) was at war with the Rajah of Solapore. The Nizam, to whom they were both tributaries, aided the latter; and the French corps under Raymond, in that prince's service, were detached a few miles from our camp to take Deudroog. After making a breach, they stormed; and we heard a heavy fire of cannon and musquetry throughout the greatest part of the night, which terminated in an explosion. We were informed, next morning, that the gallant rajah, after defending the breach to the last, and being severely wounded, retired, with a few surviving adherents, to a fortified palace, where he had lodged all his women and children. This he had undermined, that he might, if driven to despair, avoid a disgrace, which he deemed far more terrible than death. The hour was arrived:—he ordered the train to be fired:—and the dreadful explosion which took place, left not a limb of the family of the Rajah of Deudroog for his enemies to triumph over! Dow, in his History of India, has recorded many similar instances: but the affecting relation which Orme has given of the massacre at Boobilee, when that place was assailed by the French under the justly celebrated Bussy, is the most authentic and characteristic example of the action of this brave, though savage, spirit of resistance.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

amount to one fifth of their numbers. The mode in which the cavalry of Ghizni assailed this army, was by the repeated charges of small divisions. These, acting on a circle, continually retreated, and advanced*; and so harassed the enemy, that they at last fled, leaving an immense booty to the conqueror; who took possession of the fine country of Paishawur, and the province of Limgham†; which, when connected with his former possessions of Ghizni and Cabul, gave him a kingdom that extended from Khorassan to the Punjaub.

Takes Paishawur and Lingham.

Subuctageen, though he had not assumed the name of a sovereign, had attained royal power some time before he was called upon by Ameer Noah Samanee to aid him against his rebellious subjects: and the professed allegiance even of such a chief, must have been most gratifying to the weak ruler of Bokharah. Historians inform us, that Subuctageen was so overcome by his feelings at his first interview with Noah, in whom he beheld the representative of the royal family of Saman, that, led by an involuntary impulse‡, he threw himself from his horse, and kissed

* This manœuvre is still practised by the Persian cavalry, who use their firearms as the Parthians did their bows, by firing at the enemy the moment they commence their retreat.

† This is probably Lingham, a district now subject to the King of Cabul. It borders on Paishawur, which is a beautiful and fertile valley on the Indus. The town of Paishawur is still of some magnitude, having ten thousand inhabitants.—ELPHINSTONE's *MSS.*

‡ If we credit Ferishta, we must believe that this monarch had a feeling heart. He is described by that author as having one day (when a private horseman in the service of Abustakeen) taken a fawn: but, as he was carrying it home, he happened to look round, and saw the mother following him in evident affliction at her loss. The

CHAP. IX.

the stirrup of the young prince*: but this apparent act of submission, while it gave popularity to Subuctageen, substantially advanced his power, which, after the battle of Herat, was increased by a grant of the province of Khorassan†: and he at the same time received the high title of Nasr-u-deen, or "the victorious of the faith;" a name by which he is frequently mentioned in the page of Persian history.

A. D. 997. A. H. 387.

His death.

Subuctageen died soon after this accession of territory and of power: and the last act of his life appears the only one that can impeach that prudence and good conduct which he had uniformly displayed throughout a long and prosperous reign. Unmindful of the superior right as well as character of his eldest son, Mahmood, (who was employed in the government of Khorassan,) he bequeathed‡ his kingdom to Ismail, a younger son, who, being constantly at court, had probably won upon the weakness of age so far, as to induce his father to commit this act of injustice. Ismail attempted to confirm himself in the power to which he was raised, by a profuse expenditure of his father's treasures, which he scattered with an indiscriminate hand among the soldiery: but his injudicious generosity, instead of creating attachment, excited a spirit of rapacity and turbulence

Is succeeded by his second son, Ismail.

rude Tartar gave way to the momentary impulse of feeling, and restored the fawn to its dam: and, as they both bounded from him, his imagination interpreted the looks of alarm they cast behind them for those of gratitude. The scene of the day haunted his dreams, and he was rewarded with a vision of his prophet, who promised him sovereign power, as the reward of the mercy he had shown to an innocent and defenceless animal.—Dow's *Hindostan*, Vol. I. page 34.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† Though this province was given to his son, Mahmood, it was substantially an addition to his territories, or at least to those of the family.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

among those veterans who had been accustomed to regularity and order: and the moment Mahmood advanced, they deserted the weak Ismail, who, after a vain attempt at resistance in Ghizni, was compelled to throw himself upon the clemency of his offended brother. Mahmood had anxiously sought to avoid this unnatural contest; he had pointed out to his brother his claims as his senior; the means he had of establishing them; and even proposed a division of the territories of their father: but the vain and infatuated prince would listen to no terms, and precipitated his own ruin. In his conduct to his captive brother, Mahmood considered more what was due to himself, than what his prisoner merited; and Ismail, though deprived of liberty, was, through life, treated with humanity and indulgence.

Who is deserted by his troops.

To detail the actions of Sultan Mahmood, would fill a volume: yet they are of a description and magnitude that cannot easily be abridged. He succeeded to the great power of his father at a ripe age, when his character was matured by experience, both in the science of war and of government. The ruling passions of his soul were devotion to religion and love of glory: and these, which had become more ardent from restraint, blazed forth, on his accession to the throne, with a splendour that filled (to use the words of a Mahomedan author,) the whole world with terror and with admiration*. Mahmood felt, or affected, an attachment to Cawder, the reigning Caliph of Bagdad; and rejected all the advances made by his rival, the ruler of Egypt†, who belonged

Reign of Mahmood. A. D. 997. A. H. 387.

His conduct towards the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The first of this family was Abul Kassim Mahomed, the son of Abdullah, (called Mehdy,) who traced his descent to Ismail, the eldest son of Jaffier Saduck, the sixth

CHAP. IX.

to a race whose representative assumed, on the pretext of his descent from Fatimah, the daughter of the prophet, the proud title of Lord, or Commander, of the Faithful. Cawder, sensible of the importance of such a friend and supporter as Mahmood, praised his pious zeal, and encouraged him to obtain a never-dying name in this world, and eternal happiness in the next, by spreading the religion of Mahomed. This eastern pope granted, to the earnest solicitation of the temporal sovereign, the titles of "the right hand," and "the protector of the "faith." The prince promised, in return, that his sword should, through life, be sacred to the service of the religion he loved: and it would be difficult to compute the millions whom he forced, by that powerful instrument of conversion, to adopt its tenets. After securing the friendship of the caliph, settling the governments of Khorassan and Rhe, and connecting himself, by the most intimate ties, with the ruler of Tartary, Ilij Khan, whose daughter he married, Mahmood commenced that religious war upon the idolaters of India, which occupied the greatest period of his reign.

A. D. 1000, 1001. A. H. 391, 392. His expeditions to India.

In his two first expeditions to India he was completely successful; and not only defeated his enemies, but established his government over almost the whole of that country now known as the Punjaub. Jypaul, who had opposed Subuctageen, took the field to try his fortune against the son of that ruler: but his army was defeated: and the superstitious but patriotic prince determined, by an heroic sacrifice of his own life, to endeavour to propitiate the gods, whom he adored, to save his country from that ruin with which

A. D. 1001. A. H. 392. Jypaul is defeated.

Imam. Hence they are often termed *Ismalians*. The first of this dynasty established himself in Egypt in the year of the Hejirah 296. It was finally destroyed, in 567, by the celebrated Salah-u-deen.

it was threatened*. He delivered over the government to his son; and mounting a funeral pile, prayed that his death, amid the flames which he kindled, might expiate those sins which he conceived had drawn divine vengeance upon his unhappy kingdom. We derive our information of this event from sources that cannot be doubted†: and the conduct of Jypaul on this extraordinary occasion, is truly characteristic of that complete devotion to the religion, and the usages of their ancestors, which distinguish the higher classes of Hindoos.

Devotes himself to death.

Anundpal, the son of this devoted sovereign, was not more successful than his father in his contest with Mahmood, who, in two successive invasions‡, defeated the Indian army, and became master of the province of Moultan‖. He would probably, at this period, have subdued all Hindostan, if he had not been compelled to abandon that quarter to defend his own dominions, which were attacked by Ilij Khan, who, unable to resist the temptation offered by the absence of Mahmood, had sent two armies to invade Khorassan. These were soon expelled by the Sultan of Ghizni; and Ilij Khan, provoked at the disgrace which his armies had sustained advanced across the Oxus with his whole army, which was joined by Cawder Khan, Prince of Khoten§, at the head of fifty thousand

A. D. 1003. A. H. 394.

A. D. 1004. A. H. 395.

Ilij Khan invades Khorassan.

* Dow's Translation of Ferishta, Vol. I. page 45. † Ibid.

‡ In the year of the Hejirah 394, only a part of his army could have been employed in the attack of India, as it was in that year he subdued Kuliph, Prince of Seistan, and the last of the family of Ben Leis.—Vide page 290.

‖ One of the rajahs of this province whom he attacked was named Bajerow: he took the Fort of Bhatteah from this prince.

§ The town and province of Khoten is situated in that part of Tartary known in eastern history as the kingdom of Kashgar, and familiar to European geographers by

CHAP. IX.

Mahmood encounters him.

horse. Mahmood did not hesitate to encounter this immense army, which had, we are told, advanced to the vicinity of Bulkh. His right was commanded by his best general, Altoun Tash; his left by an Affghan chief, called Arsilla; and he himself led the centre. Ilij Khan commenced the action by a furious attack on that part of the army of Ghizni which was led by their prince. These were at first thrown into disorder by the violence of the charge; but Mahmood, alighting from his horse, and mounting an elephant, from whence he could be seen by his whole army, encouraged his troops, by his speeches and actions, to follow him to victory, or to death. The elephant on which he rode appeared, we are informed, animated with the spirit of his master: he spread terror and confusion amid the ranks of Ilij Khan, and with one blow of his trunk struck the standard-bearer* of that chief to the ground. The Tartars were dispirited: and the troops of Ghizni, recovering from disorder, seconded, with a valour that nothing could resist, the heroic courage of their king. The enemy soon fled in all directions, and were pursued across the Oxus, in which many who had escaped the sword were drowned. The fame and fortune of

Ilij Khan is defeated.

the name of Little Bucharia. Khoten was formerly of some importance, and its chiefs are often mentioned. It was conquered, with Kashgar, Yarkund, and other provinces in the same quarter, by the Chinese in A. D. 1757, and now forms part of that great empire. A respectable inhabitant of Tartary, who visited the Town of Khoten about twenty years ago, describes it as in a flourishing state, though inferior in size to the City of Yarkund, from which it is distant about one hundred and forty miles. Khoten is still, according to this traveller's account, celebrated for its musk.

* D'Herbelot is mistaken in saying that he killed Ilij Khan. That chief did not die till some years afterwards. D'Herbelot, indeed, contradicts himself in another passage upon this subject.

Ilij Khan were destroyed by this defeat: and though he survived it four years, he never again ventured to oppose Mahmood. That monarch, who had pursued the Tartars across the Oxus, was reluctantly forced to retreat by the severity of the winter: but he did not yield to the elements till he had lost a number of his soldiers; and, impatient of inaction, he proceeded, the instant he returned from Tartary, to Paishawur, to punish a Hindoo prince*, who had embraced Mahomedanism, and had been raised to power as the reward of his religious profession; but who, taking advantage of Mahmood's absence, had recanted, and thrown off his allegiance. This double apostate was surprised and taken by the advance guard of the army of Ghizni. He was fined in a large sum, and condemned, as the punishment of his crime, to remain a prisoner for life. Mahmood, after this success, returned to his capital: from which he marched, early next season, to encounter the united forces of the Hindoos, who had assembled from the most distant regions of India, under the standard of Anundpal, and appeared resolved to make a desperate effort to resist the further progress of the power of the Mahomedan conqueror. Their army, which encamped near the Indus, was immense†: and Mahmood appears to have regarded it with some apprehension; for he not only remained in sight of it for forty days without coming to action, but thought it necessary to defend his camp from assault by a deep entrenchment. His enemies at length resolved to attack him in that position. The trench was carried by the fury of the first assailants, and great numbers of the Mahomedans were slain: but victory, which

A. D. 1007. A. H. 398.

A. D. 1008. A. H. 399. Mahmood marches against the Hindoos.

* The name of this prince was Zabsais.

† It is said to have exceeded three hundred thousand men.

CHAP. IX.

Defeats them.

long wavered, at length decided for Mahmood; who, however, is stated to have chiefly owed this important success to the accident of the elephant of Anundpal taking fright*, and flying with that rajah; an event that spread dismay and confusion amid his troops, who instantly abandoned the field. They were pursued for two days, and above twenty thousand were slain: while all the wealth of their camp, which was great, fell into the hands of the Mahomedans.

Advances into India.

Mahmood improved this success by advancing into India, destroying temples† and idols in his progress: but his desire of fame, as a breaker of images, does not appear to have led him aside from the object of seizing the accumulated wealth‡ of those whom he had vanquished.

A. D. 1009. A. H. 400.

We are told by eastern writers, that on his return to Ghizni he celebrated a festival, at which he displayed, to the admiring and astonished inhabitants of that city, golden thrones magnificently ornamented, which had been constructed from the plunder of seven hundred maunds‖ of gold and silver plate, forty maunds of pure gold, two thousand maunds of silver, and twenty maunds

* Dow states, on the authority of a Mahomedan writer, that it was the report of a cannon that made the animal take fright: but the period is before that in which gunpowder was invented in Europe: and if fire-arms were then in use in Asia, we must have had other accounts of them.

† He destroyed, on this occasion, the celebrated Temple of Nagracote.

‡ It was in the Fortress of Bheemghur, which Mahmood took on this expedition, that he found the greatest part of the immense plunder that he carried to Ghizni.

‖ Dow states, that there is no maund in India under thirty-seven pounds: but the maund generally meant in Persian history is the Tabreeze, (so called from the city where it was first used,) which is not quite seven pounds weight: this, in some degree, moderates the account, and renders the story more credible.

of set jewels. In the course of the same year he made prisoner Daud, the rebellious Governor of Mooltan, and subdued the province of Ghour, then held by the Affghan tribe of Soor, which did not yield without an obstinate resistance: and their chief, Mahomed, disdaining that life over which his enemy had power, poisoned himself soon after he was made captive.

Subdues Ghour.

His next expedition to India was directed against Tannaser*, a celebrated place of Hindoo worship, situated about seventy miles to the northward of Delhi. He does not appear to have been opposed in this invasion by Anundpal, who, reduced to the condition of a feudal lord, seems to have remained in his capital of Lahore a passive observer of an inroad which he could not prevent. The Temple of Tannaser was destroyed; its celebrated idol, Jugsoom, broken, and the fragments sent to Ghizni to be converted into steps for the principal mosque of that capital, that the faithful might tread upon the mutilated image of superstition as they entered the temple of the true God. After this exploit, the army of Ghizni returned to that proud city encumbered with riches and with captives. The two next years were devoted to the conquest of Cashmere, and the hilly provinces in its vicinity; a great proportion of the inhabitants of which, like those of all the countries that Mahmood annexed to his government, were compelled to embrace the religion of their conqueror. India obtained the short respite of a year, from her indefatigable enemy being employed in settling the distant country of

Marches against Tannaser.

Destroys its temple and idol. A. D. 1012. A. H. 403.

His conquest of Cashmere. A. D. 1014, 1015. A. H. 405, 406.

* This celebrated place of Hindoo worship is now the capital of a Sikh chief, who is a dependent on the British government.

CHAP. IX.

Advances to Cannouge. A. D. 1018. A. H. 409.

Khaurizm*: but that was soon effected; and Mahmood immediately commenced preparations to attack the famous City of Cannouge†. The distance was great, and the obstacles to success numerous, as the march itself was computed to occupy a period of three months. Mahmood selected, for this enterprise, one hundred thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, of the best soldiers of his army; and commencing his march by the route of Cashmere, continued it, after he had passed that province, through the mountains, probably to avoid the broad and deep streams of the Punjaub. After he descended into the plains of Hindostan, he advanced rapidly upon Cannouge: and so remarkable was the celerity of this movement, that the ruler of that city, whose name was Korrah, was completely surprised, and, being unable to oppose the invaders, threw himself upon the generous clemency of Mahmood, who took possession of the city, but only remained in it three days. His next conquest was Meerut‡, which is styled a great and rich principality. Among other great cities that he took and destroyed in this invasion, one of the principal was

Which he takes.

Also Meerut,

* Major Stewart, in his excellent History of Bengal, states, that this year passed in an unsuccessful attack of Cashmere; and that Mahmood failed in an attempt to take the Fortress of Koh Kote. It is not improbable but a part of his army was employed in this attempt, while the main body was engaged in Khaurizm.

† This city is supposed to be the Palibothra of the ancients, from the extent, magnificence, and grandeur, which are ascribed to it in Indian histories. It is situated about two miles from the banks of the Ganges, in 80° 13′ east longitude, and in 27° 3′ north latitude.

‡ A town in the Duab; a country lying between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, which is now in the possession of the British government. Meerut has become one of the principal military cantonments in that quarter.

and Muttra.

Muttra*, which was then, as at present, deemed by the Hindoos a holy city. He broke all the idols he found at this place: but the complete destruction of its great and solid temples was, we are told, a labour beyond his power. It is, however, consoling to hope, that his bigotry was, in this instance, restrained by his love of the arts, as he gave, in those letters which conveyed the account of his success to Ghizni†, the most enraptured account of the admirable beauty and structure of these sacred edifices. He conquered, in this invasion, many forts and cities, besides those that have been mentioned; and when he returned to his capital, his own plunder was estimated at twenty millions of dirhems‡, fifty-three thousand captives, and three hundred and fifty elephants, besides an immense number of jewels, (the value of which it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to fix). The private spoil of the army is stated to have been still greater than that which came into the treasury of the sovereign.

A. D. 1018. A. H. 409.

* A city on the right bank of the Jumnah, situated between Delhi and Agra. This place continues to be held sacred by the Hindoos. It is in the possession of the British government. An extraordinary and striking contrast appears in the conduct of Lord Lake, the leader of the army by which this place was recently taken, to that of Mahmood. The English general not only protected the persons, and respected the worship of its inhabitants, but ordered his own army, (while they lay within the precincts of this town,) not to slaughter cattle, as their doing so would be deemed a sacrilege by the Hindoos. The power of the monarch of Ghizni soon passed away; that of the English will remain as long as they have the firmness and virtue to preserve those principles of wisdom, toleration, and justice, upon which it is established.

† Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

‡ Four hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence.

CHAP. IX.

Improves his capital. A. D. 1019, 1020, 1021. A. H. 410, 411, 412.

Mahmood, as if sated with conquest, seemed, for a moment, bent upon enjoyment; and part of that wealth he had accumulated was laid out in adorning his capital. The nobles imitated the example of their king: and Ghizni soon rivalled, in the beauty and magnitude of its public and private buildings, the proudest cities of the East. But a grand mosque, which Mahmood erected, surpassed every other edifice. The beauty of the marble of which it was built, and the superior style of the architecture, were not more admirable than the richness of the carpets and golden branch-lights with which it was ornamented: and the vanity of the monarch was flattered by hearing this favourite edifice called by the lofty, if not impious, title of "The Celestial Bride." He sent an account of his victories, written in verse, to the Caliph of Bagdad, with a variety of valuable and curious presents; and the Commander of the Faithful did not disdain to bear incense to the hero of that religion of which he was the spiritual head. The poetic eulogy on Mahmood was ordered to be publicly read at the capital of the caliph: and every means were used that could stimulate the pride and bigotry of the conqueror to further exertions in the cause of that faith of which he was the avowed champion. But the character of Mahmood required no such encouragement: he was sufficiently prone to enterprise; and that time which appeared given to enjoyment, was probably only spent in preparation for fresh labours. He had learnt that Korrah, the Rajah of Cannouge, had, in consequence of the treaty he had entered into with a Mahomedan prince, been attacked and slain by a combination of neighbouring chiefs. Nunda, the Rajah of Kalinjur, in Bundlecund, had been the most forward; and Mahmood, who had advanced into India to support his ally,

Advances into India to support the Rajah of Cannouge. A. D. 1022. A. H. 413.

crossed the Jumnah to attack this chief: but Nunda retreated before him: and the deep ravines and low woods of his country gave him a safety in flight beyond what he could hope for from resistance. Mahmood subdued some forts, and compelled several small nations to adopt his religion, as he retreated towards Ghizni. He returned early next season to attack Nunda: but he appears to have been foiled in the attempts he made, during this invasion, to reduce the strong fortresses of Gwalior and Kalinjur. Mahomedan historians describe his having raised the siege of both to the rich ransom offered in the shape of presents by their governors: and Nunda, the rajah of the latter, is stated to have gained greatly on the favour of Mahmood, by sending him a poem which he had written in praise of his great qualities. But this flattery, which might have been acceptable, as it afforded a pretext for retreat from a hopeless enterprise, would have had little effect on the monarch of Ghizni, if he had seen a prospect of making himself master of forts which would have completed the subjection of the countries he had so often invaded. It is not probable that he possessed any means of reducing these mountain fortifications, which, from their natural strength, have of late years confidently braved the improved science and disciplined valour of a British army*.

A. D. 1022. A. H. 413.

A. D. 1023. A. H. 414. His unsuccessful attempts on Gwalior and Kalinjur.

After his return from this expedition, Mahmood resolved upon the most arduous of all his enterprises. His avarice and bigotry were alike stimulated by the reports of a rich temple in Guzerat,

Resolves to destroy the idol, Somnauth. A. D. 1024. A. H. 415.

* Gwalior, which lies in the small province of Gohud, has stood two sieges, and been twice taken, by the English. The first time it was taken by assault, or rather by surprise; the second, it capitulated. It has, on both occasions, been made over to the Marhattas. Kalinjur, the chief fortress of Bundelcund, lately capitulated, and is now a British fortress.

CHAP. IX.

whose priests boasted of the power of their famous idol, Somnauth, and attributed all the misfortunes of northern India to the wickedness and impiety of the inhabitants, and the comparative impotency of the protecting gods of that country. Determined upon the destruction of this last refuge of idolatry, as it was then termed, he commenced his march through Moultan, and from thence crossed the deserts of Joudpore* to Ajimere, whence he directed his route to Somnauth, which is described by Persian authors as a lofty castle, situated in the province of Guzerat upon a narrow peninsula, with its three sides defended by the sea. The sultan had hardly encamped in its vicinity, when a herald from the fort told him, that Somnauth (the name of the image they worshipped,) had brought the Mahomedans before the walls of his temple, that he might blast them with his wrath†. Mahmood smiled at the threatened vengeance of an idol, and gave orders that his army should prepare for the assault, which was made next morning, at the dawn of day, with the most determined valour. The wretched Hindoos, forced from the ramparts, crowded to the temple of their idol, and implored his aid: but their applications were in vain; and the exclamation of Allah-ackbar! or "God is great!" which resounded from the Mahomedan troops who had mounted the walls they had deserted, told them they must trust to their valour, not their prayers, if they desired preservation from ruin and from death. Summoned by this awful warning, they rushed

His assault of the City of Somnauth.

* Mahmood appears not to have suffered any loss in this advance. He took astonishing precautions: no less than twenty thousand camels were loaded with water.

† Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

upon their foes with all the fury of despair. Nor were their efforts unavailing: they forced the soldiers of Mahmood to abandon all the advantages they had gained. Night ended the dreadful carnage of the day: and the attack was renewed next morning with increased fury. Every where the Mahomedans mounted the ramparts, but every where they were cast down headlong by the Hindoos, whose eyes, we are told, were streaming with tears while their bosoms were burning with rage. They believed themselves abandoned by a god they adored, and had no desire for life, but as it enabled them to take vengeance on the authors of the misery they suffered. Their desperate valour was successful: and Mahmood drew off his dispirited troops, having resolved to raise the siege rather than hazard further disaster. But Fortune seemed resolved not to desert her favourite. A Hindoo army arrived to the succour of Somnauth, which the king immediately resolved to attack. He had hardly commenced the action, when a considerable reinforcement under two rajahs* joined the Hindoos: and the event infused such spirits throughout their ranks, that success seemed certain. Mahmood saw that the efforts of his troops became faint, and that they were on the brink of defeat: he sprung from his horse, and, prostrating himself upon the earth, implored God to favour one who had no desire but to advance the glory of his mighty name. In an instant he was remounted: and seizing Abdul Hussein Cherkani, one of his bravest generals, by the hand, invited him to a charge, in which they should either gain the crown of martyrdom, or a glorious victory†. The Mahomedans, when they saw their prince resolved not to survive defeat, deter-

Raises the siege.

A severe action with the Hindoo armies

* Byram Deo and Dabiselima.

† Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

CHAP. IX.

mined to share his fate, and rushed again into action with a spirit that was irresistible. The Hindoos gave way in every direction; and a complete victory crowned the determined valour of Mahmood. The inhabitants of Somnauth, who had watched the result of this battle with trembling solicitude, no sooner saw their friends put to flight, than they were seized with a panic, and abandoned those walls which they had before so nobly defended*. A great proportion of them put to sea with their families and property: but the conqueror, who instantly seized their town, manned boats to pursue them, and either captured or destroyed the whole of their fleet. According to all authors†, the spoil found in the Temple of Somnauth

* Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

† The Persian historians who have recorded this celebrated expedition of Mahmood, are correct in all the leading facts: but these are seldom either very minute or accurate in their geographical descriptions, or on points connected with Hindoo mythology. I have received the following curious account of the position and history of the Temple of Somnauth from a friend; whose learning and local knowledge give complete authenticity to his communications upon this subject.

This temple stood in the country of Soreth, a province of the peninsula of Guzerat, which is now more generally known under the name of Kattywar; and which is celebrated in the Poorans for containing five inestimable blessings. First, the River Goomptee: second, beautiful women: third, good horses: fourth, Somnauth: and fifth, Dawarka. Among the many places in Soreth that are held sacred by the Hindoos, Somnauth, or Somnauth Putten, as it is more generally termed, has always been one of the most remarkable. It stands one or two miles from the sea, at the junction of three rivers, the Hurna, Kupula, and Sersutty, at a distance of three miles to the east of the port of Belawul, which is laid down, in the most accurate charts of the Guzerat coast, in North latitude 21° 58′, and East longitude 70° 31′.

Somnauth is one of the twelve symbols of Mahadeo, which are said to have descended from heaven to the earth. The great fame of this temple throughout the

Destroys the idol, Somnauth.

was immense; but the glory which Mahmood claimed, was the destruction of the celebrated idol, which is represented as a gigantic image*, fifteen feet in height. The king, after giving it a blow with

East, attracted, as has been noticed, the bigotry and cupidity of Sultan Mahmood, of Ghizni. The holy image was, according to Mahomedan authors, destroyed: but this fact is denied by Hindoos, who assert that the god retired into the ocean. The temple, though despoiled of its enormous treasures, soon recovered both fame and wealth sufficient to make it an object of attack to many Mahomedan princes: and Sultan Mahmood Begharah, who obtained possession of the throne of Amedabad in the year of the Hejirah 877, marched against Somnauth, razed the temple to the ground, and, with the bigoted zeal of a Mahomedan conqueror, built a mosque upon the spot where it stood. The province of Soreth has, ever since that period, remained under a Mahomedan government; but the persevering piety of the Hindoos has overcome the bigotry of their rulers. The mosque has fallen into ruin; and Ahsela Bhaee, the widow of a prince of the Mahratta family of Holkar, has lately erected a new temple on the exact site of that which was demolished. A symbol of Mahadeo has been placed in this temple, which is deemed peculiarly propitious to those who desire offspring: and Somnauth, though it has lost its former splendour, still retains its reputation, and is visited by pilgrims from every quarter, who pay a trifling duty to the Mahomedan ruler, for the liberty they enjoy of paying their devotions at this favourite shrine.

Not only the spot upon which the Temple of Somnauth stands, but its vicinity is celebrated in the tales of Hindoo mythology. It was on the plains near it on which the most celebrated battle of the Jadoos was fought. We are informed, that in this action, which took place about five thousand years ago, there were six crore, or sixty millions of combatants, and that all were slain. About a mile from Somnauth, at a place called Bhalka, the Hindoo pilgrim is shown a solitary Peepul tree, on the banks of the Sersutty River, which he is assured stands on the exact spot where the god, Shree Krishen, received the mortal wound from an arrow, that terminated his incarnation.

* I have followed Dow's Translation of Ferishta in the description of this idol. According to the Rozut-ul-Suffa, the temple which contained the image of Somnauth " was decorated by thirty-six pillars, inlaid with precious stones of the most beautiful

CHAP. IX.

his mace, ordered that it should be broke, and that two fragments should be sent to Ghizni: one to be thrown at the threshold of the great mosque, the other in the court of his palace: and two more were directed to be transmitted to Mecca and Medinah, that they might remain at these sacred cities, as monuments of his pious valour*. At this moment, a number of brahmins came forward, and offered several millions of money if he would spare their idol. His nobles entreated Mahmood to accept of the ransom: but that prince, exclaiming that he desired the title of a breaker, not a seller, of idols, commanded them to destroy it. A few more blows discovered an immense quantity of rich jewels that had been concealed in the hollow parts of this image; and proved, that the priests of the temple had been actuated by other than pious motives; for the treasures concealed were found to be of much greater value than the sum they had offered for the ransom of their idol.

Raises a brahmin to the government of Guzerat.

Mahmood subdued some other cities† in Guzerat during this expedition, and placed that country in the hands of a brahmin, whom he raised to the government on his agreeing to pay a large tribute, and to hold Guzerat as a vassal of the rulers‡ of Ghizni.

" and costly description. The image itself was of polished stone, or marble, about the " height of five cubits; three above the flooring of the temple, and two beneath it."—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 288.

* Dow's Translation of Ferishta.

† The modern Diu was among others that were taken. It was then the seat of a rajah.

‡ Ferishta, and other Persian authors, give a detailed and romantic history of the fate of the brahmin ruler whom Mahmood exalted to the throne of Guzerat. The

The army suffered much more in crossing the deserts in their return than on their advance. It appears that they went by a different route, as they were led astray three marches in a desert near the Indus by a guide who pretended to a perfect knowledge of the road; but who confessed, when about to suffer death for the deception he had practised, that he was a priest of the idol Somnauth, and had sought to revenge that god by leading the troops of Ghizni to destruction.

Treachery of his guide.

A. D. 1026. A. H. 417. Mahmood's war with the Jats.

Mahmood, after this expedition, engaged in a war with a people in the neighbourhood of Mooltan, called Jats*, whose fleets he

conqueror, they inform us, preferred raising to power a recluse, descended from the ancient family of Dabissalima, who had long governed that country, to bestowing it on a neighbouring prince of the same race. And, on the person he had elevated expressing apprehensions of his powerful relation, Mahmood marched against him, and made him prisoner. The new ruler could not violate the usages of his country, by putting the prince he so much feared to death: he requested, therefore, that he might be carried to Ghizni, and sent back when there was less danger from his being kept prisoner at Guzerat. Mahmood complied with all his wishes: and some years afterwards the captive was sent to his native country. The ruling prince had prepared a dungeon under his throne, where he meant to imprison his relative; whom he went to meet, that he might, when he received him from the guards of Mahmood, by whom he was conveyed to the frontier, enjoy the triumph of making him run by his horse like a slave. The day after his prisoner was in his power, he was fatigued, and lay down on the ground to take some repose. Having spread a red handkerchief over his face to cover him from the rays of the sun, it was mistaken for a piece of meat by a vulture, who pounced upon it, and struck out one of the eyes of the prince. The usages of the country forbade any person being ruler with such a defect. The moment it was perceived, the lot of the prince and his captive changed; and the recluse, whom Mahmood had elevated to the throne, had to walk along side of the horse of his late prisoner, and was doomed to inhabit the dungeon he had built.—FERISHTA.

* The Jats are a tribe of Hindoos, many of whom are settled in Hindostan. This

CHAP. IX.

A. D. 1027. A. H. 418. He defeats the Turks of the Seljookee tribe. encountered with success on the rivers of the Punjaub; and the same year defeated an army of the Turks, of the Seljookee tribe, who had invaded his territories in Persia, and obtained several advantages over his generals. The last of his successes was the conquest of almost all Irak, which, with Rhe, and other territories,

Conquers Irak and Rhe. he formed into a government for his son, Massoud, having declared at the same time, that his other son, Mahomed, was heir to his throne, and all his other possessions.

His death. A. D. 1028. A. H. 419. At the commencement of the next year, Mahmood died of a complaint* with which he had been long afflicted. His life terminated in a magnificent edifice, which he had vainly called "The Palace of "Felicity:" and immediately before he expired, he took a last and mournful view of his army, his court, and the enormous treasures which he had accumulated by his unparalleled successes. He is said to have contemplated them with a sigh, which might have proceeded either from a sense of the vanity of all earthly glory, or from a reluctance to abandon the enjoyment of his vast wealth and power.

And character. The character of this extraordinary prince has been given by prejudiced Mahomedan authors, who, justly considering him as one of the most celebrated of those heroes who have propagated their faith by the sword, deem him worthy of every praise: but, though there can

race are very brave, and have attained considerable power. Many of the Hindoo rajahs, or petty princes, in Hindostan, that are under the British government, belong to this tribe. They once possessed a great part of the Punjaub and Multan; and a large proportion of the Sikhs, who at present inhabit those countries, were formerly either Jats, or descended from that tribe.

* He was afflicted with the stone; and a violent attack of that complaint occasioned his death.

be no doubt of his great talents as a warrior, he has few claims to any other eulogium. His desire of conquest was rendered more terrible to those whom he attacked, by his cruel bigotry; for in every country that he subdued, the horrors of war were increased by those of religious persecution: and we have no other evidence of his good government, than the general tranquillity of his own dominions; an effect which was the consequence of his great success in foreign wars, and which might have equally proceeded from a dread of his severity, as from a confidence in his justice. The popular tale, which represents his vizier as pretending to a knowledge of the language of birds, and explaining the liberality of an old owl, who, after wishing "Mah-"mood a long life," offered a hundred ruined villages as a dowry to her daughter, presents, in a truly eastern form, the picture of a reign more marked by desolation than improvement. History has recorded one memorable proof of his resolute justice. A poor man had complained that a young noble of the court came constantly to his house at night, turned him out of doors, and slept with his wife. The monarch bade him give him notice the next time this occurred. He did as he was directed; and Mahmood went with him to his house. When he reached it, he put out a lamp that was burning, and having found the paramour, struck off his head with one blow of his cimeter. He then called for a light; and after viewing the corpse, fell upon his knees and returned thanks to Heaven: after which, he bade the astonished husband bring him water, and drank an immoderate quantity. "You are surprised at "my actions," said Mahmood: "but know, that since you informed "me of the outrage you suffered, I have neither slept, eat, nor drank. "I conceived that no person, except one of my sons, would dare

Instance of his justice.

CHAP. IX.

" openly to commit so great a crime: resolved to do justice, I extin-
" guished the light, that my feelings as a father might not prevent
" me from doing my duty as a sovereign: my prayers were a thanks-
" giving to the Almighty, when I saw that I had not been compelled
" to slay one of my own offspring: and I drank, as you observed,
" like a man that was expiring from thirst*."

This monarch has been accused of avarice: but there appears no just grounds for this accusation. His army was distinguished for its attachment to his person: and that sentiment could only have been produced in such a body of men by liberal treatment. His court was splendid beyond example. The edifices he erected were grand: and he gave to learned men and to poets the most liberal encouragement. It is to his love of literature that we owe almost all that remains of the history of ancient Persia contained in the noble epic poem of the Shah Namah, (or Book of Kings); a work which must endure as long as the language in which it is written. Unfortunately for the fame of Mahmood, as a munificent patron of splendid genius, he was persuaded, by envious rivals, to diminish the reward that he had promised Ferdosi. The bard spurned the present which he sent him, and added to his poem a bitter satire upon the king's want of generosity: but, after he had given vent to his feelings, he thought it prudent to leave the court, and to retire to his native City of Toos†, in Khorassan. Some time elapsed before Mahmood saw the verses he had written: and sensible, too late, of his error, he tried to retrieve his fame, by sending an immense sum to the poet: but the

* This anecdote of Mahmood is, I believe, related by every historian who has written his life.

† The modern Mushed.

rich present reached the gates of Toos as the body of Ferdosi was carrying to its last mansion, and it was rejected by his virtuous daughter, who scorned to accept that wealth which had been once denied to the unrivalled merit of her illustrious father*.

Extent of his dominions.

The territories of Subuctageen were large: but they were extended by his son to a magnitude that placed the monarch of Ghizni on a level, in point of power, with Shahpoor and Nousheerwan. The limits of this vast kingdom, at the death of Mahmood, were the provinces of Georgia and Bagdad, to the west and south-west; the kingdom of Bokharah and Kashgur, to the north and north-east; and the provinces of Bengal and the Deckan, as far as the Indian Ocean, to the east and south-east. But the rise of this great dynasty was not more rapid than its downfal, which we may date from the death of that monarch to whom it owes all its lustre in the page of history†. The successors of Mahmood merit but a short notice. His foresight had anticipated a contest between his sons: and his fears were confirmed by the answer that he received from the elder, named Massoud, when he asked him how he meant to conduct himself towards his brother Mahomed: "As you did towards your brother Ismail," was the reproachful reply: and the youth was true to his word; for the moment he heard of his father's death, he commenced his march to Ghizni. He is stated to have made, on his advance, a moderate

His son, Massoud, marches to Ghizni. A. D. 1030. A. H. 421-2.

* Preface to the Shah Namah.

† In writing the life of this prince, I have consulted every authority I could. On this, as on many other occasions, I am indebted to the great accuracy and labour of De Guignes. I have also been aided by Dow's Translation of Ferishta, and Price's Mahomedan History; and I have found the Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh almost always correspond with these authorities.

CHAP. IX.

offer of accommodation to his brother. He only desired to hold, in independent sovereignty, the countries of Irak, Rhe, and Aderbijan, and to have his name, as elder brother, (for though they were twins, Massoud was first born,) read before his brother's in public prayers. But Mahomed refused all overtures, in the vain confidence which the actual possession of his father's treasures and throne inspired. He was, however, deserted* by all his troops, and fell, after a short reign of five months, into the hands of his brother, who deprived him of sight, and placed him in close confinement. The first enterprise of Massoud was the conquest of Cutch and Mekran. He made several incursions into India, to maintain the tranquillity of those possessions which his father had subdued. The forts of Sersutty and Hassi† are the only conquests ascribed to him. But he had no time to attack others: all his means were required to defend himself from a formidable tribe of Tartars, called Seljookee, who had, for a considerable time past, made predatory incursions into Khorassan, and other parts of his dominions, and threatened to overthrow his government. Massoud's first effort was to negotiate a peace with this tribe. He had an interview with their leader, Dawood, at Bulkh, and entered into a compact, by which he agreed to give these dangerous neighbours some pasture grounds for their flocks within his territories: but their faithless conduct soon convinced him of the inefficacy of this arrangement, and that he could only obtain security

Deprives his brother, Mahomed, of sight. A. D. 1030. A. H. 422.

Conquers Cutch and Mekran.

His wars with the Tartar tribe of Seljookee.

* The first body of men that deserted him were what Dow calls the slaves; but he has translated the words Gholam Shah erroneously. It means, as I have before stated, "the guards of the king."

† This is probably Hansi; a fort situated to the westward of Delhi, now in the possession of the British government.

from their violence and rapacity by his sword. Compelled to resort to arms, he carried on a petty war against different branches of this powerful tribe for some time, and with various success, till he was completely defeated in a great action fought in Khorassan. We are informed*, that he displayed, in this battle, that valour and matchless personal prowess for which he was renowned; but it only enabled him to save his own person: and he deemed his affairs so desperate, that he instantly collected all his treasures, and commenced his retreat towards Lahore, which he resolved to make the future capital of his government. But Massoud had lost the control of his army; and, in a general mutiny†, which took place on the march, the vast treasures which his father had accumulated were plundered by a lawless soldiery, and a mob of camp followers, who, after this outrage, fell upon each other‡: and in the scene of confusion that ensued, some were impoverished, and others enriched, beyond all possible calculation. The army, when they recovered their senses, were seized with a dread of that punishment they had so well merited: to avoid which, they came to a sudden resolution to reinstate Mahomed, who was a prisoner in the camp, on the throne; and the astonished prince found himself at the same moment released from his confinement, and hailed as sovereign of Ghizni. The unfortunate Massoud, before he well knew what had passed, was seized and carried before a brother whom he had cruelly deprived of sight, but who treated him with a clemency that he could not have expected: he was only doomed to imprisonment, and allowed to select the place of his confinement: he chose the

By whom he is defeated. A. D. 1039. A. H. 431.

Retreats towards Lahore.

His troops mutiny,

and place his brother, Mahomed, on the throne.

* Abul-fedha.

† This mutiny occurred on the banks of the river Indus.

‡ D'Herbelot.

CHAP. IX.

A. D. 1041. A. H. 433. Massoud is assassinated.

Fort of Kurri, to which he retired with his family, and remained there for several years. He was afterwards assassinated by Ahmed, the son of Mahomed, who perpetrated this murder without the knowledge or consent of his father. The latter is said to have wept when he heard of it, and he instantly wrote to Madood, the son of the murdered monarch, disclaiming all knowledge of so base an action: but that young prince, who was at Bulkh when this event occurred, instantly proclaimed himself king, and marched to revenge his father. He encountered his uncle's army on the banks of the Indus, defeated it, and having made Mahomed and his sons prisoners, he put them all to death, except one of the name of Rahim, who had shown kindness to Massoud in his distress. The dynasty of Ghizni lost, during the reign of Madood, all their possessions in Persia: and their history, from the accession of this monarch, till their complete extinction, (a period of above a century,) presents an uninteresting and disgusting detail of petty wars, rebellions, and massacres. The chief actors in these scenes were princes of the royal family, and usurping generals. Ghizni was taken from Byram, a direct descendant from Mahmood, by Souri, a prince of Ghour*: but the former monarch, favoured by the attachment of the inhabitants of his capital, not only recovered it, but made his enemy prisoner. Unfortunately for himself and his subjects, Byram† knew not how

His son, Madood, proclaims himself king, and defeats Mahomed's army.

Ghizni taken by Souri, a prince of Ghour.

Recovered by Byram.

* Syfudeen Souri was the brother of Kutbuddeen Mahomed, an Affghan prince of Ghour, who was son-in-law to Byram, but whom that monarch, for reasons that are not stated, put to death.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 309.

† This prince is celebrated by almost all Mahomedan authors for his wisdom and liberality. He was a munificent patron: and both poets and historians have repaid his favours with praise.

to use his victory: he sought to retrieve the disgrace he had suffered, by inflicting the most cruel punishment upon his captive. He directed him to be stript, to be painted black, then mounted upon a lean bullock, with his face turned towards its tail, and to be paraded in that condition through the streets of Ghizni. These orders were obeyed: and Souri, after he had been exposed to all the insults which a senseless and cowardly mob could offer to a brave man, was put to death by the most cruel torture, and his head sent as a token of triumph to Sanjar*, the king of the Seljookian dynasty, who then ruled over Persia. Allah, (sometimes called Allahudeen,) the brother of Souri, no sooner learnt his fate, than he called his mountaineers to arms, and advanced towards Ghizni with a force breathing vengeance against the murderers of their prince. It was in vain Byram sought to intimidate them by a display of his superior numbers, or an offer of peace. It was not merely to revenge the death of Souri, but to punish the unheard-of ignominy with which their chief had been treated, that his countrymen had sworn: and their savage bosoms glowed with a rage that could only be appeased by the blood of their enemies. An action ensued, which was fought with great valour: but the fury of the assailants was irresistible. Byram, thrown from his elephant, with difficulty saved his life, and fled towards India: his army was completely routed, and the victorious Allah entered Ghizni, and abandoned that noble city for seven days to the fury of his soldiers. The horrors which these perpetrated cannot be described; neither age nor sex were spared: and the humble shed,

A. D. 1151. A. H. 546. Souri put to death.

The brother of Souri revenges his death.

Byram escapes to India.

* Sanjar was the maternal uncle of Byram, and had not only aided him in obtaining the throne, but in keeping possession of it.

CHAP. IX.

the lofty palace, and the sacred temple, were all blended in one common ruin*. But the appetite of vengeance was not yet sated. A number of the nobles and priests of Ghizni, who had been taken prisoners, were carried to Ghour, and there publicly put to death; while their blood was used to moisten† the mortar for repairing the walls of that city. The dreadful hostility which the cruelty of Byram had kindled, was visited upon his descendants. His grandson, Khoosroo the Second, was attacked in his capital of Lahore by Mahomed, the cousin‡ of Allahudeen; and, after an ineffectual effort at resistance, was made prisoner, and soon afterwards slain. Khoosroo was the last of a dynasty‖, whose great fame in history may

His grandson, Khoosroo, is attacked.

A. D. 1184. A. H. 580.

And slain.

* Ferishta.

† Ferishta.

‡ Mahomed was the second in succession from Allahudeen.

‖ The following is a list of the names of the princes of Ghizni, as recorded in Major Price's work.

NAMES OF PRINCES.	Years of Accession to the Throne. A. H.	A. D.
Abustakeen		
Subuctageen	365	976
Ismail	387	997
Mahmood	387	997
Mahomed	421	1030
Massoud	422	1031
Madood	433	1041
Massoud	441	1049
Aly	441	1049
Abdurrasheed	443	1052
Furrukhzaud	444	1053
Ibrauhim	450	1059
Massoud	492	1098
Arslan Shah	508	1104
Behram Shah	512	1108
Khoosroo Shah	547	1152
Khoosroo Malek	555	1160

be (as has been before stated,) solely ascribed to Sultan Mahmood. They were overthrown by a family which had long submitted to their power, but whose uncertain allegiance was the source of constant uneasiness; for the princes of Ghour, who derived their proud descent from Zohauk*, and who boasted that their ancestors had successfully opposed Feridoon, could but ill brook that dependence to which they were reduced by the first rulers of Ghizni. The situation of their country, (which lies to the northward of Ghizni,) amid rugged and barren mountains, was favourable to insurrection: and their power increased as that of the descendants of Subuctageen declined: till they at last rose upon their ruin, not only to the throne of Ghizni, but to that of India. Their glory was, however, of short duration. Both these kingdoms (at the death of Mahomed,) fell to slaves†, who had been educated and adopted as sons by that prince, who left no children to inherit his fortunes.

* Ferishta.

† Of these slaves, Kuttub, Eldoze, and Altumish, were the most celebrated.

CHAPTER X.

History of the Monarchs of the Seljookee Dynasty: with a short Notice of some of the Princes of Khaurizm.

CHAP. X.

Observations on the Tartar tribes.

THOUGH a great part of Persia had been subject to the princes of Samanee and of Ghizni, (both families of Turkish descent,) that country had never been completely subdued by the tribes of Tartary*: but, in the weak and distracted state into which it had fallen, it could not long remain exempt from a fate to which more than half the world had been exposed. For, whether we direct our view to the fertile plains of China, the rich provinces of India, the rugged mountains of northern Europe, or to the beautiful valleys of Asia Minor, we find all, in their turns, have been invaded by warlike tribes; who, issuing from the vast and varied countries of Tartary, have plundered and subdued the fairest regions of the earth. Great

* This observation more particularly applies to that portion of Persian history which is subsequent to the Mahomedan conquest. We read in Herodotus, that the Scythians conquered Persia, and maintained the government of that country for some time: and the Parthian monarchs are said, by Greek authors, to have been of Scythian descent. Ferdosi admits that the tribes of Turan had a partial possession of Persia for twelve years: but we have no authentic record, which can lead us to pronounce that the whole of that kingdom was ever, before this period, completely subdued by the tribes of Tartary.

Their habits, character, and condition.

and powerful causes alone could have produced so extraordinary an effect. These are to be found in the personal character, the condition, the habits, and manners of the Tartars. Every male of this great country is a soldier: every female is educated to attend, and to aid a husband, whose dwelling is a slight tent made of coarse wool; whose food is his flocks, or the chase; whose occupation is war; and who, even in peace, changes his habitation every season. The man is robust, hardy, and brave: the woman is a stranger to all those luxuries that nourish effeminacy: and their children, at an age when those of other countries are treated as infants, ride, and manage the most unruly horses. Such is the race of human beings, who, divided into large families, or tribes, roam over Tartary. Each tribe obeys a hereditary chief; who exercises more of a patriarchal than an absolute sway; and who is at once supported and checked by the authority of the reish suffeeds*, or elders, who preside over the different branches of the tribe. The number of the particular tribes is often greatly increased by the admission of captives, or the reduction of another tribe to be their subjects, or rather adherents: but they are still more frequently diminished by internal divisions: and when a discontented son, or nephew, of a chief, or an elder, separates with a branch, they generally adopt his name, and become a distinct tribe, though still considering themselves as a branch from the original stock. This is one, among many causes, which gives new names every day to these tribes, and throws a confusion into

* The literal meaning of this word is "grey-beard:" and this authority was, no doubt, meant only to be given to elders; but it is often hereditary, and consequently sometimes falls to young men.

CHAP. X.

their genealogy, which it is impossible to unravel*. The condition of the Tartars is a state of constant war, either against the beasts of the field, or man; but generally the latter. Their country is either distracted by petty factions, or united under some great leader, who conducts them forth to plunder and conquest, in distant lands. They may be said to esteem no qualities, but valour in man, and chastity in woman. There appears to the Tartars only one path to eminence,—that of military renown. To it the whole nation crowd; and, though attached to their hereditary chief, and envious of other tribes, they readily join the standard of any great leader, whom they consider as distinguished by his superior courage and conduct. His success makes him their king; while his failure reduces him to be their equal. As the hordes† that proceed upon foreign expeditions quit their usual places of residence, or rather encampment, these are instantly occupied by other tribes; who are, perhaps, ranging in search of better pasture lands, or driven by powerful neighbours from those which they possessed: and thus the body in advance has no retreat, nor do they desire one: wherever they pitch, their rude tents are their habitations; and all their wealth, which consists in horses, camels, and sheep, accompany their march. They are, in fact, a moving nation of soldiers, whose hostile attack is never

* The astonishing labour and learning of the elder De Guignes has afforded us, in his History of the Huns and Tartars, great information upon this subject. That production has always appeared to me entitled to the first rank among the works of European orientalists.

† This word is evidently derived from wurdu, or urdu; which signifies a camp composed of many tribes.

embarrassed by the necessity of providing for their own defence. They seldom invade great empires but when on the decline; and that has, no doubt, been one of the chief causes of their success. A population, however numerous, rendered effeminate by prosperity, and a great proportion of which is devoted to peaceable occupations, cannot cope with such a band. The army of the state has, at once, to defend the country from devastation, and to meet a daring enemy in the field: a defeat is fatal, and a victory not decisive; for the invaders have neither wealth nor country to lose. They have not even a place to fly to; and can hardly be conquered without being extirpated.

The fame of these Tartar tribes was so great, that the very rumour of their intended invasion threw a government into confusion: and when we consider their means of war, we can scarcely be surprised at so many monarchs having purchased an exemption from immediate danger; and, at the moment, added to their personal power, by having recourse to the delusive, though dangerous, expedient of granting lands for the flocks, and accepting the military service of these formidable enemies. In every case in which this has been adopted, the result has been the same. The report of the fruitful and delightful pasture grounds which the policy or valour of their countrymen had acquired, has flown to Tartary; and the arrival of fresh tribes to their support, has at once stimulated and enabled them to complete the conquest they originally intended. But they have seldom possessed, for any long period, the countries they have subdued. To men accustomed to coarse fare, and a life of incessant fatigue, scenes of indulgence and repose seem a Paradise; and when they

CHAP. X.

attain it, their joy is intemperate. The consequence is natural: they, in their turn, fall the victims of that wealth and luxury which excited their enterprise, and promoted their success.

An account of the tribe of Seljookee.

The Tartar tribe of Seljookee derive their name from Seljook, a chief of great reputation, who had been compelled to quit the Court of Bighoo Khan, the sovereign of the Turks of Kapchack*. Seljook, who had proceeded with his tribe to the plains of Bokharah, died at a very advanced age. His son Michail became known to Sultan Mahmood, of Ghizni, and was greatly honoured by that monarch; who, according to several writers, persuaded him to cross the Oxus, and settle in Khorassan. But this fact rests upon doubtful evidence. The numbers of this tribe, and their adherents, appear, from the same authors†, to have been very great. They relate, that on Mahmood asking the ambassador of their chief what force they could bring to his aid; "Send this arrow," said the envoy, presenting one of two which he held in his hand, "and fifty thou-"sand horse will appear!"—"Is that all?" exclaimed Mahmood. "Send this," said he, presenting the other, "and an equal number "will follow."—"But suppose I was in extreme distress," observed the monarch, "and wanted your utmost exertions?"—"Then," replied the ambassador, "send my bow, and two hundred "thousand horse will obey the summons!" The proud conqueror heard, with secret alarm, this terrifying account of their numbers:

* Khondemir states, that Bighoo Khan was chief of the Turkish tribes which dwelt on the plain of Khezer, i. e. Kapchack: but authors differ as to the rank and residence of Seljook. The flatterers of the dynasty make that chief the thirty-fourth in lineal descent from Afrasiab!!

† D'Herbelot, &c.

and we are told, that he anticipated the future overthrow of his empire*.

The first lands which this tribe received from the family of Ghizni, were granted by Massoud; who was forced, by his inability to oppose their progress, to enter into a treaty with them. The consequences of this compact have already been mentioned. After the defeat of Massoud, they became masters of Khorassan. They had before possessed a territory which stretched from that province to the Jaxartes. Their leader, Toghrul, now assumed the title and state of a sovereign at Nishabore; from whence he was induced to extend his conquests to the westward, by the accounts he received of the distracted state of the territories and capital of the Caliph Ul-Kaim. Having left his brother, Daood, in Khorassan, he advanced to Irak; and, when he had subdued that province, proceeded to Bagdad, which he took, and became, by its reduction, master of the person of the caliph †. His next expedition was against Moossul, and the territory in its vicinity, which he soon conquered, and returned in triumph to Bagdad, where he was received in great pomp by Ul-Kaim. The Turkish monarch, we are informed, approached the sacred presence of the successor of the prophet on foot, accompanied by his nobles; who, laying aside their arms, joined in the procession. The caliph appeared, on this occasion, with all the mummery of state that belonged to his high office. He was seated on a throne, which was

Massoud grants them land.

Become masters of Khorassan.

A. D. 1037. A. H. 429.

Their chief, Toghrul, assumes royal state.

Subdues Irak.

Takes Bagdad

A. D. 1055. A. H. 447.

and Moossul.

The caliph's reception of Toghrul.

* Some authors add, that the person of the ambassador was kept in restraint, lest the formidable bow and arrows should be sent: but this appears improbable.

† The name of the caliph's vizier was Malik-u-Rahim, the last of the family of the Dilemee that possessed any power.

CHAP. X.

concealed by a dark veil. The celebrated bourda, or black mantle of the Abbasides, was thrown over his shoulder; and his right hand held the staff of Mahomed. Toghrul kissed the ground; and, after standing for a short time in a respectful posture, was led to the caliph; near whom he was placed, on another throne. His commission was then read; which appointed him the lieutenant, or vicegerent, of the vicar of the holy prophet, and the lord of all Mahomedans. He was invested with seven dresses, and had seven slaves bestowed upon him: a ceremony which implied, that he was appointed to the rule of the seven regions subject to the Commander of the Faithful. A veil of gold stuff, scented with musk, was thrown over his head, on which two crowns were placed; one for Arabia, and the other for Persia: while two swords were girt on his loins, to signify, that he was ruler both of the East and of the West. This vain display satisfied the pride of the caliph: and the Turkish chief was pleased to receive a confirmation of past, and a sanction for future conquest, from the spiritual head of his faith; who was still deemed, by orthodox Mahomedans, to be the only source of legitimate authority.

Is appointed a lieutenant of the caliph.

Toghrul was successful in several actions, which he fought with the armies of the declining empire of Constantinople, which opposed him when he invaded the provinces of Georgia and Iberia*. He had before completely subdued the whole of Persia to his authority, and adopted every measure that appeared calculated to make his rule permanent over that kingdom. He appears to have considered, that a close alliance with the family of the caliphs would tend to

Invades Georgia and Iberia.

* De Guignes.

increase his power. His sister had already married Ul-Kaim; and the monarch desired to strengthen the connexion, and to add to his own glory, by espousing the daughter of the Commander of the Faithful. We are told, that the pride of the House of Abbas was shocked at this proposition, and that some hesitation was shown: but Toghrul had not learnt to bear disappointment; and the relief he gave to the distress of the caliph, who had been imprisoned by his rebellious servants, reminded that proud pontiff of his dependent condition. The princess was sent, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest splendour. But the royal bridegroom, who had arrived at the advanced age of seventy, only enjoyed the happiness he had so anxiously sought for a few months. He died of an illness he caught at the mountain fortress of Roodbar*; where he had gone to pass the summer, that he might avoid the heats and unwholesome air of the City of Rhe.

A. D. 1062. A. H. 454.

His marriage with the daughter of the caliph.

His death,

A. D. 1063. A. H. 455.

Toghrul Beg seems to have had the bad and the good qualities of a Tartar chief. He was violent in his temper, and insatiable of conquest: but he was distinguished by courage, frankness, and generosity. His family and tribe had, as has been before mentioned, embraced the Mahomedan doctrine. This conversion may be dated from the first settlement of Seljook near Bokharah; to which province the Arabs had, some centuries before, spread their creed and their dominion. Toghrul, who was hailed by the caliph, in his first victories in Persia, with the title of Rukun-u-deen, or "the pillar "of the faith," appears to have been a zealous promoter of the religion he professed. He erected a great number of mosques throughout his

And character

* Roodbar lies about fifty miles to the northward of the City of Kazveen.

CHAP. X.

dominions, and gave distinction to pious and learned men. It was to this disposition in Toghrul, and his immediate successors, that the caliphs of Bagdad owed that comparative ease and dignity, to what they had enjoyed under the princes of the family of Dilemee; who had latterly ceased to treat them with even those marks of external respect to which, in their character of spiritual princes alone, they appeared entitled.

A. D. 1063. A. H. 455. Toghrul is succeeded by Alp-Arselan.

Alp-Arselan (for he is best known under this title, which means "the conquering lion,") succeeded his uncle*; and the empire which Toghrul had founded could not have descended to a more worthy heir. He united valour and generosity with the love of learning and of the sciences: and if we could regard him in the same light in which he is considered by Mahomedan authors, (who deem his cruel and bigoted persecution of the Christians in Armenia, Georgia, and Iberia, the most praiseworthy of all his actions,) we should term this monarch one of the best, as he certainly is one of the most renowned, of the sovereigns of Asia. His invasion of Georgia, and the cruelties† he committed in that country, (because the inhabitants showed a reluctance to embrace the faith of Mahomed,) roused the Court of Constantinople to a sense of the imminent danger to which it was exposed from the further progress of the powerful monarch of Persia, whose armies were advanced as far as the province of Phrygia.

His invasion of Georgia.

* Alp-Arselan was the son of Daood Beg, who had, during his life, been on the best terms with Toghrul; and Alp-Arselan had recommended himself so much to that monarch, that he was confirmed by him, at his father's death, in the important government of Khorassan.

† He put a large iron collar, (Khondemir says, a horse shoe,) as a mark of ignominy, on the neck of every Christian that refused to change his religion.

The Empress Eudocia had married Romanus Diogenes: and this brave leader, whom Persian authors style Oormanus, took the field at the head of the forces of the empire; and, by his courage and skill, soon forced the scattered and encumbered armies of Persia to fall back upon the frontier of that kingdom. Romanus desired to improve this success, and advanced into Armenia and Aderbijan; but he was met near the village of Konongo, in the latter province, by Alp-Arselan, who, though confident in his own courage and that of his army, shuddered (as his panegyrists * state,) at the thought of shedding the blood of true believers, and offered liberal terms of accommodation to the Roman emperor: but that prince, they add, imputed his moderation to a wrong cause, and replied with insolence; "That he would hearken to no terms, except the Persian king would "abandon his place of encampment to the Roman army, and sur- "render his capital, the City of Rhe, as a pledge of the sincerity "of his desire for peace." When Alp-Arselan received this answer, he immediately prepared for action. The numbers of the armies were unequal; that of Romanus was the most numerous. But we can grant no credit to those partial historians who assert, that the Greeks had three hundred thousand† men, while Alp-Arselan

A. D. 1070. A. H. 463.

Offers terms to the Roman emperor.

* De Guignes. Elmacin.

† According to D'Herbelot, who copies Persian authors, this was the comparative state of the two armies. The more probable account of De Guignes states, that Alp-Arselan had forty thousand men; and though the army of Romanus, at the opening of the season, consisted of more than one hundred thousand, it had been much reduced, and was imprudently separated in distant operations: and the force with the emperor does not appear to have been very superior in numbers to that of Alp-Arselan, as it was weakened, immediately before the action, by the desertion of a body of the Turkoman tribe of Guz, or Uzze, as the Roman writers call them.

CHAP. X.

had only twelve thousand!! It was as impossible that the Roman empire could, at this period, have sent so vast a force to a war on its frontier, as that the monarch of Persia should have trusted his life and fortune on the success of a battle fought by so small a division of his great army. We are informed by respectable authors, that he had forty thousand men; and it is probable that the force of his enemies did not much exceed that number*. Romanus was confident of victory. Alp-Arselan determined not to survive defeat. He, indeed, made a display of a pious resignation to his fate, by performing the menial office of tying up the tail† of his own horse, and by clothing himself in a white robe, or shroud, perfumed with musk‡. The exchange of his bow and arrows for a cimeter and mace, declared the manner in which he was resolved to fight: while his conduct, his dress, and his speeches, proclaimed to every soldier in his army, that if he could not preserve his earthly kingdom by a victory over those he deemed infidels, he was resolved to obtain the glorious crown of martyrdom. The troops of Romanus commenced the action, and were at first successful: but the ardent valour of their emperor led him to advance too far; and when he desired to retreat to his encampment, a confusion was produced in his ranks by the cowardice or treachery of one of his principal leaders, who withdrew a large division from his support. The

A. D. 1070.
A. H. 463.

* Several western authors state, that the advantage of numbers was on the side of the Persians.

† The horses in Persia have long tails: but it is the custom of the country to tie them up, which not only improves the animal's appearance, but prevents their tails trailing on the ground, or being whisked about, when wet or dirty, to the annoyance of the rider.

‡ De Guignes.

experience of Alp-Arselan took advantage of the crisis: and a general charge of his whole army completed the defeat of his enemies. All that personal courage could effect, was done by Romanus, to repair the disorder of his troops: and he fought to the last with a courage that gained strength from despair: but, overwhelmed by numbers, wounded, and thrown upon the ground, he was seized, and carried to Alp-Arselan, by an obscure officer whom that monarch had the morning before, at a general review of his army, threatened to disgrace, on account of his mean and deformed personal appearance*. The King of Persia could hardly believe his good fortune: but having ascertained, from the evidence of his former ambassadors, and from the tears of captive Romans, who wept on seeing their unfortunate emperor, that he really possessed the person of Romanus, he treated his royal prisoner with the extreme of kindness and of distinction: he uttered no reproaches that could wound the feelings of a humbled monarch, but gave vent to the honest indignation of a warrior at the base and cowardly conduct of those who had deserted and abandoned so brave a leader. Alp-Arselan, we are informed, demanded of his captive, at their first conference, what he would have done if fortune had reversed their lot. "I would have given thee many a stripe*," was the imprudent and virulent answer. The proud rage of an insolent and unsubdued spirit could excite no anger in the breast of the brave and generous monarch to whom it was addressed. The sultan only smiled, and asked Romanus what he expected would be done to

Romanus is taken prisoner

His treatment.

* Kholasaut-ul-Akhbar and Abulfiradge.

† De Guignes, Vol. III. page 210.

CHAP. X.

him. "If thou art cruel," said the emperor, "put me to death. If "vain-glorious, load me with chains, and drag me in triumph to thy "capital. If generous, grant me my liberty*." Alp-Arselan was neither cruel nor vain-glorious: he nobly released his prisoner, and gave all his officers who were captives, dresses of honour, and distinguished them by every mark of his friendship and regard. Romanus, in order to requite these favours, agreed to pay a large ransom†, and to remit annually a fixed tribute. But he could never recover his throne, which had been usurped during his absence. He showed, however, his attention to his faith, by sending all the money he could raise, to fulfil, as far as he had the power, the obligations into which he had entered. Alp-Arselan, pleased with the conduct of his former enemy, was preparing to effect his restoration by arms, when he learnt that the unfortunate Romanus Diogenes had been imprisoned and put to death by his own subjects.

Romanus is put to death by his own subjects.

After his triumph over the Roman army, Alp-Arselan resolved upon a still more arduous enterprise. He desired to establish the rule of the Family of Seljook over their native country: and sum-

* Major Price, in his Mahomedan History, gives an abridged account of the life of Alp-Arselan. He states, on the authority of the Kholasaut-ul-Akhbar, that the conduct of Romanus, after he was taken, was mean and submissive; and that he "implored the forgiveness of his conqueror." But we have an account of the behaviour of the Roman emperor on this memorable occasion from too many authentic sources, to believe the account of a Mahomedan writer, who, by detracting from the fortitude of Romanus, lessens the fame of his generous enemy.

† A million pieces of gold was the sum fixed for the ransom; and three hundred and sixty thousand the annual tribute. The sum paid was two hundred thousand.—DE GUIGNES.

moned his warriors to invade those vast regions from whence their fathers had issued. His power, at this period, extended from the deserts of Arabia to the Oxus. He was enriched by the spoils of the Roman empire: and his army consisted of two hundred thousand soldiers. He had, immediately after he defeated the Romans, subdued the greater part of Khaurizm. He now commanded that a bridge should be thrown over the Oxus, which he passed without opposition. But here his proud career was destined to close. His operations in Khaurizm had been much procrastinated by the resistance of a small fortress, called Berzem, which was defended by a chief of the name of Yusuph*. The sultan, irritated that the execution of his grand designs should have been delayed by so contemptible a place, ordered its gallant commander to appear before him: and, with feelings unworthy of his character, loaded him with abuse and reproaches for what he termed his insolence and obstinacy in resisting the Persian army. The bold spirit of Yusuph was provoked to a violent reply; and, on hearing an order for his being put to death in a cruel manner, he drew his dagger, and flew at the Persian monarch. The guards rushed in: but Alp-Arselan, who deemed himself unequalled in skill as an archer, seized his bow, and ordered them to keep aloof†. They did so: the sultan missed his aim, and, before he could draw another arrow, he fell under the dagger of the assailant, who received the death he had braved from a thousand hands, while the wounded monarch was borne to another tent‡. "I now call to mind," said Alp-Arselan

Alp-Arselan crosses the Oxus. A. D. 1073. A. H. 466.

Resistance of the fortress of Berzem.

Conduct of its commander.

Death of Alp-Arselan.

* He is termed Yusuph Kutwal by De Guignes; but Kutwal merely means "commandant of the fort."

† D'Herbelot and Abulfiradge.

‡ De Guignes, Vol. III. page 213.

CHAP. X.

to those who surrounded him, "two lessons which I received from a "reverend sage. The one bade me despise no man; the other, "not to estimate myself too highly, or to place confidence in my "personal prowess. I have neglected what his wisdom taught. "The vast numbers of my army, which I viewed yesterday from an "eminence, made me believe that all obstacles would yield to my "power. To day, presuming upon my strength and skill, I desired "to slay the Governor of Berzem with my own hands, and would "not allow others to prevent his assault. I have perished from my "errors: and my end will show how weak is the power of kings, and "the force of man, when opposed to the decrees of destiny*." He lived long enough to deliver over his empire to his son, Malik Shah, who had been before proclaimed and crowned as his successor†, and to make the principal officers swear fidelity to that prince. With his dying breath he entreated his son to intrust the chief management of his affairs to the wise and pious Nizam-ul-Mulk‡; a justly celebrated minister, to whose virtue and ability he attributed the success and prosperity of his own reign. This monarch was buried at Merv in Khorassan, and the following impressive sentence was engraven on his tomb: "All you who have seen the glory of Alp-Arselan "exalted to the heavens, come to Merv, and you will behold it "buried in the dust."

Delivers his empire to Malik Shah.

A. D. 1072. A. H. 465.

Character of Alp-Arselan.

The character of this prince is displayed in his actions. His person was as remarkable for grace as for strength. He was brave and generous, and seldom cruel, except where his bigot zeal, as a Mahomedan, led him to believe that God could be propitiated by the

* Elmacin. † D'Herbelot. ‡ De Guignes.

oppression of those whom he deemed infidels, and that it was a sacred duty to compel such, by a dread of pain, ignominy, and death, to quit the religion of their fathers, and to adopt that of the prophet of Arabia. The life of this monarch was passed in the army; and the civil government of his country appears to have been wholly committed to a minister, whose name is the favourite theme of every eastern historian. Nizam-ul-Mulk* shared the glory of his sovereign: but the character of Alp-Arselan is elevated by that of his minister; for we must equally admire the discernment that discovered such rare abilities and virtue, and that noble and unsuspecting confidence, which gave them so unbounded a sphere of action. Under the direction of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the territories of Alp-Arselan attained the highest state of prosperity. Justice was well administered; colleges and mosques were erected in every city; learning was encouraged; the poor were protected; and the inhabitants of Persia confessed, that the conquest of their country by the savage Tartars, which they had dreaded as the worst of evils, had proved the greatest of blessings. This minister, however, had no talents as a general: and, in the few military operations in which he was engaged, he seems to have trusted more to his piety than to his valour. We find him, when foiled in his attempt to make himself master of a castle† in Fars, consoling himself by a philosopical reflection, which taught, "That a man should not

* He is only known by his title, which means "the ornamenter of the state," (or person who gives order to the country.)

† The rebel governor of this castle was a general of Alp-Arselan, who had received this government in reward for his having defeated Kara Arselan, one of the Seljook princes of Kerman.

CHAP. X.

" become impatient from disappointment, as his being so could pro-
" duce no relief, though it doubled the pain*;" and when the same fortress capitulated, from the fountains with which it was supplied becoming dry, he attributed his success solely to his prayers: and his flatterers have not hesitated to deem its fall one of many miracles, which, they contend, were wrought by this able and holy man†. But the warrior monarch did not require the aid of the philosopher's sword: it was to dispense the blessings of good government, not to make war, that he employed him; and his expectations were fully answered. Their names have descended together to posterity: and if there are few instances in history of a monarch's bestowing such boundless trust, there are, perhaps, still fewer of confidence so well rewarded.

His right disputed by Cawder Beg.

The right‡ of Malik Shah to the crown of his father was disputed by his uncle, Cawder Beg, Prince of Kerman: but that chief was defeated and taken prisoner. He was confined in a strong fortress in Khorassan‖; and his life, we are told, would have been preserved, had not the troops of that province mutinied for an increase of pay, and threatened that, if it were not granted, they would raise Cawder Beg to the throne. Nizam-ul-Mulk pretended, in order to gain time, that he would forward their petition: but, anxious to prevent civil war, he sent secret orders to despatch

* D'Herbelot.

† D'Herbelot.

‡ Before Alp-Arselan proceeded on his last expedition, he assembled all the governors of provinces and chiefs of his army at Mushed: and, having seated the Prince Malik upon a splendid throne, he commanded that all should offer him their allegiance, as the successor to his crown.

‖ De Guignes, Vol. III. page 214.

the royal captive: and his death defeated all the projects of the mutineers, as it deprived them of a head to their combination. The active valour of Malik Shah defeated another rebellion, headed by one of his brothers, called Tourtousch, who was compelled to save himself by leaving the kingdom.

Who is put to death.

The Caliph Ul-Kaim* died soon after Malik Shah ascended the throne; and, as that monarch was the real master of the empire, the nomination of a successor was deferred till he was consulted. He deputed a son of Nizam-ul-Mulk to Bagdad, with orders to raise Mochtadi to the nominal rank of Commander of the Faithful.

Malik Shah makes several conquests. A. D. 1077. A. H. 470.

The generals of Malik Shah subdued almost the whole of Syria and Egypt: and that prince, more fortunate than his father, not only conquered Bokharah†, Samarcund, and Khaurizm, but received

* The title of sultan was given by Ul-Kaim to Malik Shah, and that of Ameer-ul-Moumenan, or "lord of the faithful," which before had been confined to the caliphs themselves, was bestowed on this prince, who also was termed Jellal-u-Doula-ul-Deen, or, "the glory of the state and of religion."

The use of this description of titles first appears to have become common in the time of the dynasty of Dilem, all of which were distinguished by some high names from the caliphs. The usage has spread throughout every Mahomedan government: and we find in general those have highest titles who have least power. The vain love of this shadow of grandeur has remained, where all its substance has fled. The royal family of Delhi, now pensioners of the British government, continue to grant names, as if in the zenith of their power. Many of the gentlemen of the civil establishment of Bengal are "dragons of war" and "lions of battle," while several military officers are "the pillars of the state," "ornamenters of dominion," &c. If this fallen and pensioned court receive its fees, it is indifferent as to the titles given: and the Subah of the Deckan issues from his palace at Hyderabad titles equally magnificent as those conferred by the nominal sovereign of Delhi, whose slave he styles himself.

† Abulfedha. De Guignes, Vol. III. page 215.

CHAP. X.

homage from the tribes beyond the Jaxartes: and compelled the prince of the distant country of Kashgar to strike money in his name, and to pay him an annual tribute. It is related*, that when Malik Shah was passing the Oxus, the boatmen who were employed on that river complained to him that they were paid by an order on the revenues of Antioch. The sultan spoke to his minister. "It is "not to defer the payment of their wages," said Nizam-ul-Mulk, "that I have granted them this order, but to manifest your glory, "and the wide extent of your dominions." The sultan was pleased with this flattery; and the complaints of the boatmen ceased, when they found that they could, without loss, negotiate the bill which they had received. Malik Shah is said to have travelled over his vast dominions twelve times†. But this must allude to that part of them only which were under his immediate rule: for, if we include the territories of those princes whom he had conquered and obliged to do him homage, and to pay tribute, the limits of his dominions would extend from the Mediterranean to near the wall of China; as we are, indeed, informed, that prayers were every day offered up for his health in the cities of Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Bagdad, Isfahan, Rhe, Bokharah, Samarcund, Ourgunje, and Kashgar.

His character and government.

Eastern historians recount many anecdotes to prove the goodness, as well as greatness, of Malik Shah: and we are led to form a high idea of the virtuous disposition of this monarch, when told, that

* D'Herbelot.

† In the year four hundred and eighty-one of the Hejirah, this prince made a most pompous pilgrimage to Mecca. He built caravansaries at many of the stages, and abolished the duties exacted from pilgrims.

on coming out of a mosque, before he fought the battle, that has been noticed, with his brother Tourtousch, he demanded of Nizam-ul-Mulk what had been the object of his devotion*. "I have "prayed," replied the minister, "that the Almighty may give you "a victory over your brother."—"And I," said Malik Shah, "that "God may take my life and crown, if my brother is more worthy "than I am to reign over the faithful." A noble sentiment; which must have propitiated that success which it only sought as the reward of superior piety and virtue. But the character of this prince has received a stain, which all his glory cannot efface. He listened to the enemies of Nizam-ul-Mulk †; and, by disgracing that old and virtuous minister, caused his death. His own fortune appeared to

His conduct to Nizam-ul-Mulk.

* De Guignes, Vol. III. page 223.

† According to some Persian historians, Malik Shah owed, on one occasion, his life and liberty to this able minister. These state, that when at war with the Greek Emperor, Alexus I., the monarch was taken prisoner, but concealed his rank. The minister heard of the event, but spread a report that the king was returned to the camp; and kept the usual guards over his tent, to which he went frequently, on pretext of private interviews. He contrived to open a conference with the Greeks, and a truce was soon concluded. When settled, the Emperor Alexus said he had some Persian prisoners. "They can be men of no consequence," observed Nizam-ul-Mulk, "for I did not know they were taken." They were sent for; and the minister, addressing the king and his followers, said, "Idle stragglers like you merit "misfortune, and I do not care whether you are released or not." The Greeks, conceiving their captives to be men of no consequence, gave them their liberty; and heard afterwards, with astonishment, that they had inadvertently liberated the monarch of Persia. The same fable (for such I consider it,) adds, that Alexus was afterwards made prisoner, and released by Malik Shah. Major Price conjectures, (and I have no doubt correctly,) that these stories, which he gives on the authority of the Kholasaat-ul-Ackbar, have some confused relation to what took place between Alp-Arselan and Romanus Diogenes.

CHAP. X.

decline from the hour he took this measure; and a nation, which for half a century had revered the sage whom he destroyed, saw, without regret, the changed lot of his ungrateful pupil. The accounts of this event differ a little, but they are easily reconciled. Toorkan Khatoon*, the principal sultana, hated the minister, because she feared that he would oppose her plans, of raising her infant son, Mahmood, to the throne, to the injury of the claims of his elder brother, Burkyaruk; who, from his birth and maturer age, was protected in his rights by the justice of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Influenced by this motive, she sought, by every means in her power, to poison the mind of the sultan against his minister. He was accused of possessing great power: his twelve sons, it was said, held the highest offices of the state: and his family enjoyed the whole patronage of the government, in which the sultan was only a cipher. These accusations gained strength from an imprudent act of Mouad-u-dowlah, the eldest of the minister's sons. The king had desired that a person who enjoyed his favour should be employed by Mouad-u-dowlah, and the command had not been obeyed, on the ground of the man being incompetent to the station. But the sultan was easily persuaded that this neglect of his wishes had proceeded from other causes; and he not only dismissed Mouad-u-dowlah from his office, but gave it to the very person† whom that noble had refused to promote. This insult to his family was severely felt by Nizam-ul-Mulk, and his expressions of irritation were reported to the king; who, enraged at his supposed contumely, demanded the instant

* This name, or title, means "the Turkish lady," and is always given to princesses of the Turkish descent.

† The name of this favourite was Adil.

resignation of his ink-horn * and cap, which were the insignia of his exalted station. The minister, as he gave them up, said, it was fit he should be required to resign power, when the vast dominions of the empire enjoyed a tranquillity of which he was the author †. "When "the sea was troubled," he added, "Malik Shah honoured me with "his confidence; but all is now calm, and he listens to my calum- "niators. But he will not long be ignorant that the cap and ink- "horn, which he has called upon me to resign, are connected, by a "divine decree, with his crown and throne." This hasty effusion of an old man, smarting under ingratitude, was conveyed, with exaggeration, to the sultan, who was confirmed by it in all those unfavourable sentiments which had been before excited in his mind. A short time afterward, as the disgraced minister was following the royal camp from Isfahan to Bagdad, he was stabbed by an assassin ‡, employed by his successor in office, who feared a change in the sultan's sentiments.

Nizam-ul-Mulk lived a short time after he received the fatal wound; and we are told, that the last moments of his life were occupied in writing some verses, which were addressed to Malik Shah ||. These were to the following purport:—"Great king! "a portion of my life has been passed in banishing injustice

A. D. 1092. A. H. 485.

* The kullumdan, or ink-horn, is made, in Persia, to hold both ink and pens. It is, in length, about ten or twelve inches, and three or four round. It is generally beautifully painted, and is still worn by ministers in Persia, as an insignia of their office. It is stuck in the girdle, in the same part in which military men wear their daggers.

† De Guignes.

‡ The assassin was a follower of Hussun Subah, the chief of the mountains, who will be mentioned hereafter. Hussun was a personal enemy of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

|| De Guignes.

CHAP. X.

" from your territories, in which I was supported by your authority. " I now go to offer up an account of my administration to the " Almighty King of kings. To him I shall present the proofs of " my fidelity, and such titles as I can show for that reputation " which I have acquired in your service. In the ninety-third year " of my life the thread of my existence has been cut short by the " dagger of an assassin. It only remains, that I deliver to my son " the continuation of those services which I have rendered to " my king; and that I recommend him to the favour and protection

A. D. 1092. A. H. 485.

" of God and your majesty!" The body of this justly celebrated man was carried to Isfahan, where he was interred with great pomp; and the tears of those whom his precepts and example had tended to civilize, proved his just title to all the praise that has been lavished upon his memory.

Malik Shah survived his minister only a few months. Being attached to the City of Bagdad, he desired to make it his capital, and endeavoured to reconcile the Caliph Mochtadi to his plan; which required, that the caliph should remove to another city. Mochtadi requested the monarch to delay the execution of this intention for ten days; and, within that period, Malik Shah was seized with a violent illness, which terminated his life*, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Malik Shah's death.

His government.

Few monarchs have attained the glory† and power of Malik

* Major Price, on the authority of the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, states, that he was taken ill when pursuing his favourite amusement of the chase; and that he died on the fifth of November, 1092, eighteen days after the assassination of his minister, Nizam-ul-Mulk.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 356.

† This monarch enjoyed great power; and Persian authors state, that he gave

Shah: and there is no instance in Persian history of so vast an empire, as that over which he ruled, enjoying so long a period of tranquillity. The kingdom he inherited, which extended from the plains of Tartary to those of Syria, was, during the twenty years he reigned, only disturbed by a short contest with his uncle and brother, immediately after his succession: and we cannot desire a better proof than this fact affords of his excellent government; or perhaps we should say, of that of his great minister; in whom, till within a few months of his death, he implicitly confided. The country of Persia was greatly improved during his reign: many colleges and mosques were built; and agriculture was promoted, by the construction of canals and water-courses. Learning was also encouraged; and an assembly of astronomers, from every part of Malik Shah's wide dominions, were employed for several years, in reforming the calendar: and their labours, which established the Jellalean*, or glorious era, is a proof of the attention which was given at this period to the noblest of all sciences.

The history of the Seljookian princes, from the death of Malik Shah till the elevation of Sultan Sanjar, presents nothing but a detail of petty wars. It will be sufficient to notice the leading features of such a scene. The four sons of Malik Shah, Burkyaruk, Mahomed,

away many kingdoms: but the chiefs they mention as princes, were only appointed his lieutenants. They succeeded in making themselves independent at his death. Among these were Soliman, the son of Kululmush, the founder of the celebrated Seljookian dynasty of Iconium.

* This era, according to Doctor Hyde, commences the 15th of March, 1079, or the eleventh of Ramazan, in the year of the Hejirah four hundred and seventy-one. It was named Jellalean, in honour of the sultan, one of whose titles was Jullaledeen, or "the glory of the state."

CHAP. X.

Reign of Mahmood, the son of Malik Shah. A. D. 1092. A. H. 485.

Sanjar, and Mahmood, all attained power in their turns. The youngest (Mahmood,) was only four years of age when his father died: but the ambition of his mother, the Sultana Khatoon Toorkan, placed the crown upon his infant head; and the Caliph Mochtadi was prevailed upon to read the prayers in his name. The sultana marched to Isfahan, preceded by the corpse of Malik Shah. Burkyaruk, the eldest prince, was residing in that city, but, having no means of resistance, he retired to Rhe, attended by Mouad-u-doulah, the son of the late minister*; who, with all the adherents of his family, warmly espoused his cause. This support soon enabled him to return; and Khatoon Toorkan was compelled to resign a great part of her treasures, to obtain permission to keep possession of Isfahan: but all the schemes of aggrandisement which this ambitious woman had cherished, were some time afterwards terminated by her own death, and that of her son†.

Reign of his brother, Burkyaruk. A. D. 1094. A. H. 487.

The death of the Caliph Mochtadi, about the same period, induced Burkyaruk to go to Bagdad, where he confirmed Mostadher as his successor, and was himself hailed by the new Lord of the Faithful as sultan of the empire. He enjoyed that dignity twelve years: but his reign was a perpetual war, in which his nearest relations, and all the great lords of the state, were engaged. The usual residence of Burkyaruk was Bagdad. His brother, Mahomed, ruled over Aderbijan; while Sanjar established a kingdom in Khorassan and Transoxania, from whence he extended his conquests over the fallen princes of Ghizni; whom he compelled to pay him

* Nizam-ul-Mulk.

† He died at Isfahan of the small-pox. According to the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, Khatoon Toorkan died before her son.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. p. 359.

tribute, and own him as their superior. Burkyaruk, who appears to have possessed an excellent disposition, and not to have been deficient either in courage* or conduct, died at Booroojird †, on his march from Isfahan to Bagdad. He felt his end approaching; and, before he expired, made his army take the oath of fidelity to his son, Malik Shah the Second: but that youth, though guarded by the wisdom and courage of his Atta-beg, or adopted father, the Ameer Ayaz, could not resist his uncle, Mahomed, who seized Bagdad treacherously, slew Ayaz, and making his nephew prisoner, assumed the title of sultan.

A. D. 1104. A. H. 498.

Reign of Mahomed.

The reign of Mahomed was only remarkable for those petty contests in which he was continually engaged in his own dominions, and the wars which his generals carried on in Syria against the European armies that were engaged in a crusade to recover the sacred City of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the Mahomedans.

A. D. 1117. A. H. 511. Is succeeded by his son, Mahmood.

This prince died at Isfahan, and was succeeded by his son, Mahmood; who, however, was soon reduced by his uncle, Sanjar, to the condition of a dependent. After suffering a complete defeat from that monarch, he gladly accepted the government of Irak as

* This prince commenced the contest for the crown under every disadvantage. He had no treasure, and hardly any friends but the adherents of his minister, Mouad-u-doulah. These compelled him to revenge the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, when the vizier who had supplanted and slain him fell into his hands. Mouad-u-doulah having been dismissed, joined Mahomed in an attack upon Burkyaruk; but was taken, and put to death by that prince. Mouad-u-doulah appears to have been a restless, ambitious man, and altogether different in character from his great father, Nizam-ul-Mulk.

† Booroojird is the capital of a district of the same name. This town contains, at present, a population of about twelve thousand souls.

CHAP. X.

Becomes viceroy to his uncle, Sanjar.

his viceroy, but continued to enjoy the name of sultan. Sanjar preserved his authority over his nephew by giving occasional countenance to those that opposed him; and he actually obliged him to restore to power an Arab chief, of the name of Dobais, who had plundered Bussorah, and attacked Bagdad*. Mahmood died at Hamadan, and is reputed to have been a mild and just prince. He desired to leave his crown to his son, Daood; but, at his death, both his brothers, Massoud and Seljook Shah, usurped the government, and united in an ineffectual attempt to oppose their uncle, Sanjar, who advanced into Persia, and placed the crown of the southern part of that kingdom, and of Arabia, on the head of his nephew, Toghrul, the son of Mahomed: but the authority of this prince was disputed the moment Sanjar returned to Khorassan; and the country was thrown into the greatest confusion by petty wars, in which the Arab chief, Dobais, and Zenghi †, the independent Prince of Moussul and Aleppo, took a very conspicuous part. The murder of the caliphs Murtashed and Rashid Billah, by the assassins who, at this period, infested Persia, and whose history will be given, were among the most remarkable events that occurred during these disturbances. But it is time to turn from these scenes to the history of the Sultan Sanjar, who is deemed by many Mahomedan authors, the best, if not the greatest of the Seljookian monarchs.

A. D. 1122. A. H. 516.

Who is opposed by Massoud and Seljook Shah.

A. D. 1126. A. H. 520.

Reign of Sultan Sanjar.

Sanjar was, as before stated, one of the sons of Malik Shah. He held, at his father's death, the government of Khorassan, and took little concern in the troubles that ensued on that event: but

* De Guignes.

† This chief was father of the celebrated Noorudeen.

from the period of the death of his brother, Sultan Mahmood, he may be deemed the actual sovereign of Persia, as his paramount power was admitted by his nephews, who ruled over Irak, and the territories near Bagdad. This monarch always resided in Khorassan: and from that centre extended his power, in one direction, beyond the Indus; and in another, to the Jaxartes. He forced Baharam Shah, a monarch of the race of Ghizni, whose capital was Lahore, to pay him tribute; and Allah-u-deen*, Prince of Ghour, who had defeated Baharam Shah and taken Ghizni, yielded in his turn to the superior fortune of Sanjar, by whom he was defeated and made prisoner, and only restored to liberty on the condition of becoming a tributary to the House of Seljook. Samarcund and Bokharah were subdued: and, to render his magnificence complete, the kingdom of Khaurizm was bestowed on the chief cup-bearer of Sanjar: and this prince, when he returned to court, for a few months performed the duties of his former office, clothed in his royal robes, which has led the flatterers of this sultan to say that he was served by kings. But Sanjar, after a long reign marked by singular glory and success, was destined to experience the most cruel reverses of fortune. He was persuaded to advance far into Tartary to attack the monarch† of Kara Khatay, and suffered a signal defeat, in which almost his whole army was cut to pieces, his family taken, and all his baggage plundered. The sultan fled, with a few followers, to Khorassan, where he was reminded, by a flattering poet‡, (who

Compels the monarch of Ghizni to become his tributary.

Subdues Samarcund and Bokharah.

Is defeated by the monarch of Kara Khatay. A. D. 1140. A. H. 535.

* Another name of this prince was Hussein. He also was known by the epithet of Jehan Souz, or "the burner of the world," which was given to him on account of his destroying Ghizni.

† The name of this monarch was Goûr Khan.

‡ Fereid-u-deen.

CHAP. X.

made an ode upon the occasion,) " that the condition of God " alone was not liable to change." The monarch whom he thus consoled was reserved for still greater misfortunes. The Turkoman tribe of Ghuz had withheld their usual tribute of forty thousand sheep. Sanjar marched against them, to compel compliance: an action ensued, in which he was defeated and taken prisoner. He was at first treated with great respect: but latterly he endured every hardship and insult that barbarity could inflict. The savage Turkomans, we are told, placed him, during the day, upon a throne, and at night shut him up in an iron cage. During his long confinement*, his dominions were ruled by his favourite sultana, Khatoon Toorkan: at whose death Sanjar made an effort to escape, and was successful: but he lived only a short time after he regained his liberty. The desolate and deplorable situation of his territories, great part of which had been ravaged and destroyed †

A. D. 1153. A. H. 548.

Marches against the tribe of Ghuz. A. D. 1153. A. H. 548.

Is taken prisoner.

His escape. A. D. 1156. A. H. 551.

A. D. 1157. A. H. 552.

* He was in the hands of the Turkomans four years.

† The Sultana Khatoon Toorkan was, according to D'Herbelot, the head of that regency which governed the territories of Sanjar during his imprisonment: but the whole of Khorassan appears to have been overrun by the barbarous tribe of Ghuz. A mission was sent to Ahmed-ben-Soliman, the ruler of Samarcund, (a prince whom Sanjar had first deposed, and afterwards restored to his throne,) to implore his aid: and among the letters which the ambassador Kumal-u-deen carried to that monarch, was a poetical address, entitled, " The Tears of Khoras- " san," written by the celebrated Anveri, a native of that province. The ambition of genius could not have desired a nobler subject to exert all its powers, nor have hoped for higher reward than that applause which this effort has received from his countrymen. The whole of this poem, which is very long, has been translated by the late General Kirkpatrick; and the version is every where true to the sense and spirit of the original. The poet gives a faithful, but highly coloured picture of the ruin and desolation of Khorassan. In painting the miserable condition to

by the barbarous Ghuz, preyed upon his spirits, and plunged him into a melancholy from which he never recovered: and this remarkable proof of his sensibility * to the condition of his subjects, disposes us to believe the high eulogiums which all eastern

which the barbarity of the tribe of Ghuz had reduced that province, he exclaims:—

" Is there, where ruin reigns in dreadful state,
" Whom fortune smiles on, or whom joys await?
" 'Tis yonder corse descending to the tomb:
" Is there a spotless female to be found,
" Where deeds of diabolic lust abound?
" 'Tis yonder infant issuing from the womb.

" The mosque no more admits the pious race;
" Constrain'd, they yield to beasts the holy place,
" A stable now, where dome nor porch is found:
" Nor can the savage foe proclaim his reign,
" For Khorassania's criers all are slain,
" And all her pulpits levelled with the ground.

" Does some fond mother on a sudden view,
" Among the victims of this murd'rous crew,
" A darling son, her waning age's joy?
" Since here the grief is fatal that is known,
" Fear checks the rising tear and labouring groan,
" Nor dares the matron ask how died her boy.

" ' Hold!' thou exclaim'st: ' Oh, rigid tyrant, hold!
" ' What though yon wretch was purchas'd by thy gold,
" ' Thy title 's to his labour, not his health:'
" Alas! no slave that wretch, but one in whom
" A thousand graces and fair virtues bloom,
" By yon harsh tyrant spoil'd of countless wealth."

Anveri, in a subsequent part of this poem, makes the following impressive appeal to the sovereign he addresses:—

" Oh thou of purest mind and noblest race!
" By Him who gave that crown thy brow to grace;
" Who gave, t' adorn the minted ore, thy name:
" By Him—by Heaven's just King, we thee conjure,
" To loose our chains—our painful wounds to cure:
" So shall a grateful world thy praise proclaim.

" Oh thou, with glory crown'd! to whom belongs
" The sword of justice, and the cure of wrongs,
" Earth's mighty guardian, thou! by Heaven ordain'd:
" To Persia, ah! thy fostering care extend,
" Nor yet her name with perish'd nations blend,
" Tho' all her plains be waste, and all her blood be
" drain'd.

" The genial influence of the sun in spring
" To thee belongs, and is thy type, O king!
" While Persia prospects of pil'd ruins yields:
" Then emulate the generous planet's praise,
" Which sheds alike its bright impartial rays,
" On desolated towns and fruitful fields.

" Thy care benign, like heaven-distilled showers,
" Can raise the harvest, and can paint the bowers,
" As bless'd Turania's verdant glories show:
" But since, great prince, the balmy dew still feeds
" Alike the barren heath and flowery meads,
" Let hapless Persia too thy bounty know."
Asiatic Miscel. Vol. I. p. 295, 296, 298, 303, 304.

* It is, however, to be observed, that Sultan Sanjar was in his seventy-third year when he died; and his advanced age must have rendered him more unequal to sustain the great shock which his feelings received on seeing the desolate state of his country.

CHAP. X.

authors combine in bestowing upon Sanjar, who is as much celebrated for his humanity and justice, as for his valour and magnificence.

After the death of this monarch, Persia continued, for a period of forty years, to be distracted with the wars of different branches of the Seljookian dynasty. The last who exercised power was Toghrul the Third*, who, after having overcome most of his rivals, and defeated a conspiracy of his nobles, gave himself up to every species of excess. The ruler of Khaurizm, who had, since the death of Sanjar, become an independent monarch, was invited to the attack of Persia by the discontented nobles of that country. He defeated and slew Toghrul, who is said to have shown great valour in the action in which he lost his life: but we are told by the same authors, that he went forth to this battle flushed with wine, and was unhorsed and killed by the monarch of Khaurizm, as he was singing, with a loud voice, some stanzas from the epic poem of Ferdosi†, which described the prowess of a victorious hero opening a passage for his troops amid the dismayed ranks of his enemies. With this prince terminated the Seljookian monarchs of Persia: they had governed that country, from the commencement of the reign of Toghrul the

Rule of the last prince of the Seljookian dynasty.

Who is slain.

A. D. 1193. A. H. 590.

A. D. 1193. A. H. 590.

General observations on the Seljookian dynasty.

* The son of Arselan Shah, the son of Toghrul the Second, the son of Mahomed, who was the brother of Sanjar, and the second son of the celebrated Malik Shah.

† The stanzas he repeated were these:—"When the dust arose which attended "the march of mine enemies, when the cheeks of my bravest warriors turned pale with "affright, I raised on high my ponderous mace," &c. The drunken monarch lifted up his mace as he sung these verses: but it descended not, like that of the hero of Ferdosi, on the head of his enemy, but on the knee of his own horse, which fell to the ground; and Toghrul was slain as he lay there, (according to this authority,) not by the King of Khaurizm, but by one who had formerly been his subject.—*Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.*

First, to the death of Toghrul the Third, one hundred and fifty-eight years. A branch of this family, which ruled over the province of Kerman, had assumed the high title of sultan: but they exercised little more power than that of governors of provinces; and, like these, paid homage, or withheld it, according to the strength or weakness of the paramount authority.

The Tartar tribe of Seljook had spread over almost all Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. But when the families of the generals who had conquered these countries had obtained power, they threw off even the show of duty to their former masters, the sovereigns of Persia. The dynasties of Iconium and Aleppo are well known in western history, from the wars which they carried on with the armies of Europe engaged in the crusades. Both these governments fell before the fortune of an adventurer from the mountains of Kurdistan. The celebrated Sallah-u-deen was the son of Nizam-u-deen Aiyoub*, who was Kutwal, or commander of the fort of Tukreet; a station which he was obliged to leave, because his brother, Assudeen Sheerkoh †, a brave youth, had slain a man of high family who had insulted an unprotected female ‡. The brothers found refuge at the Court of Nour-u-deen Mahmood, the ruler of Balbeck: and Assudeen Sheerkoh was afterwards sent, in command of a force, to aid Azad Ismail, the

* Aiyoub's father, Shadi-ben-Mervan, was a Kurd from the village of Dewun. He had been appointed Kutwal of Tukreet by one of the Seljookian kings; and his son succeeded him in that station.

† Sheerkoh, which signifies "the lion of the mountain," was probably a name given to this Kurd to denote his prowess.

‡ Persian MSS. History of the Kurds.

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1171.
A. H. 567.

Waly, or Governor of Egypt, against (what Mahomedan authors term) "the infidels of Europe." The young Sallah-u-deen accompanied his uncle, and succeeded him in the office of vizier, or minister to the waly. On the death of Azad Ismail *, he assumed the government of Egypt, and soon afterwards all Syria submitted to his authority, and he became the successful champion of his religion. It is foreign to the plan of this work, to relate the actions of this great prince, who is justly celebrated, by eastern writers, for his courage, humanity, and great talents, both as a warrior and a statesman.

Takush, the King of Khaurizm, who had conquered Toghrul the Third, was a descendant of the prince of that country, who had been

A. D. 1199.
A. H. 596.

cup-bearer to the celebrated Sanjar†. At his death, he left his kingdom to his son, Mahomed, whose reign was, at its commencement, splendid and successful: but his fortune fell before that great destroyer of the human race, Chenghiz Khan: and, after his armies were defeated, his countries pillaged, and almost all his family made

* These particulars of Sallah-u-deen (or Saladin, as Europeans term him,) are taken from a Persian manuscript, entitled "The History of the Kurds." The author of this work states, that the wealth he obtained on the death of Azad Ismail was very great: among the jewels was a staff of emeralds: and his desire of knowledge was gratified by succeeding to a library of one hundred thousand select volumes. The events of Sallah-u-deen's life, as given in this work, corresponds exactly with D'Herbelot, except in the account which the latter gives of the contracted marriage between Malick-ul-Adil, the brother of Sallah-u-deen, and the sister of the King of England: on this point the Kurdish history is silent. It is written by a Mahomedan; and his bigotry may have suppressed a fact that he might not deem honourable to his hero; for Matilda, with all her beauty, must have been, in his view, but an infidel.

† According to the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, he was cup-bearer to the emperor, Malik Shah: but he might have served both the father and son in this capacity.

prisoners, he died of a broken heart, at a small island in the Caspian, near Asterabad. His son, Jellal-u-deen, who was the last of this dynasty of kings, long bore up, with exemplary fortitude, against the torrent that had overwhelmed his father; but he was at last subdued by the vicissitudes of his fortune; and from having been an object of universal love and admiration, he became one of detestation and of contempt. The hero, who, by swimming the Indus after the most gallant efforts to defeat his enemies, had extorted the applause of Chenghiz, was, in his latter years, only remarkable for his indolence and excesses; and the termination of his career was as inglorious as its commencement had been noble and heroic. He fled from a small detachment of Moghuls, and took refuge in the hills of Kurdistan, where he was slain by a barbarian, whose brother he had before put to death.

A. D. 1220.
A. H. 617.

A. D. 1230.
A. H. 628.

CHAPTER XI.

A short Account of the Atta-begs of Aderbijan, Fars, and Laristan: with a History of Hussun Subah, and his Descendants.

CHAP. XI.

Rule of the Atta-begs.

FROM the time of the decline of the dynasty of Seljook to the conquest of Persia by Hulakoo Khan, the son of Chenghiz, (which occupies a period of more than a century,) that country was distracted by the contests of a number of petty princes, or governors, called Atta-begs*; who, taking advantage of the weakness of the last monarchs of the race of Seljook, and the distractions that followed their final extinction, established their authority over some of the finest provinces of the empire. Many of these petty dynasties acquired a local fame, which, to this day, gives an importance to their memory with the inhabitants of those countries over which they ruled. They are mentioned in every History of Persia; and it becomes impossible, therefore, to pass them over in silence. A short notice of some of the most eminent will show the character of their rule, and give a picture of that condition into which an Asiatic nation usually falls, on the decline of the power of its monarchs.

* The word Atta-beg is Turkish: it is a compound word of atta, master or tutor, and beg, lord; and signifies a governor, or tutor, of a lord or prince.

One of the most distinguished of these Atta-begs was Illij Guz*, a Turkish slave, whom a merchant brought, with forty others, to sell to Massoud, one of the Seljookee kings. The vizier bought thirty-nine for the use of his royal master, but rejected Illij Guz on account of his mean and wretched appearance. As they were leading away the poor fellow, he turned round, and exclaimed, "Oh vizier! if you "have purchased thirty-nine slaves for the king's sake, buy me for "God's sake†!" The minister was pleased with his sprightliness, and included him in the bargain: but the first employ assigned to him, marked the low estimation in which he was held. He was made a scullion in the royal kitchen: but we are told, that even in that mean condition he became remarkable for his diligence and attention. He was, in consequence, promoted to a more respectable situation; and rose so rapidly, that we find him, a few years after he was purchased, appointed to act as the steward of the royal household. The knowledge he had obtained of the abuses of the kitchen, and other departments, when in subordinate offices, enabled him to make so many economical reforms, that he completely established himself in the favour of his royal master, who afterwards advanced him to the highest stations in the kingdom: and the able manner in which Illij Guz executed every duty that was assigned him, led at last, not only to his being charged with the education of one of the young princes, which gave him the title of Atta-beg, but to his marriage with the

Illij Guz, the founder of the Atta-begs of Aderbijan.

Is purchased as a slave, and made a scullion.

Appointed as steward.

Receives the title of Atta-beg.

* I have called this prince by the name by which he is most commonly known. Khondemir calls him Illou Guz. Major Price, on the authority of the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, calls this prince Eyldekez.

† De Guignes.

CHAP. XI.

Is appointed the chief vizier

widow of Toghrul the Second *. He had, soon after this event, been nominated to the government of Aderbijan; but a vacancy occurring by the death of the chief vizier, he was appointed to fulfil the duties of that high office. The despised scullion had become, within a short period, the most powerful noble of the Persian empire: and he appears to have merited his good fortune, from the talents which he displayed, both as a statesman and a soldier.

A. D. 1172. A. H. 568. Is succeeded by his son, Atta-beg Mahomed.

He died at Hamadan, and left his power and station to his eldest son, Atta-beg Mahomed. When Toghrul the Third †, (who was a child of seven years of age,) was placed upon the throne, Mahomed, who was his prime vizier, became the actual ruler of Persia ‡. This chief died, after enjoying power thirteen years, and was succeeded by his brother, Kizel Arselan; who, in combination with Nasser, the reigning Caliph of Bagdad ||, seized and imprisoned Sultan Toghrul, and resolved to usurp the name as well as the power of a monarch. But, the day before that fixed for his coronation, he fell by the blow of an assassin. He was succeeded by his

A. D. 1185. A. H. 581. Who is succeeded by his brother, Kizel Arselan.

* This prince, the son of Mahomed, was raised to the dignity of sultan by his uncle, Sanjar: he was the brother of Massoud, the master of Illij Guz.

† This last prince of the Seljookian dynasty was the son of Arselan Mahomed, who was the son of Toghrul the Second, whose widow, a woman of great piety and talent, Illij Guz had married. The Atta-beg Mahomed was consequently the uncle of Toghrul the Third.

‡ Khondemir.

|| The History of the Arabians does not admit that the caliph took an active part in this plot, though he showed great indifference to its progress.

nephew, Atta-beg Aboubeker*, who appears to have contented himself with the principality of Aderbijan, and fixed his residence at Tabreeze. His long rule was only disturbed by one war with his brother, Kutluck, in which he was victorious: but this defeat brought ruin upon the Seljookian family; for Kutluck fled into Khaurizm, and, by his account of the weak and distracted state of Persia, encouraged Takush Khan to advance against Toghrul, whose fate has been before related †. Kutluck derived no benefit from his treason, as he was slain soon after this event in a dispute with one of the nobles of the King of Khaurizm. When Atta-beg Aboubeker died, he was succeeded by his brother, Atta-beg Muzuffer, who inherited not only Aderbijan, but a considerable part of Irak. He enjoyed this power fifteen years; after which Aderbijan was invaded and conquered by Jellal-u-deen ‡, the monarch of Khaurizm. Muzuffer shut himself up in the Fort of Alenjuck, where he died; and with him perished the power of the family of Illij Guz.

He is succeeded by his nephew, Atta-beg Aboubeker.

War with his brother, Kutluck.

A. D. 1210. A. H. 607.

His brother, Atta-beg Muzuffer, succeeds him.

A. D. 1225. A. H. 622.

His death.

The Atta-begs of Fars were descended from Sulghour, a Turkish general in the service of the Seljookee kings, who was intrusted with the charge of one of the princes of that race, and appointed to the government of Fars, and some adjoining provinces. Sulghour || managed not only to keep his government during his life, but to transmit it to his descendants, seven of whom held Fars as

The Atta-begs of Fars.

Sulghour.

* The title of this prince was Nour-u-deen: he was the eldest son of Atta-beg Mahomed.

† Vide page 378.

‡ This title, which is that by which this sultan is known in history, signifies "the "glory of the faith."

|| Major Price, writing from the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, differs slightly from the authority I follow in the account of the origin of the power of this family.

CHAP. XI.

Atta-beg Sunkur.

governors*. After the death of Boozabah, who was the last of these governors, Atta-beg Sunkur†, the great grandson of Sulghour, succeeded, and threw off all dependence upon the sultans of Seljookee: an attempt was made to coerce this ruler into submission, but it ended in the defeat of the royal army, and the confirmation of his power, which was also extended over the province of Kirman. This excellent prince gave the greatest attention to the countries he governed‡, and particularly to the City of Shiraz, which had always been the capital of the family‖. He was succeeded, at his death, by his brother, Muzuffer-u-deen Zenghi, who, after a peaceful rule, left the government to his son, Tochlah, who acquired fame by employing, as his vizier, the virtuous Ameen-u-deen, of Kazeroon. At the death of Tochlah, the government of Fars fell to his brother, Saad, who made a successful attack upon Isfahan; from which city he brought away some of the principal inhabitants. It is recounted of Saad, that he fell in with the army of Sultan Mahomed, of Khaurizm, near Rhe, when that monarch was proceeding on a

A. D. 1148. A. H. 543. Defeats the royal army.

Muzuffer-u-deen Zenghi. A. D. 1175. A. H. 571. Tochlah.

A. D. 1194. A. H. 591. Is succeeded by his brother, Saad.

Encounters the army of Sultan Mahomed.

* The first of these was Moudad-ben-Sulghour. The second, Fazelan-shuban-Karrah, who received the government from Alp-Arselan, rebelled, but was reduced by Nizam-ul-Mulk. The third, Ruken-u-doulah. The fourth, Atta-beg Jellal-u-deen Jawallee. The fifth, Atta-beg Kurajah, who built a college at Shiraz, and a palace on the side of a mountain called Tukht Karrajah, or "the throne of Karrajah." This building was in ruins: but the late King of Persia commenced a palace, which the present has finished, on its site; and which, by a slight alteration of its original name, is called Tukht Kujuriah, or "the throne of the Kujurs." The sixth Atta-beg was Munkous, who is only known from being buried at a college at Shiraz, which he founded. The seventh, Boozabah, is said to have been a just and wise governor.

† He is, perhaps, better known by his title of Muzuffer-u-deen, or "the victorious "of the faith." ‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. ‖ Persian MSS. History of Shiraz.

A. D. 1217. A. H. 614.

visit to the caliph at Bagdad. Though only accompanied by seven hundred men, he instantly made an attack, and was at first successful in dispersing a great body of the sultan's troops; but, his horse having fallen, he was seized, and carried to Mahomed, who naturally demanded what madness could induce him to such an action. "I mistook one of your advanced posts for a body of my enemies," said the Atta-beg; "and your majesty must be convinced I could never think of attacking your brave and numerous army with seven hundred men." The sultan, satisfied with this answer, and pleased with the valour he had displayed, paid him the greatest attention; and, after honouring him with a rich dress, sent him to Shiraz, attended by a body of a thousand horse*. But these favours were not unconditional: the Atta-beg agreed that his daughter should marry the Prince Jellal-u-deen; that his son, Zenghi, should remain at court; and that an annual tribute should be paid by the Atta-begs† of Fars to the monarchs of Khaurizm. On his march towards Shiraz, Saad was met by his son Zenghi; who, disliking the agreement into which his father had entered, and having placed some troops in ambush, fell upon the soldiers of Khaurizm, and either killed or dispersed their advanced party. The commander of the escort, surprised at this unexpected attack, demanded of Saad if he meant to break that faith which he had pledged to his master. He assured him he did not; and advanced alone to remonstrate with his son. The rash youth, seeing his father unattended, attacked him with fury; but was struck to the ground by the mace of his enraged parent; who, after ordering him to be bound, sent him prisoner to the hill Fort of Istakhr, from which he was not released till the return

Is seized and taken before that monarch.

His treatment.

The rash conduct of his son.

Whom he sends a prisoner to Istakhr.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† This title had become hereditary.

CHAP. XI.

of Sultan Jellal-u-deen* from Scind to Irak†. The memory of Atta-beg Saad is, to this day, held in great respect at Shiraz. He surrounded that city by a wall, and built the Musjid-e-Jamah, or chief mosque, which still remains a monument of his piety and munificence.

A. D. 1226. A. H. 623.

His son, Atta-beg Aboubeker, succeeds him.

Saad was succeeded by Atta-beg Aboubeker, a son every way worthy of his father. This prince reduced Bahrein, and all the islands of the gulf, under his authority‡. He gave an extraordinary proof of his foresight in his early conciliation of Chenghiz Khan, to whom he sent a mission, and some valuable presents. The conqueror received the advance with favour, conferred the Turkish title of Kutluck Khan upon the Atta-beg; and the province of Fars was, through the wisdom of its prince, exempted from that destruction which fell on all those in its vicinity.

A. D. 1259. A. H. 658.

The government left to Saad the Second.

After a long and prosperous reign, Aboubeker died at Shiraz, and left his government to his son, Saad the Second, who was, when this event occurred, with the army of Hulakoo, the grandson of Chenghiz Khan||. This prince hastened to take possession of his inheritance, but was seized with an illness, which terminated his existence before he could reach his capital. His infant son was placed upon the musnud; and the rule devolved upon the child's mother, Khatoon Toorkan§; a princess who was alike remarkable for her beauty, her high birth¶, and her unbounded liberality. The

His infant son placed on the musnud.

* After that prince had been defeated by Chenghiz, and obliged to fly across the Indus, he returned, through Scind and Mekran, to Persia.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. ‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. || Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

§ This, as has been before mentioned, is a very common name for a princess in Persia. It signifies a lady of Turkish descent.

¶ She was the sister of Atta-beg Allah-u-deen, ruler of Yezd.

hoarded treasures of the family were generously bestowed upon her most faithful adherents, and her army: but her authority received a great shock in the death of her son, who, two years and a half after his advancement, fell from the terrace of his palace, and was killed on the spot.

Atta-beg Mahomed.

A chief of the family of Sulghour, called Mahomed, was elevated to the dignity of Atta-beg: but Khatoon Toorkan, being displeased with his conduct, seized him, and sent him prisoner to Hulakoo; while she elevated his brother, Seljook, whom she had released from prison, to the government. This prince, who appeared, at first, of an excellent disposition, with a view of confirming his power, married Khatoon Toorkan; but soon afterwards, in a fit of intoxication, ordered one of his slaves to strike off her head. The cruel mandate was obeyed; and the head of this beautiful, but ambitious princess, was presented, in a golden charger, to her drunken husband, as he sat carousing with his dissolute companions*. With a savage and phrensied joy he seized the head, tore out two rich rubies from the ears, and threw them to the favourite singer of the assembly. Some officers of the Emperor Hulakoo, who were present, expressed their feelings at this horrid act, and were instantly put to death by the mad and inconsiderate prince. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the son of Chenghiz when he heard of these proceedings. He instantly ordered the execution of the brother† of Seljook, (who remained in his camp as a hostage for the fidelity of his family,) and commanded two strong corps to attack Fars. Seljook, having recovered from his debauch, trembled at the recollection of his crimes;

Atta-beg Seljook.

Orders his wife to be put to death.

As also some officers of the Emperor Hulakoo.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The name of this prince was Mahomed.

CHAP. XI.

Is taken, and put to death. A. D. 1263. A. H. 662.

and, dreading the vengeance of the emperor, fled to Kazeroon: but he was pursued and taken, and received, in an ignominious death, that punishment which he had so richly merited. He was succeeded by Aish Khatoon, a princess of the House of Sulghour, who had married Mankou Timour, the son of Hulakoo*. This princess died at Tabreeze, and with her terminated the family of Sulghour, who were Atta-begs, or rulers, of Fars, and some of the adjoining provinces, for more than a century.

Aish Khatoon, of the House of Sulghour. A. D. 1269. A. H. 668.

Atta-begs of Laristan.

The Atta-begs of Laristan, though their power was more limited than those of Fars, nevertheless merit to be briefly mentioned. That wild and mountainous country has been inhabited from the most early ages by rude barbarians, whose submission has hardly ever been complete, even to the most powerful monarchs of Persia. Most of the tribes in Laristan are an aboriginal race, and the language at present spoken in that province is a dialect of the Pehlivi. The Turkish conquerors of Persia had little temptation to invade their mountains; and, if they had done so, it is probable they would not have been successful; for the hardy inhabitants cherished an independence, which Nature had made it easy for them to defend. Accident, however, rendered this proud and savage race subject, for a considerable time, to chiefs of foreign descent.

In the various migrations of the tribes of Tartary, several of them have, at different periods, either come or been brought from the plains of Syria† into Persia: a hundred families of one of these

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† The Shamloo, or "Sons of Syria," are, perhaps, at this moment one of the most numerous of all the Turkish tribes in Persia. The Karagoozoloo, the Baharloo, and

tribes had been welcomed to the mountains of Laristan. We are informed, that at a great feast given by a chief of that country, some youths of the Syrian tribe were present; and the steward* of the entertainment carried, by mistake, the first dish to a Syrian, called Abul Hussein, upon whose mind this accident made a deep impression; and he observed to his friends, that he felt assured what had occurred was an omen of that greatness which his family was destined to attain†. This interpretation of the mistake of the steward was rumoured abroad, and occasioned some jealousy between the tribes. It happened, a few days afterwards, that Aly, the son of Abul Hussein, had a quarrel with some men of the opposite tribe, when in the hills where they were feeding their flocks‡. The men of Laristan fell upon him, and beat him till they conceived he was dead, and then threw him into a cave. His dog, unable to defend his master, retired to a distance, but watched the murderers as they returned; and seeing the man stoop who had been the most active in the assault, flew at his throat, and tore it in so desperate a manner, that he instantly expired. After taking this revenge, the animal ran howling to the tents of his master's family; who, observing it without Aly, instantly anticipated some misfortune: and in this they were confirmed by the dog turning round, and, while it continued to howl, running off towards the mountains. They followed it to the cave into which the unfortunate Aly had been cast. He was found in a

A tribe of Syria enters Laristan. A. D. 1106. A. H. 500.

A quarrel with the opposite tribe.

several other tribes in Persia, are branches of the Shamloo, who were brought into Persia from Syria by Timour.

* The Sooffrachee; which literally means, the persons who spread the cloth for the entertainment. † Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh. ‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XI.

dreadful state, but not dead, and lived to relate all that had happened*. A feud between the small tribe of Syrians and that of Laristan, was the consequence of this occurrence. The first result of this feud was, the departure of the family of Aly to the province of Fars; where his eldest son acquired great fame as a soldier. But his grandson, Abou Taher, became still more renowned; and the valour he displayed in an attack on Shuban Karrah† pleased Atta-beg Sunkur‡ so much, that he desired him to demand what he chose. "Give me a horse," said the youth, "that will bear me proudly in the day of battle."—"Ask again," said Sunkur.—"If you do not deem it improper," said Abou Taher, "create me an Atta-beg."—"Ask again," was the reply.—"Then grant me some troops, and I will reduce to your authority "the tribes of Laristan‖." The Atta-beg complied with all these requests; and the young soldier marched, with a force of five thousand men, into the country from which his grandfather had been compelled to depart. His fame and courage, aided by the support of his tribe, and by that impression which the most trifling circumstance often makes upon ignorant and superstitious minds, gave him complete success; and that fortune which Abul Hussein had anticipated for his family, was realized in the person of his great-grandson, Abou Taher. Gratitude, however, does not appear to have been among the virtues of the fortunate young chief; whose first act, after his power was confirmed, was to throw off his allegiance to the ruler of

The family of Aly, in consequence, depart to Fars.

His grandson, Abou Taher, marched into Laristan.

* Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

† A small fortified village, in the district of Deishestan, situated a few miles from Abusheher. ‡ The ruler of Fars. ‖ Tuarikh Guzedah.

Fars: and we are told, that he left his son, Hazar Asp, the independent rule of the whole of Laristan. And that prince*, by his courage and wisdom, not only raised that rugged province to as great a state of prosperity as it has ever enjoyed, but added to the possessions of his family, by the conquest of several neighbouring districts. He invited a large body of his own tribe of Emâks from Syria; and their settlement in Laristan added greatly to the strength of his government†. Hazar-Asp was succeeded in his authority by his son, Tokhlah, who was Atta-beg when Hulakoo Khan overthrew the empire of the caliphs. Tokhlah unfortunately fell under the displeasure of that powerful sovereign, by whom he was made prisoner, and carried to Tabreeze‡; leaving Laristan to his brother, Oulub Arghoun, who, with his descendants, became officers of the Moghul princes of the House of Chenghiz. It is needless to recapitulate their names. The most renowned of them was Yusuph Shah Bahauder. The title of Bahauder, we are informed, was given to this chief by Sultan Abaka, on account of the great valour he displayed at the head of the troops of Laristan, in a campaign in Ghilan. He received a still more substantial reward for these services, by being appointed governor of several rich provinces, adjoining to that which he had inherited.

Leaves his son, Hazar Asp, the independent rule of Laristan.

Is succeeded by his son, Tokhlah. A. D. 1257. A. H. 655.

His brother, Oulub Arghoun, and his descendants.

It would be at once tedious and useless to enter any farther into the history of the different provinces of Persia during this period of

* Some authors name this dynasty of Atta-begs after this prince, whose appellation of *Hazar Asp*, which means "a thousand horse," had probably some allusion either to his prowess or power.

† Tuarikh Guzedah.

‡ According to the author of the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar, he was put to death.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 431.

CHAP. XI.

confusion. Enough has been said to illustrate the reigns of those races of chiefs and princes, who usurped upon the weakness of the latter monarchs of the Seljookian dynasty, and enjoyed a local power, till they were swept away by the hordes of Tartary, under the celebrated Hulakoo: but we find, at this period of Persian history, a power existing in that country, of a very different nature to any that has been yet noticed. A family of chiefs had, through the means of superstition, established an influence over the minds of their followers, that enabled them to strike awe into the bosoms of the most powerful sovereigns, and to fill a kingdom with horror and dismay for a period of nearly two centuries. Their ruler, who may be justly termed the chief of the assassins*, resided on a lofty mountain, and fate was in his hands; for there was no shape which his followers could not assume, no danger that they would not brave, to fulfil his mandates. More than fifty thousand men gloried in the name of the mysterious and the devoted†; and every one of these obeyed, with

Rule of Hussun Subah, and his descendants.

* A colony of the sect of Ismail, and followers of Hussun Subah, appear to have settled in the mountains between Tortosa and Tripolis. Their chief is called, by the historian of the Crusades, the Old Man of the Mountain, (or the Ancient): and they made themselves formidable by the same means as those settled in Persia, of whom Monsieur Maimbourg, (who writes the History of the Holy War,) terms them a branch. He states, that their name, "assassin," was from a Persian word, and that "they came from the confines of Persia beyond Babylon." He records their murder of the Marquess Conrade in A. D. 1192.—Vide English Translation, page 210.

† Their Persian names were Bâttenee and Fedavee. The name of Bâttenee, which is derived from bâtten, "secret" or "mysterious," means a secret or mysterious person. It was probably given from the followers of Hussun Subah being considered to belong to the mystic sect of Bâtteneeah, or "the concealed." For a

equal promptitude, an order to sacrifice his own life, or to take that of another. The history of such a community has peculiar interest, as it presents the human character in a new and an uncommon light.

The first of these chiefs was Hussun Subah; and from him they are termed Hussunee*, or the followers of Hussun. Hussun Subah was first a mace-bearer to Alp-Arselan; but, in consequence of a quarrel with Nizam-ul-Mulk, the minister of that prince†, he retired to Rhe‡: and from thence went to Syria, where he entered into the service of a chief of the family of Ismail, and adopted the tenets of that sect; who maintain, that the descendants of Ismail, the eldest son of Jaaffer, the sixth Imaum, who died during his father's life, should have succeeded to that holy dignity: and they, in consequence, not only reject the right of Kauzim, the seventh Imaum, who was the younger‖ brother of Ismail, but of all those who succeeded him. Hussun, after becoming a zealous convert to the doctrines of this sect, returned to Persia; but was compelled to conceal himself, as

A. D. 1071, 1078. A. H. 464, 471.

description of this sect, vide Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI. page 423 and 424. The word Fedavee means "a devoted servant."

* The English word assassin is said to be formed from a corruption of this term.

† Hussun Subah was a school-fellow of Nizam-ul-Mulk; and they had (with another companion,) made an early agreement to share fortunes, if either attained eminence. The minister appointed Hussun to office; but the eager mind of that chief was not to be satisfied with gradual advancement. After failing in an attempt to supplant and ruin his friend, he abandoned the court.

‡ Tuarikh Guzedah.

‖ He was only the half-brother; and the mother of Kauzim was a Kunneez, or "slave," which is another objection with the Ismalians against admitting his right to the dignity of Imaum.

CHAP. XI.

he knew he was still an object of hostility to Nizam-ul-Mulk. He lived, we are told, at Isfahan, in the house of Rais* Aboul Fazel Lumbhanee: to whom he one day observed, "That, if he had two "or three friends on whom he could entirely depend, he would "overturn the empire†." The good Rais heard, with astonishment, his guest speak of destroying, by the aid of two or three men, a kingdom that stretched from Antioch to Kashgar. He, however, made no reply at the moment: but, on reflection, he concluded that Hussun was deranged in his intellects: and having consulted a physician, he obtained some medicine, which he brought; and, with all the sincerity of simplicity and good-nature, prayed his friend to take it. Hussun smiled, but made no further communications to one who, he saw, from this occurrence, was not of a character to be intrusted with the designs he had formed. Soon after this event, he departed for his native town, Rhe, where he met with some discontented persons, who declared themselves ready to grant him their assistance. The principal of these was Rais Muzuffer, who appears to have been a man of considerable influence. The first object of Hussun was to possess himself of a strong hold; and he succeeded in gaining, by a stratagem ‡, the mountain Fort of Allaha-

Takes the Fort of Allahamout.

* The word Rais may be translated esquire, according to the ancient signification of that word in English. It implies, in Persian, the possession of landed estate, and some magisterial power. The Rais is in general the hereditary head of a village. This name is derived from the Arabic word Ras, which signifies "the head."

† Tuarikh Guzedah.

‡ Hussun is said, by Mahomedan authors, to have gained Allahamout, as Dido did Carthage, by obtaining leave to take as much ground as he could cover with a bull's hide, and cutting it into thongs that surrounded the whole fort. But this appears a common fable in the East: for Moullah Saaduck, a very respectable man,

mout*, near Kazveen†. From this fortress he commenced depredations on the surrounding country; which led Malik Shah Seljookee to detach a force to reduce him. Hussun had only seventy followers with him at this period, and was on the point of being taken: when a seasonable succour of three hundred men from Rhe, enabled him to make a successful sally, which induced the sultan's army to raise the siege. It was at this time that the celebrated Nizam-ul-Mulk fell into disgrace with Malik Shah‡, and was assassinated, as before mentioned‖, by one of the followers of Hussun Subah, who, upon this occasion, readily united with the enemies of that great man: and we may conclude, that while he gratified personal revenge, he contemplated the death of this minister as an event which was likely to throw the kingdom into that state of confusion which was requisite for the accomplishment of his own plans of ambition.

A force is detached to reduce him.

He receives a succour; and the royal army raise the siege.

Although the divisions which distracted Persia after the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and of Malik Shah, were most favourable to Hussun, he was soon afterwards in great danger of being destroyed by the celebrated Sultan Sanjar; who had, we are informed§, resolved to extirpate, ere they gained greater strength, a race, whose murders and

Sultan Sanjar marches to reduce him.

with whom I read this passage in the original Persian, smiled when we came to it, and said: "The English are well acquainted with this deception."—I asked what he meant: "Why," said he, "is it not known to all the world that this is the exact mode "in which you obtained the ground on which Calcutta is built from the poor Emperor "of Delhi?!"

* This fortress is sometimes called Almowut. Allahamout, I was assured by a well-informed native of Persia, signified "the eagle's nest," in the language of the province in which it is situated.

† Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Tuarikh Guzedah.

‖ Vide page 369.

§ Tuarikh Guzedah.

CHAP. XI.

depredations spread terror over his kingdom. He had made some marches in the direction of Allahamout, when, waking one morning, he discovered a poniard stuck up to the hilt in the ground close to his bed-side, and read, with surprise, the following label on its handle: "Sultan Sanjar, beware! Had not thy character been respected, the "hand that stuck this dagger into the hard ground, could, with "more ease, have plunged it into thy soft bosom*." The warrior, who was insensible to fear in the field of battle, is said to have trembled as he read this scroll†; and it is certain that he desisted from the attack he had meditated.

It is related, that some time before this period, Hussun Subah received a visit from his old host at Isfahan, Rais Aboul Fazel. When the latter approached, the chief took his hand, and said, with a smile, "Have you brought any physic, my good friend, to cure me "of my insanity? or will you now believe, that two or three brave "men, united, can do wonders?"—"I always thought you an "able man," replied Aboul Fazel, "but I never expected you would "have done what you have."—"My task is only half accomplished," said Hussun: "I have hitherto trusted chiefly to my political skill, "but I mean now to try what faith can effect."

The religious doctrines established by Hussun Subah.

The religious doctrines which Hussun taught his followers, differed very materially from the established worship of Persia. He maintained the principles of the Ishmailee sect, so far as recognising the right of that family to the dignity of Imaum‡: but he introduced

* Tuarikh Guzedah.

† My authority (the Tuarikh Guzedah,) states, that it was believed one of the *devoted* (as the followers of Hussun were called,) had made acquaintance with a lady of Sanjar's haram, and persuaded her to this act.

‡ Persian Manuscript.

many new tenets more conformable to the opinions of the Sooffees, or philosophical deists, than to those of orthodox Mahomedans. The Koran, he admitted, was a holy volume: but he insisted that its spirit, and not its literal meaning, was to be observed. He rejected the usual modes of worship: as true devotion was, he said, seated in the soul; and prescribed forms might disturb, though they could never aid, that secret and fervent adoration which it must always offer to its Creator*. But the principal tenet which Hussun Subah inculcated, was a complete and absolute devotion to himself and to his descendants. His disciples were instructed to consider him more as their spiritual† than their worldly leader. The means he took to instil this feeling into their minds must have been powerful, from the effect which was produced. When an envoy from Malik Shah came to Allahamout, Hussun commanded one of his subjects to stab himself; and another, to cast himself headlong from a precipice. Both mandates were instantly obeyed! "Go," said he to the astonished envoy, "and explain to your master the character "of my followers."

We are informed, that among other modes which he adopted to secure the devotion of his disciples, there was one of an extraordinary nature. He had them conveyed, when in a deep sleep, produced by opium, into a splendid palace with beautiful gardens: when there,

* Persian Manuscript.

† The author of the Dabistan mentions a work of Hussun Subah, in which the tenets of his faith are explained. Like all the principal Sooffee teachers, he dwells upon the necessity of man placing implicit reliance upon a perfect and unerring religious instructor. The name of the sect of this chief was Bâtteneeah, or "the "concealed."

CHAP. XI.

they were regaled for a few days with all that could gratify and delight the senses. In a second intoxication, the deluded disciple was carried to his home, and easily persuaded that he had been permitted, through the power of Hussun, to taste, by anticipation, the joys of Paradise. But this seems an improbable tale, invented* by Mahomedans, who hold this sect in great abhorrence.

The use of wine was strictly forbidden to the sect of Hussunee: and they were enjoined the most temperate and abstemious habits. He enforced his precepts with the greatest severity: and two of his sons, we are told, perished under the blows he gave them, in consequence of their neglect of them. We may judge of the little personal state which he assumed, when informed, that, on sending his wife and two daughters to his friend, Rais Muzuffer, that they might be in safety when he was besieged, he directed that they should receive no support but what they could earn by their spinning; thus setting an example to his followers of that moderation and independence which were necessary to the success of their community.

Hussun Subah adds Roodbar to his possessions.

Hussun Subah added several other hill forts to the one which he had first seized. That of Roodbar, which is also near Kazveen, was the next to Allahamout in consequence. He was styled Shaikh-ul-

* The power of superstition over the human mind is certainly sufficient to account for all the acts of his followers: and we have recently seen similar effects produced among a race, not unlike those with whom his arts succeeded. A follower of the modern Wahabee, who, a few years ago, stabbed an Arabian chief near Bussorah, not only refused to save his life, but anxiously courted death, grasping in his hand a paper which he seemed to prize far beyond his existence. This, when examined, proved to be an order from the Wahabee chief for an emerald palace, and a number of beautiful female slaves, in the delightful regions of eternal bliss.—*Persian MSS.*

Jubal, an Arabic title, which signifies "the Chief of the Mountains." This title has been literally, but erroneously* translated, "the Old "Man of the Mountain," the name by which this ruler and his descendants are indiscriminately known in European history.

He is succeeded by his son, Keah Buzoorg Oomeid. A. D. 1124. A. H. 518.

When Hussun Subah died, he was succeeded by his son, Keah Buzoorg Oomeid, or "Keah of great hope." Sultan Mahomed Seljookee sent an army against this chief; but his general was forced to retreat, after an unsuccessful attempt on the fortress of Roodbar.

Concludes a peace with Sultan Mahomed Seljookee.

A truce was concluded with Keah; and that ruler sent an envoy to Isfahan, who was received with distinction at court: but the populace of that city, less patient than their sovereign, were so irritated at seeing a representative of a chief of assassins† in the capital of Persia, that they proceeded to the house of the unfortunate envoy, and tore him to pieces‡.

The treatment of the ambassador of Keah.

The sultan immediately sent a mission to Keah, to disclaim any share in this murder: but that chief declared he would never be pacified unless the perpetrators of this outrage were given up to his vengeance. It was impossible that Mahomed could discover those who were most guilty from among the numerous mob who had committed this violence: and Keah, impatient of delay, sent a party of his men to Kazveen, which they entered in disguise, and, making an unexpected attack, slew one of the chief magistrates and four hundred of the inhabitants of that city, from which they carried off an immense booty‖.

Keah sends a party of his men into Kazveen. A. D. 1128. A. H. 523.

This act of

* Shaikh means an elder, and also a holy teacher: but when used in describing any person possessing temporal power, it can only be correctly translated "chief, or lord."

† One manuscript states, that the indignation of the mob was inflamed by the priests, who represented the sect of Hussun as being still more abominable from their heresies than their murders. ‡ Tuarikh Guzedah. ‖ Tuarikh Guzedah.

CHAP. XI.

revenge for the blood of his envoy, brought on a contest between Keah and Sultan Mahomed, which did not terminate till the death of that monarch: after which, Keah not only defeated the royal troops,

Takes Ghilan.

but conquered the country of Ghilan; the governor of which he made prisoner, and put to death*.

A. D. 1137. A. H. 532. Is succeeded by Mahomed, who resigns his rule to Hussein-ebn-Nasser.

Keah died at Roodbar, and was succeeded by his son, Mahomed; who, after a rule of three years, resigned† his dignity to a prince of the family of Ismail, called Hussein-ebn-Nasser, who had fled from Syria to Roodbar‡. But Mahomed probably only gave up the name of power, as he constituted himself the vizier of the prince, whom religious considerations had led him to raise to the dignity of chief ruler. The murders committed by this tribe became daily more frequent; every one who was deemed their enemy fell by an assassin. One caliph had been stabbed at Bagdad: another, (Raschid,) because he threatened this tribe with vengeance, was murdered||, as he lay dangerously ill, by men who seemed to fear that death would rob them of their prey. The principal moullahs, or chief priests of Persia, shocked at these sacrilegious acts, called

Sultan Sanjar is invited to usurp the rule.

upon Sultan Sanjar to purge his dominions from such vile heretics§. But that prince had been once warned, and proceeded with caution.

The result of a mission to Hussein-ebn-Nasser.

He sent a mission to Roodbar: and Hussein-ebn-Nasser assured his envoy that his followers had been calumniated, and that they were

* His name was Aboul Haschem.

† Khondemir rejects the tale of this resignation as a fable.

‡ Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh.

|| In the History of the Arabs, the murder of the caliph is not ascribed to the followers of Hussun; but the Kholasaat-ul-Akhbar confirms the authority I have followed.

§ Tuarikh Guzedah

good Mahomedans. A pious doctor of laws was deputed by Sanjar to ascertain this point; and the sultan either was, or pretended to be, satisfied with his report.

A. D. 1161. A. H. 557.

When Mahomed, the son of Keah, died, Hussein-ebn-Nasser would not allow any successor to be appointed, but usurped the whole power, which he disgraced by his violence and intemperance. His conduct was deemed more scandalous, as he was descended from ancestors* who had cut down the rich vineyards of Egypt, lest their disciples should be tempted to taste of the juice of the grape†.

Who is slain, and succeeded by his son, Allah-u-deen Mahomed.

This debauched chief was slain by his own relations, who placed his son, Allah-u-deen Mahomed, upon the throne: and the first act of the young prince, was to put to death those by whom he had been elevated. An occurrence took place during Allah-u-deen's rule which illustrates the nature of that secret power which the Chief of the Mountains exercised. Fakhr Razee, a doctor of laws, and an eminent divine, who used to be styled "the Imaum of Rhe," (his native town,) had been supposed to lean to the opinions of the Ismailee sect; and to do away this impression, he thought it necessary

* The Ismalian, or Fatimite Caliphs, were descended (as has been before stated,) from Ismail, the eldest son of the sixth Imaum: and upon the second son of that Imaum being proclaimed his successor, a sect was formed which supported their title as the descendants of the elder branch. The first of this dynasty was Aboul Kausim, who began his reign in the year of the Hejirah 296, (A. D. 998.) The last, *Adhed*, resigned his power in the year of the Hejirah 567, (A. D. 1171,) to the famous Sallah-u-deen. It was Ul-Kausim, the sixth of this race, that the author alludes to as the destroyer of vineyards. That rigid caliph ordered all the vines in the vicinity of Cairo to be cut down; and forbade even the frequent intercourse of females of different families; but the Egyptians accused him of being indulgent to vice in his own family: and his death was caused by an intrigue of his sisters.

† Tuarikh Guzedah.

CHAP. XI.

to express his abhorrence of this race, and their tenets, in the pulpit*. Sometime after he had uttered this anathema, he was surprised to see a man, who had been one of his most attentive disciples for several days, enter his private chamber; and still more, when seizing him by the beard, and pointing a dagger to his breast, this person asked him if he knew who he was. "I am quite ignorant who you are," said the trembling divine, "and still less can I conjecture why you seek "my life."—"You abused the sect of Ismail!" said the man.—"I "was wrong," replied the learned doctor: "I repent, and will never do so again."—"Swear by the holy prophet to what you have now said!" cried the assailant.—"I swear!" said the Imaum. —"Very well," said the man, quitting his hold. "I have particu- "lar orders not to slay you, or my poniard should, before this, have "been crimsoned with the blood of your heart. Allah-u-deen desires "me to present you his respects, and to ask you if you are well "informed of the tenets of that sect which you have dared to abuse? "He advises you to be most careful of your future conduct; and, as "he has a respect for your character, he sends you this bag, which "contains three hundred and sixty gold mohurs; and here is an order "for a similar sum to be paid you annually by one of his agents†." The divine took the money, and continued for many years to receive his pension. His pupils could not but remark, that, in his future lectures, he carefully abstained from any mention of the followers of Ismail. He was wont to observe, in reply to such observations, with a suppressed smile, that he had been convinced, by some sharp and weighty arguments, that it was better not to enter into any discussion regarding the doctrines of that sect.

* Tuarikh Guzedah.

† Tuarikh Guzedah.

Jellal-u-deen Hussein succeeds to the throne.

The rule of Allah-u-deen was long* and prosperous: he was succeeded by his son, Jellal-u-deen Hussein, who was the first of this race that cultivated, with success, the friendship of neighbouring rulers. Even the Caliph of Bagdad relaxed from his orthodoxy, and showered honours upon the envoy of this prince†: and, in reply to a reference made to him by the Governor of Ghilan, whose sister Jellal-u-deen desired to marry, the Commander of the Faithful wrote, that such an alliance would be an honour to the noblest family in his dominions. Jellal-u-deen engaged in no war, except with the Governor of Irak; and the first campaign closed, as was usual, in the death of the person who had ventured to attack the Chief of the Mountains. The conquests of Chenghiz Khan commenced about this period; and an envoy was deputed to Transoxania, from the Court of Allahamout, to propitiate the hero. Jellal-u-deen died the following year. He is celebrated in Persian history for the kindness and generosity of his disposition; and we are informed, that this prince of the assassins was the handsomest man of his age. His son, Allah-u-deen Mahomed, a boy of ten years of age, was next elevated to the rule: and this young prince‡, soon after his succession, put to death all his principal officers, on a pretext that they had poisoned his father. Though

A. H. 610.

Rule of his son, Allah-u-deen Mahomed.

* He governed the Ismailees forty-six years.

† Khondemir states, that he conciliated the caliph by renouncing, as a heresy, the creed of his ancestors, and by burning all the books of his sect. But the Ismailees do not admit this fact.

‡ If he really acted from himself, (as Persian authors state he did,) the obedience given to such orders from a child, is a proof, beyond almost any other we possess, of the blind devotion of this tribe to the family of their founder.

CHAP. XI.

he seems to have been saved, by his sacred character, from the vengeance which he had provoked, he is said to have been shunned and deserted by his followers, and to have fallen, in consequence, into a state of deep melancholy. As a means of recovering him from this condition, his ministers were desirous of obtaining for him the society of Nasser-u-deen*, the most celebrated philosopher of the age: but that able man, who resided at Bokharah, rejected all the offers that were made to tempt him to so barbarous a court as that of Allahamout†. He had, however, to negotiate with a ruler whose agents were accustomed to consider his will as a divine mandate. The officer who governed the country of Kohistan‡ under Allah-u-deen received an order to produce the philosopher; and, as Nasser-u-deen was one day sauntering in the gardens near Bokharah, he was suddenly surrounded by some men, who, pointing to a horse, desired him to mount, promising him good usage if he made no resistance. He could only oppose this violence by arguments which were unheeded; and he was half way to Kohistan‖ before his friends knew that he was gone§. The governor of that province received him with great honour, and made a thousand apologies for the violence he had committed. He detained him a long

* The name of this able man was Mahomed Ben Hassan. Nasser-u-deen, which was his title, may be translated "the champion," or "defender of the faith." He was deemed one of the first mathematicians, astronomers, and philosophers, of Asia.

† Tuarikh Guzedah.

‡ Kohistan, which signifies "mountainous," is the name given to the countries amid the ranges of mountains to the north-east of Kazveen.

‖ The distance from Bokharah to Kohistan is upwards of six hundred miles.

§ Tuarikh Guzedah.

period in Kohistan: and it was during his captivity in that mountainous region, that Nasser-u-deen wrote the most celebrated of all his philosophical treatises, which he styled Akhlaak-Nasseree, or "The Morals of Nasser*," in compliment to the barbarian who had stolen him from his home: but this flattery did not produce the effect intended. The philosopher, instead of obtaining his liberty, was doomed to become the companion and tutor of a gloomy youth, who must, however, have had some good qualities, as he appears to have been fully sensible of the value of the great prize which he had obtained†. Allah-u-deen Mahomed was slain by one of his own servants, in his hall of audience, and was succeeded by his son, Ruken-u-deen, better known under the name of Kaher Shah; who, after a weak and ineffectual struggle, fell before Hulakoo Khan. That conqueror not only made him prisoner, but took and dismantled all his strong holds‡, which, according to some authors, amounted to one hundred‖. The extinction of this family may be fixed at this date; though a small branch, with very limited power, remained till the reign of Shah Rockh Meerza, when they were finally destroyed by the Governor of Ghilan.

A. D. 1255. A. H. 653. Allah-u-deen is succeeded by Ruken-u-deen.

Who is taken prisoner.

Though none of the sect of Ismail have ever since enjoyed power, they still exist in a scattered state. The Borahs, an industrious race of men, whose pursuits are commercial, and who are well known in the British settlements of India, belong to this sect; and they still maintain that part of the creed of Hussun Subah, which enjoins a

The Borahs belong to the sect of Ismail.

* Nasser-u-deen Abdul Rahim was the name of the chief who governed Kohistan under Allah-u-deen.

† Tuarikh Guzedah.

‡ Upwards of twelve thousand of the Ismailees were put to death by Hulakoo.

‖ Tuarikh Guzedah.

CHAP. XI.

complete devotion to the mandate of their high priest: but this principle, so dreadful in its operation in a large body of assassins, can be attended with no evil in a small class of men, and who have neither the disposition nor the power to disturb the peace of that community in which they live.

CHAPTER XII.

An Account of the Conquest of Persia by the Moghuls, and of the Reign of Hulakoo Khan, and his Successors, in that Country.

CHAP. XII.

THE Tartars have been already described. We are now come to a period when all the families of that great nation were either united, or subdued, by the genius of one chief; who, on being declared sovereign of the tribes of Tartary, formed the vast project of reducing the whole of Asia under his dominion. Temugin, the son of a Khan, or chief of the tribe of Moghuls, after almost unexampled vicissitudes, obtained, at the age of forty-nine, a complete victory* over all those who had endeavoured to effect his ruin. He was, at this period, not only considered by his own tribe as their deliverer from the tyranny of Oung Khan†, the chief of the Keraites, whose armies he had

A. D. 1202. A. H. 599.

* Almost all the soldiers of Tartary were engaged in this great action. The historian, Mirkhond, endeavours to describe their numbers by a truly oriental hyperbole. "The neighing of their steeds," he states, "made Heaven shut its ears, and their "arrows converted the whole sky into one great field of reeds." The army of Oung Khan, which was defeated, left forty thousand dead upon the field of battle. Their monarch escaped, to perish by the treachery of the Khan of the Naimans, who, after receiving him in a friendly manner, put him to death.

† Marco Polo, a Venetian priest, who travelled in Tartary about the year one thousand two hundred and fifty of the Christian era, calls this prince Um Khan. He also terms him "Prester John;" and this name is given him by some other authors;

CHAP. XII.

defeated, but deemed, by a great majority of the Khans of Tartary, as worthy of the high dignity of Khakan, or emperor; to confer which, an assembly*, or national council, was summoned. It met at the spot of Temugin's birth: and that chief, we are informed, after addressing the Khans in an eloquent harangue, was seated upon a black felt†, or nummud, and reminded of the importance of the duties to which he was called, by an orator, who spoke in the name of the nation. After this speech, seven Khans lifted up Temugin, and carried him to a high throne, in the midst of the assembly. The moment he was seated on this throne, he was saluted as Khakan‡, or emperor; and not only the chiefs, but all that were present, pledged their obedience to their future sovereign, by bending their knee nine successive times before him. The air at the same time resounded

A. D. 1205. A. H. 602.

Temugin is elected emperor.

but it appears more likely to belong to the Dalai Lama, the chief priest of the Tartars.

Piccard[26] supposes this name to be a jargonish compound of pretre, the French for "priest," and jehan, which in Persian means "the world," and signifying "the Pontiff of the Universe:" but prester seems a contraction of presbyter, "a priest," from which the French word pretre itself comes. It is not impossible but Oung Khan had been converted to Christianity by the Nestorian Missionaries, and received the name of John at his baptism. This conjecture is, at least, more probable than that the Khan of the Keraik assumed a mixed European and Persian title. The Tartar tribes have, at no period, condescended to borrow names, or titles, from the Persians.

* Coroultai is the name by which this assembly of the Tartar nobles is called.

† This felt, dignified by the fortune of Chenghiz, was long preserved by his successors, and considered almost as a sacred relic.

‡ This ceremony took place three years after he had been acknowledged Khan of his own tribe.

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26 Vol. IV. page 353.

with shouts of joy; and Temugin* (who upon this occasion assumed the name of Chenghiz Khan,) assured his voluntary subjects, that he would repay the great honours they had bestowed upon him by making their name famous in the farthest regions of the earth. It is foreign to the subject of this history to relate the actions of Chenghiz Khan; but the rules which that extraordinary monarch established for the civil government of the country, and of his army, cannot be passed unnoticed. His ordinances for the civil administration of his territories were, perhaps, indifferently observed; but his military regulations formed the basis of the only discipline that has ever been introduced into the armies of his successors. The majority of the subjects of Chenghiz were idolators, but all were commanded to obey one supreme and all-powerful Creator; and those who subscribed to this leading tenet, were allowed to follow what mode of worship they thought proper†. He forbade any Khan, or prince, to proclaim himself Khakan, or emperor, without a regular assembly of the chiefs of the tribes, which was commanded to be conducted in the same manner as that which had taken place at his own election. He

Assumes the name of Chenghiz Khan.

Civil ordinances established by him.

* This chief was of a high family; but the flatterers of his greatness give him a celestial descent, pretending that the Princess Alankoua (the grand-daughter of Yelduz-Khan,) had conceived from a ray of the sun, and bore, as she had foretold she would, three sons; one of which, Buzunjur, was the immediate ancestor of Chenghiz.

Major Price, on the authority of the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, states, that Alankoua, the mother of Buzunjur, dreamt that her conception was from a person she saw in a dream, with a flaming torch, and that the rays of light were seen to enter the pavilion in which she slept. She had three sons at a birth, and they were called "the children of light."—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 472.

† Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, page 79.

CHAP. XII.

forbade the use of titles, and claimed for himself only that of Khan, or Khakan. He ordained, in the true spirit of a ruler of Tartary, that peace should never be made with a nation on whom the Tartars had once made war, till it was subdued*. Every subject of the Khakan was compelled, in some mode or other, to serve the state. Those who were not soldiers were obliged to work a certain number of days annually, for the benefit of the country; and one day of their labour in every week was the right of the emperor. Theft, when the article was of value, was death; when trifling, it was punished by flogging: but this punishment was remitted if the party consented to pay nine times the value of the article stolen. No Tartar could employ a person of his own nation as a domestic servant: an important regulation, which, while it nourished a proud spirit and increased the number of soldiers, forced the Tartars to take care of their captives, for the purpose of employing them in menial offices. Polygamy was admitted: but the children by wives ranked higher than those by slaves; though the latter were not despised. Adulterers were put to death. One tribe, however, (that of Kaindu,) murmured at this law, as it was with them a custom to lend their wives to their friends†. The Khakan made an exception in their favour, but stampt them, on account of this shameful usage, with ignominy.

The importance of terminating feuds among the tribes of Tartary is very great: one of the modes by which this is often effected, is by intermarriages. To extend the operation of so desirable a practice, Chenghiz permitted‡ two families to unite their deceased children in

* Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, page 81.

† Ibid. p. 86.

‡ Travels of Rubruquis.

a contract of marriage; and the relationship established by this act* was the same as if the parties were living. These are some of the principal civil regulations which he ordained. His imperfect code was well adapted to the society for whose improvement it was intended. It contained little, but it was established among a people whose habits were those of savage life, and who were impatient of restraint. The privilege which Chenghiz had assumed of framing laws for his subjects, belonged, of course, to his successors, who were at liberty to change or revoke what he had instituted. His ordinances, therefore, can perhaps only be looked upon as formal and solemn precepts for the guidance of his descendants†: but, even in that light, such institutions had a great value, for they derived respect from their source, and could never be infringed without danger of serious discontent.

Military regulations established by Chenghiz Khan.

The military regulations of Chenghiz were simple, but well adapted to an army composed like that which he commanded. His force was divided into tomauns, or divisions, of ten thousand each, under a general. These tomauns were subdivided into corps of one thousand each: to every one of which there was a commander, appointed by the emperor. This corps was subdivided

* This is said to be still an usage in Tartary. They throw the contract in the fire, and conceive the smoke ascends to the departed children, who marry in the other world. Petit de la Croix, in his Life of Chenghiz, mentions this fact; and I find it stated in a Persian MS., written by a man of learning and information.

† These laws were observed by his immediate successors, and probably remained in force till the conversion of the Tartars to the religion of Mahomed. Sultaun Shahrokh, the son of Timour, in his letter to Day-ming, Emperor of China, expressly states, "That he governs his possessions according to the dictates of the holy law of "the prophet, and its positive and negative precepts, and that the institutions of Chen-"ghiz have been abolished."—*Asiatic Miscellany*, Vol. I. page 89.

CHAP. XII.

into ten companies, of one hundred men each, and these into sections of ten, and an officer was nominated to every company and section. All the officers, from the general of a tomaun to the commander of a section of ten men, were registered, and made responsible for those under them. Attention was paid to the different tribes in these regulations, and their chiefs were the principal officers of Chenghiz. A camp, or wurdu, consisting of several tomauns, or divisions, of ten thousand, was allotted to each of his four sons, whom he employed as his principal generals. There were strict regulations established in the army regarding booty taken from the enemy. No person could plunder without an order: but when that was issued, the lowest soldier had as full a right to what he took as his leader.

The army of Chenghiz, which exceeded six hundred thousand men, was never idle. A campaign against an enemy was less harrassing than that exercise which he gave them in hunting, when he was not engaged in any military enterprise. By one of his laws, no person was allowed to kill game, of any description, from March till October*, the season at which the grand hunt commenced. A central plain was fixed upon, and the army thrown round it at a distance of more than a hundred miles. This immense circle was gradually reduced, and the greatest care was taken to cover the whole country, so as to drive the game towards one point. As they approached this, the ranks of the divisions closed, and every effort was used to prevent the multitude of different animals from making their escape: and this was more difficult, as the troops were not allowed to kill them. When all had reached their desti-

* Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, page 82.

nation, the emperor erected his throne upon an eminence, from whence he could see the whole plain; and every tribe was allowed to send some of its bravest youth, who displayed before their monarch their courage and skill in combats with the most furious of the wild beasts. Chenghiz sometimes amused himself with the chase, and at others allowed the princes of the blood to dispute, in the attack of the lion and the tiger, the prize of valour with the lowest of his subjects*. The army was usually engaged in this hunt during the whole of the winter; and, while the severity of the season inured his troops to fatigue, Chenghiz had, in the course of the hunt, an opportunity of judging of the skill and courage of both his officers and soldiers; for, in traversing countries interspersed with forests, mountains, and rivers, success depended, in a great degree, upon the judgment of the leaders and the alacrity of the men; and frequent opportunities were offered for a display of superior activity and bravery. When the carnage had been considerable, some of the youngest princes advanced to his throne, and, kneeling before him, solicited his mercy for the surviving game†. Their petition was granted; and, at a signal, the army opened its ranks, and the affrighted animals fled, in every direction, towards their native plains and mountains‡.

* Persian Manuscript.

† Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz Khan, page 266.

‡ An English poet has admirably described the different scenes of this royal hunt:—

---------- "In parties, here and there
"Detach'd, o'er hill and dale, the hunters range,
"Inquisitive; strong dogs, that match in fight
"The boldest brute, around their masters wait,

CHAP. XII.

Reduces Tartary,

The first efforts of Chenghiz Khan, after he attained the dignity of Khakan, was to reduce the whole of Tartary; in which, after several great actions, he completely succeeded. The empire of

" A faithful guard. No haunt unsearch'd, they drive
" From every covert, and from every den,
" The lurking savages. Incessant shouts
" Re-echo through the woods, and kindling fires
" Gleam from the mountain tops; the forest seems
" One mingling blaze: like flocks of sheep, they fly
" Before the flaming brand: fierce lions, pards,
" Boars, tigers, bears, and wolves; a dreadful crew
" Of grim blood-thirsty foes! growling along,
" They stalk indignant; but fierce vengeance still
" Hangs pealing on their rear, and pointed spears
" Present immediate death.

" At last, within the narrow plain confin'd,
" A listed field, mark'd out for bloody deeds,
" An amphitheatre, more glorious far
" Than ancient Rome could boast, they crowd in heaps,
" Dismay'd, and quite appall'd. In meet array,
" Sheath'd in refulgent arms, a noble band
" Advance, great lords of high imperial blood,
" Early resolv'd to assert the royal race,
" And prove, by glorious deeds, their valour's growth
" Mature, ere yet the callow down has spread
" Its curling shade.

" Now the loud trumpet sounds a charge: the shouts
" Of eager hosts, through the circling line,
" And the wild howlings of the beasts within,
" Rend wide the welkin! flights of arrows, wing'd

China, or Khatai*, was the next object of his ambition; and this great and arduous enterprise was also accomplished in two successful campaigns. His overthrow of the kingdom which the monarchs of Khaurizm had founded, has been already noticed. The great battle which he fought with Sultan Jellal-u-deen, on the banks of the Indus, completed the ruin of that dynasty. The conqueror is said, upon this occasion, to have expressed his astonish-

China, and Khaurism.

His battle with Jellal-u-deen.

" With death, and javelins launch'd from every arm,
" Gall sore the brutal bands, with many a wound
" Gored through and through. Despair at last prevails,
" When fainting nature shrinks, and rouses all
" Their drooping courage: swell'd with furious rage,
" Their eyes dart fire; and on the youthful band
" They rush implacable. They their broad shields
" Quick interpose: on each devoted head
" Their flaming falchions, as the bolts of Jove,
" Descend unerring. Prostrate on the ground
" The grinning monsters lie, and their foul gore
" Defiles the verdant plain."

SOMERVILLE'S *Chase.*

* Khatai, as it is termed by Mahomedan historians, signifies " the seven (or, " agreeably to some, the five) northern provinces of China," which are all that Chenghiz subdued. Marco Polo, who travelled in the thirteenth century, describes Cambalu, the capital of Khatai, as a noble city, nearly twenty-four miles in circumference: but this space included, no doubt, the gardens of the emperor and his nobles. The site of Cambalu was on the north bank of a river, which flowed through one of the finest provinces of northern China. Major Price, on the authority of the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, states, that Kublai Khan, the grandson of Chenghiz, founded the City of Khan Baligh, (or Cambalu,) which he terms the Pekin of the moderns: and if the name Cambalu be a corruption of Khan Baligh, which means the residence of the Khan, or capital, we may conclude this appellation has, at different periods, been given to different cities.

CHAP. XII.

ment and admiration at the conduct of the vanquished hero, who, when compelled to fly, plunged with his horse into the Indus, and swam to the opposite bank, discharging arrows upon the Moghuls from the midst of those waves that threatened him with destruction. Chenghiz would not allow him to be pursued; and, turning to his children, he exclaimed: "How proud a son must be who has such "a father! He that dares defy the dangers which this prince has "now escaped, may expose himself to a thousand others; and a "wise man, who has so daring an enemy, ought to be always upon "his guard*."

A. D. 1221. A. H. 618.

Extent of his dominions.

The whole of Persia was either subdued or overrun by the armies of Chenghiz, whose dominions, before his death, extended from the Indus to the Euxine; from the banks of the Volga, to the distant plains of China; and from the arid shores of the Persian Gulf, to the cold wastes of Siberia. The ravages committed by this monarch were terrible: and we have received an account of them through the medium of Mahomedan authors, who have probably exaggerated the cruelties of a prince who regarded their religion with abhorrence. After Bokharah was taken, these authors relate, that pious and learned men were compelled to perform the lowest and most menial offices for their savage conquerors. "The Moghuls," one writer observes, "made stables of the libraries of that city. All the "books," he adds, "which they contained were destroyed: and, by "an act of unexampled profanation, the leaves of the holy Koran "were used for litter to their horses, who trampled upon the sacred "sentences of Mahomed†."

* Petit de la Croix's History of Chenghiz, page 319. † Tuarikh Guzedah.

Chenghiz, we are told, lived to regret the dreadful desolation he had made, and proposed to rebuild many of the cities that he had destroyed; but age and infirmity warned him that his end was approaching, and he assembled all his family, whom he earnestly exhorted to live in concord* with each other, and to observe the laws which he had established. All promised obedience; and the Khakan expired at the advanced age of seventy-three, having lived to complete the vast projects he had early formed, and to give to each of his four sons ‡ a great kingdom. To his eldest, Joujee Khan, he had given the wide region of Kapchac: but that prince died a few months before his father, and left his territories to his son, Batou Khan, who conquered Russia and Bulgaria, and ravaged the countries of Poland, Moravia, and Dalmatia, and had marched into Hungary in order to attack Constantinople, when death ended his victorious career. Octai, the eldest son of Chenghiz, at the period of that conqueror's death, succeeded to the dominions of Tartary

Death of Chenghiz Khan. A. D. 1226†. A. H. 624.

Rule of his son, Joujee Khan.

Octai, the son of Chenghiz, is crowned emperor.

* Chenghiz, in this address to his children, is said to have had recourse to the popular illustration of showing, by the strength of a bundle of reeds, and the weakness of one, the benefits that result from union: but the Mahomedan authors, who record this anecdote, very appropriately make the Tartar conqueror exhibit this experiment, (not with common reeds,) but with a quiver of arrows.

† According to Rubruquis, Chenghiz died in A. D. 1227; but Mahomedan authors state, that he expired on the fourth of Ramzan 624, which corresponds with A. D. 1226.

‡ He had many other sons; but these were the only princes employed in great stations, and destined by their father for monarchy, probably on account of their high descent by their mother, Burta Koutchin, who was the daughter of Zei Nevian, chief of the tribe of Konharat, and who held the first rank among the five principal wives of Chenghiz, all of whom were of high birth.

CHAP. XII.

and Northern China, and was crowned as Khakan, or emperor. He was a humane and generous prince, well calculated to heal those wounds which the insatiable ambition of his great but cruel father had inflicted. This monarch continued to be guided by the wise counsels of his brother, Chaghtai*, the most pious and accomplished of all the sons of Chenghiz; and although Chaghtai succeeded, by the will of his father, to the kingdoms of Transoxania, Bulkh, Buduchsan, and Kashgar, he governed these countries by deputies, and remained himself with his brother, Octai, by whom he was regarded with that reverence which a pupil gives to his master†.

The kingdoms of Persia, Khorassan, and Cabul, were assigned to Tuli Khan, the fourth son of Chenghiz: but that prince died‡ soon after his father. He left several sons: among whom the two eldest were the most famous; Mangou Khan‖, who succeeded

A. D. 1253. A. H. 651.

* This name is commonly spelt Zagatai; but Chaghtai is more consonant to the Turkish pronunciation.

† We have a remarkable proof of that respect and reverence in which the Tartars held Chaghtai, in the permanence of his fame, both as the parent and instructor of his people. A nation assumed his name, terming themselves the Ouloss, or tribe, of Chaghtai, by which they are still called; and the most polished dialect of Turkish, is termed Chaghtai, in memory of the prince through whose learning and encouragement of learned men it was brought to its present excellence.

‡ He died three years after Chenghiz.

‖ There is a curious account of this emperor and his court in the Travels of William De Rubruquis, who, it has been before stated, was sent into Tartary by Louis the Ninth of France, when that sovereign was in Palestine. Rubruquis was first sent to Sartach Khan, the son of the famous Batoo Khan, to congratulate him upon his becoming a Christian: but the report of his conversion proved untrue. Sartach sent the

Keyouk Khan, the son of Octai, in the dominion of Tartary; and Hulakoo Khan, who, after conquering the whole of Persia, proceeded westward, and destroyed all that remained of the once celebrated empire of the caliphs.

Hulakoo Khan subdues Persia. A. D. 1253. A. H. 651.

Hulakoo, when detached by his brother, Mangou Khan, to subdue Persia, was attended by a chosen army* of veteran soldiers. His first enterprise, which has been already mentioned, entitled him to the gratitude of the country he came to conquer. The extirpation of the power of the sect of Ismail, and the destruction of the strong holds of these assassins, was an act which merited a nation's gratitude; and we receive a favourable impression of the conqueror's character from the joy he testified at being able to release Nasser-u-deen, and the great estimation in which he continued to hold the character of that eminent philosopher. Hulakoo, we are informed, had intended to march direct towards Constantinople, but was persuaded by Nasser-u-deen to turn his arms against Bagdad. His new coun-

French monk on to his father, and he compelled him to proceed to the Court of Mangou Khan, who treated him kindly, though he appears to have slighted the arguments by which the good Rubruquis endeavoured to make him change his faith. The Travels of Rubruquis contain much curious matter: and there is internal evidence in every page of the author's scrupulous attention to truth. The account which he gives of the City of Kara Koram, does not correspond with the magnificent picture which many authors have drawn of that capital of the family of Chenghiz.

* The army he took upon this expedition is computed at one hundred and fifty thousand horse. He is said, among other parts of his equipment, to have had a thousand families of Chinese artificers, who were skilled in the construction of military machines, and in preparing and using every species of inflammable substances, which were then much used in the attack of walled towns.

CHAP. XII.

sellor, whose fame as an astrologer was very high, assured him the stars had decreed, that the House of Abbas should fall before that of Chenghiz*: and this prophecy, like many others, produced its own accomplishment. A pretext for war was soon found. It was stated, that Mustasim had not given the Tartar prince that aid, which it was his duty to have done, in his attack upon a body of assassins, who were alike the enemies of God and of man; and the caliph was pronounced, on account of his backwardness in such a cause, unworthy of the high dignity of Commander of the Faithful. The hardy Moghuls marched against his capital; while the unfortunate sovereign, acting (as several historians state) under the influence of a treacherous minister†, trusted to vain anathemas to stop the progress of a fierce warrior, who held him and his religion in equal contempt. The capture of Bagdad; the massacre of the greatest part of its inhabitants‡; the murder of the Caliph Mustasim, and his only surviving son‖; and the conquest of the remainder

Makes war upon the caliphs of Bagdad.

Marches against that city. A. D. 1256. A. H. 654.

* Tuarikh Guzedah.

† It is natural in the historians of a country to ascribe its subjugation to perfidy rather than weakness. We are told by almost all Mahomedan authors, that Abou-taleb, vizier of the last caliph, was a Sheah, and entertained a deadly hatred to his master on account of the cruelties which he had inflicted on that sect of schismatics. He veiled his treachery in a show of confidence, and lulled Mustasim into a fatal security, grounded upon a contempt of his enemy: but we require no such causes to account for the subjection of the caliph by the Tartar conqueror.

‡ Persian authors have given the most exaggerated accounts of this massacre. We are told, that between seven and eight hundred thousand were put to death, and that the stream of the Tigris was swelled with waves of blood!!

‖ Hulakoo put both of them to death. The eldest son of Mustasim found a more honourable end in defending one of the gates of his father's capital.

W.Webbe del.

C.Heath sculp.

VIEW OF THE CITY OF MARAGHA.

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Conquers Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria.

of Persia, of Mesopotamia*, and of Syria; all of which events were crowded into one year; transferred the empire of the Arabian caliphs to Hulakoo, and fulfilled the prediction of Nasser-u-deen.

A. D. 1258. A. H. 656.

The conqueror, we are told, after these successes, was desirous of returning to Tartary to take possession of the government of his native country, which had become vacant by the death of his brother, Mangou Khan: but the great defeat which the general whom he had left in Syria suffered from Seif-u-deen†, the prince of the Mamelukes of Egypt, compelled him to abandon his design‡: and, after he had restored his affairs in Syria, he fixed his residence at Maragha‖, in Aderbijan; a beautiful town, which is situated on a fine plain that is watered by a small but pure stream, which, rising in the high mountains of Sakund, flows past the walls of the city, and empties itself into the neighbouring lake

* Nothing could exceed the barbarity with which those were treated who held out against the Moghuls. A fortress, (called Miafare Keen,) in the district of Diarbekir, arrested their career: but distress for provisions made the garrison force their gallant governor, Malick Kumal[27], to surrender. They were put to the sword; and Malik Kumal, for the few days he lived under torment, was denied any support except some pieces of his own flesh, which were torn off and given him to appease his hunger. The effect expected from these dreadful examples was produced, and every fort threw wide its gates to the conqueror.

† The title of this prince was Malik-ul-Muzuffer. ‡ De Guignes.

‖ Maragha is still in a very flourishing condition: it is the next city, in consequence, to Tabreeze, the capital of the province of Aderbijan.

[27] By some authors he is called Ashraff.

CHAP. XII.

of Oormia*. The banks of the river Jaghatty, (which runs from the mountains of Kurdistan into the same lake, and passes within a few miles of Maragha,) must have afforded excellent pasture to the horses and flocks of the Moghuls: and at this delightful spot, Hulakoo appears to have employed his last years in a manner worthy of a great monarch. Philosophers and astronomers were assembled from every part of his dominions, who laboured, in works of science, under the direction of his favourite, Nasser-u-deen. The summit of a low mountain, situated close to Maragha, was levelled, and an observatory† built upon it, the foundation of which still remains;

Encourages arts and sciences.

* This lake, generally believed to be the Spauto of Strabo, and Marcianus of Ptolemy, is about three hundred miles in circumference. Its water is quite salt, but is different from that of the sea: and it is remarkable that there are no fish in it.

† The following account of this observatory is given by Major Price, who takes it from the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur:

"For the site of his observatory, Nusseir-ud-dien fixed upon a lofty eminence north "of the Tebrizian Meraughah; where being provided with a power to command, "without limitation, the assistance of the officers of the imperial treasury and revenue, "he succeeded, in a short time, in bringing the fabric to a completion. As far as we "are able to collect from the original, it is described to have been furnished with some "species of apparatus, (perhaps an Orrery,) to represent the celestial sphere, with the "signs of the Zodiac, the conjunctions, transits, and revolutions of the heavenly bodies. "Through a perforation in the dome, the rays of the sun were admitted so as to strike "upon certain lines on the pavement, in a way to indicate, in degrees and minutes, "the altitude and declination of that luminary during every season, and marking the "time and hour of the day throughout the year. It was further supplied with a map "of the terrestrial globe, in all its climates, or zones, exhibiting the several regions of "the habitable world, as well as a general outline of the ocean, with the numerous "islands contained in its bosom; all so perspicuously arranged and delineated, accord-"ing to our author, as at once to remove, by the clearest demonstration, every doubt

and is shown to travellers as the spot where Nasser-u-deen formed those astronomical tables which have become so celebrated under the name of the tables of Eel-Khannee*.

Hulakoo is succeeded by his son, Abaka Khan. A. D. 1264. A. H. 663.

Hulakoo died at Maragha†, and was succeeded by his son, Abaka Khan, a prince who added to the qualifications of courage and wisdom, those of moderation, clemency, and justice. The great object of Abaka was to repair those ravages which the empire had suffered from the excesses of his father's soldiers, among whom he introduced a very strict discipline. His reign was disturbed by two great invasions‡ from Tartary. The one was made by Barkah Khan, a descendant of Chaghtai, who advanced from the plains of

" from the mind of the student. From an extraordinary difference in the sun's altitude " and declination, at corresponding periods, between what was exhibited in the Zeytch- " e-Eylekhauny, Eylekhaunian tables, now framed, and in those hitherto established, " an error of surprising magnitude, and to the great confusion of chronology, was " detected, in the mode formerly observed to adjust the commencement of the new " year. But, before this celebrated observatory had been entirely completed, the sun of " Hûlaukû's power had set for ever."—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. p. 573.

I visited the remains of this observatory in 1810, but could only trace the foundation. I had a ground plan made of it, and of the top of the mountain on which it was built.

* Eel-Khannee means the lord or chief of the tribe. It was the modest title assumed by Hulakoo, in honour of whom these tables were named. This is the same word as that which Major Price terms Eylekhauny.

† Major Price, on the authority of the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, says, he had marched from Maragha, and died at a place which he calls Tcheghaitû.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 572.

‡ According to the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, the first of these invasions took place the year before Hulakoo's death, and the reverse he experienced gave great affliction to that monarch.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 571.

CHAP. XII.

Kapchac into Georgia with a numerous force*. The death of this prince, which occurred when his army was encamped on the banks of the river Cyrus, freed Abaka from a powerful enemy. But, a few years afterwards, Borak Aghlan, another of the descendants of Chaghtai, led a still larger army across the Oxus into Khorassan, and plundered that province. He was, however, defeated by Abaka, in a great action fought near Herat, and obliged to seek safety in a precipitate flight.

A. D. 1268. A. H. 667.

Some reverses in Syria, where he had sent his brother, Mangou Timour, with a large force, and the intrigues of his own court†, embittered the latter years of the reign of Abaka; and his days were believed by many to have been shortened by poison‡, given to him by his minister, Shems-u-deen; who, after enjoying a plenitude of power for many years, could not endure the thoughts of that disgrace with which his enemies, who had completely gained the emperor's favour, were on the point of overwhelming him.

He is supposed to be poisoned. A. D. 1281. A. H. 680.

Character of Abaka Khan.

All eastern authors agree in praising the character of Abaka: but some assert, that during the latter years of his life he indulged to excess in drinking. The celebrated poet, Jellal-u-deen‖, was a subject of Abaka: and Shaïkh Sadi, of Shiraz, who retained to a very

* D'Herbelot. † De Guignes.

‡ Major Price states, on the authority of the Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur, that this prince had ruined his health with drinking; and that having fallen asleep in his chair one day, when in a very low state, he was awoke by the croaking of a raven, which had perched itself in an opposite window. This bad omen (for the raven is every where deemed portentous of evil,) had such an effect upon the superstitious sovereign, that he expired on the spot.—PRICE's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. page 577.

‖ He is usually called Moullah-e-Room, or "the Moullah of Room," in Asia Minor. This poet, though born at Bulkh, lived in the province of Anatolia.

advanced age all the fire of his genius, informs us, that he was presented to the son of the renowned Hulakoo. The nations of the West were as familiar with the name and reputation of Abaka as those of the East. He had married the daughter of Michael Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, who had been betrothed to his father, but arrived at Maragha after the death of that prince. This circumstance, and the connexion he formed with some of the potentates of Europe, when at war with the ruler of Syria and Egypt, have given rise to an opinion that he had embraced the Christian faith. But this fact is not supported by any satisfactory proof: and it is certain, that whatever private opinions he might have entertained, he never made a public profession of that religion.

His brother, Neekoudar, is raised to the throne. A. D. 1281. A. H. 680.

At the death of Abaka the Moghul lords held a council, and raised his brother, Neekoudar, to the throne. This prince is said to have been baptized in his youth by the name of Nicolas: but policy, or conviction, led him to abandon the doctrine of Christ for that of Mahomed; and, to establish his sincerity in this change, he became the violent persecutor of those whose opinions he had once adopted*. Ahmed Khan, (for that was the new name which this apostate assumed,) not content with destroying all the churches that had been built in his empire, ordered that every Christian should be banished from his dominions. But these violent measures involved him in ruin†. The Moghuls, who, though not Christians, had long lived in terms of friendship with those who professed that religion, and who hated the Mahomedans, were indignant at the conduct of their sovereign, against

Banishes the Christians from his dominions.

* D'Herbelot.

† Abulfiradge.

CHAP. XII.

whom a complaint was made to the Emperor of Tartary, Kublai Khan*, and that monarch threatened him with vengeance†. Ahmed seized and put to death his brother, who had been the first to complain to the Khakan of his abuse of power; and he was also successful in obtaining possession of the person of his nephew, Arghoun: but that prince was not only rescued from his violence by the Moghul nobles, but, by their aid, was enabled to deprive him of his crown and life. Arghoun, though he exercised the functions of a monarch, did not assume the name until he received the

Puts his brother to death.

Is himself slain.

Arghoun Khan assumes the government.

* The son and successor of Mangou Khan, and the great grandson of Chenghiz. The following character of this prince is given by De Guignes, one of the most learned of European writers on Asiatic history.

"The rule of the Moghuls (hitherto severe and barbarous) changed its character in "the reign of this prince, who adopted entirely the manners of the Chinese; and who "is regarded, even by that people, as one of the best and most illustrious of their "emperors. His reign was remarkable for great men, and great events. The reason "was, that the sovereign himself was great. Under him the arts and sciences "flourished. His object was to render his people happy, by rewarding merit wher-"ever he found it, by encouraging agriculture, and promoting the increase of manu-"factures and of commerce. If the Chinese have often been conquered," adds De Guignes, "their laws have escaped that fate; for to them the conquerors of the nation "have, in their turn, submitted. Most of the Moghuls abandoned their rude habits; "and a great proportion, imitating the Chinese, became remarkable for their love of "their country and prince. The greatest crime in China is to fail in respect or "obedience to a parent, and the emperor is deemed the father of his people."—*Hist. Gen. des Huns, &c.* Vol. IV. page 267.

This is a fine picture, but it is not correct. China is now better known than it was in the time of De Guignes; (the son of that author principally contributed to remove the veil;) and our respect for their boasted laws and government has decreased as our knowledge has advanced.

† De Guignes, Vol. IV. page 264.

investiture from the Emperor of Tartary, by whom he was hailed as sovereign of Persia, Arabia, and Syria, the moment that the Khakan heard the intelligence of the death of Ahmed Khan.

A. D. 1284. A. H. 683.

The reign of Arghoun Khan, the son of Abaka Khan, was marked by few events of consequence. He recalled the celebrated Shems-u-deen; who, disgusted with court, had retired to Isfahan, and proposed to go to India: but this able minister was hardly re-established in his office, before his enemies persuaded the prince that he had actually poisoned his father; and the aged vizier was made over to the public executioner. There appears to have been no positive evidence of his guilt; and his virtues and abilities have brought an odium on the monarch by whom he was put to death. The Ameer Boccah, the rival of Shems-u-deen, rose, upon his fall, to such power, that he was tempted to make a grasp at the crown: but he was unsuccessful, and lost his life in the attempt*. His successor in the office of vizier was a Jew, who had been a physician: and we are informed by eastern writers, that this person, who is known in their page by his title of Saad-u-doulah †, owed the high rank to which he was elevated by his weak master to his pleasing manners and agreeable conversation.

His conduct towards Shems-u-deen

Conduct of his minister, Ameer Boccah.

Who is succeeded by Saad-u-doulah

The new minister of Arghoun, who appears to have been all-powerful, favoured and protected the Christians in Persia, but persecuted the Mahomedans, whom he removed from all stations of trust or profit; and, indeed, went so far, as to command that no person professing that faith should appear at court. While the Pope

His conduct to the Christians.

* D'Herbelot.

† Saad-u-doulah signifies "the virtuous of the state."

CHAP. XII.

of Rome* was sending deputations to Arghoun, to express his gratitude for the kindness with which the Moghul prince treated Christians, "true believers" (I translate from a Mahomedan author) "trembled, lest the sacred Temple of Mecca should be converted "into a cathedral." But the death of Arghoun put an end to the hopes of the followers of one religion, and the fears of those of the other; and Saad-u-doulah was murdered almost at the same instant that his sovereign expired.

Saad-u-doulah is murdered.

Arghoun Khan is succeeded by Key Khatou. A. D. 1291. A. H. 690.

On the death of Arghoun, his brother, Key Khatou†, (then Governor of Anatolia,) was raised to the throne by the voice of the majority of the Ameers, and hastened to Tabreez, (which had become the capital of the empire,) where he was apparently welcomed by all, though it was known there were many among the most powerful of the nobles who were very averse to his elevation. This prince, we are told‡, was humane and generous: but the same author admits that he was indolent, sensual, and extravagant. His dislike of trouble induced him to confide the reins of government to a minister: his passion for women led him to seize, as his desires prompted, the wives and daughters of his subjects: and his thoughtless expenses wasted the resources of an empire.

His character and government.

The short and inglorious reign of Key Khatou would hardly merit notice, were it not for one measure, which must, from its singularity, preserve his memory from oblivion. When his unexampled prodigality had exhausted all his treasures, and left him so

* Nicolas the Fourth.

† He is termed by some authors Tshagautem, or "the astonishing."

‡ Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.

overwhelmed with debt that money could not be raised to defray the expenses of his household, he listened to a plausible scheme that was brought before him, for introducing a paper currency throughout his dominions. The author of this scheme was an officer* in the revenue department, of reputed talent. He proposed to introduce, in lieu of specie, a paper exchange, of the same description which, our author states, was then in use in China†: and when it became a medium of value in all commercial concerns, it was expected that it would (without injury to individuals) cause the whole gold and silver of the country to flow into the royal treasury; and, by that operation, give new life and vigour to the government.

Key Khatou establishes a paper currency.

The vizier of Key Khatou, and the officer who proposed this scheme, are said to have corresponded with the minister‡ of the

A. D. 1294. A. H. 694.

* His name was Ezuddeen Muzuffer. He subsequently received the appellation of Sherreer, or "wicked," which was probably given by those whom his scheme had ruined.

† This establishment had then subsisted nearly sixty years in China.

‡ According to the author of the Dil-Kusha, they only consulted with the ambassador from China, who was then at the Persian court. But we find, from the Travels of Marco Polo, that at the very date at which this measure must have been in contemplation, that noble Venetian, accompanied by his father and uncle, was at the Court of Persia. They had been residing for many years at the Court of Kublai Khan, the Emperor of Tartary and China; and when that sovereign complied with a request, made through some ambassadors sent by Arghoun Khan, to give their master in marriage a princess of the imperial family, the Venetians accompanied the train of that lady, who was also attended by some high nobles of Tartary, and the ambassadors of Arghoun. The party came by sea from China. They appear to have stopped at Java, and several other places, and were eighteen months on the passage. When they reached Persia, Arghoun Khan was dead, and his place occupied by his brother, Key Khatou; who, Marco Polo states, only governed the kingdom for the son of Arghoun,

CHAP. XII.

Emperor of China and Tartary before they communicated the plan to their master, whom they found ready to grasp at any shadow that promised relief to his distress*. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting the use of the precious metals, either as a medium of value in trade, or in any species of manufacture, further than what might be required for the monarch. To provide a circulating medium, it was ordained that stamp, or banking houses, should be established in every city and town in Persia, where bank-notes should be made and issued. It was at the same time ordered, that all goldsmiths, embroiderers, and money-changers, who might be deprived of employment by the introduction of this scheme, should be indemnified by an annual stipend paid in the new notes. This strange and crude plan was actually carried into execution. Banking houses were erected every where. They were called *Tshau Khanah*, or "The House of Stamps, or Notes." The tshau†, or bank-note, was an oblong piece of paper, containing a short inscription in Khataeen, or Chinese characters, and exhibiting, on each side, the Mahomedan

Description of the bank-notes

who was under age: and he adds, that Key Khatou directed that the Tartar princess whom they had brought for Arghoun should be given in marriage to Ghazan, the son of the deceased monarch. This mission must have reached the Court of Tabreez in the year 1292, or 1293, as Arghoun did not die till the end of 1291; and the Venetian nobles, after remaining nine months in Persia, and visiting several countries on their journey towards home, reached Venice in 1295. The relation of Marco Polo shows that Key Khatou had, at his court, not only ambassadors from China, and some of his own ministers who had returned from that country, but intelligent Europeans, who, from what they had seen both in their native country and China, were very likely to be consulted regarding the scheme of establishing a paper currency.

* He is stated to have been, at this period, considerably more than two millions sterling in debt.

† Probably a Chinese word.

confession of faith*, and the words Eerantchie and Routchee, which seem to have been titles bestowed upon the kings of Persia by the great Khan of Tartary†. In the middle of the note was a circle, within which the value‡ was written, with an inscription containing the date of issue, and a positive mandate (on pain of condign punishment) for all his majesty's subjects to receive this currency.

We know, from still more unquestionable authority than the Mahomedan authors‖ who record this transaction, that an attempt to establish a paper currency had been made in China, when that nation was under the immediate successors§ of Chenghiz Khan: but

* There is no god but God, and Mahomed is his prophet.

† Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur and Dil-Kusha.

‡ The notes varied from half a dirhem to ten dirhems; that is, from two pence three farthings to four shillings and seven pence.

‖ Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur and Dil-Kusha.

§ The attempt to give bank-notes currency in Persia took place in A. D. 1294. The following passage from the Travels of Marco Polo, who was at the court of the Emperor of China and Tartary about twenty years before that date, shows that a paper currency had been established in that empire.

" The money of the Great Khan," Marco Polo observes, " is not made of gold, or " silver, or other metal; but they take the middle bark from the mulberry tree, and this " they make firm, and cut into divers round pieces, great and little, and imprint the " king's mark thereon. Of this paper money, therefore, the emperor causeth an huge " mass to be made in the City of Cambalu, which sufficeth for the whole empire; and " no man, under pain of death, may coin any other, or spend any other money, or " refuse it, in all his kingdoms and countries; nor any, coming from another kingdom, " dare spend any other money in the empire of the Great Khan. Hence it follows, " that merchants often coming from remote countries unto the City of Cambalu, bring " with them gold, silver, pearl, and precious stones, and receive the king's money for " them: and because this money is not received in their country, they change it again, " in the empire of the Great Khan, for merchandise, which they carry away with them.

CHAP. XII.

this attempt appears, after an experiment of some years, to have been abandoned: and when a great scarcity of copper induced the Emperor Hongvou to revive* the same scheme, a century after it had been first tried, he entirely failed; the Chinese showing, according to the writer who records the fact, a natural reluctance to exchange their solid metal for so light a substance as paper.

The success of any effort to substitute paper currency for coin, must, in the most civilized and settled states, rest wholly on that confidence which those who receive and use it have in the stability, the faith, and the wealth of the government by which it is issued: and every interference of power to promote its circulation must, in a certain degree, depreciate its value. It follows, therefore, that though such a currency may be a convenient medium to facilitate

" He also payeth stipend to his officers and army in the above-mentioned money. " And lastly, whatever thing he needs in his court, he buyeth with this money. " Wherefore, there is not a king to be found in the world who exceedeth him in trea- " sure, not expended on the mint, as elsewhere."

General Kirkpatrick, in a preface to the Translation of the Institutes of Ghazan Khan, published in the New Asiatic Miscellany, describes the history of the bank which Key Khatou attempted to establish in Persia. He adds: " We read in Chinese " history of the establishment of paper currency in that empire, A. D. 1236." It is certain, that this was from thirty to forty years before the period of which Marco Polo speaks, as he only commenced his travels about the year 1270. His father, Nicolo Polo, and his uncle, Mathio Polo, however, had been at the Court of the Great Khan of Tartary fifteen or sixteen years before this period; and it is not improbable that Marco might have included the substance of their observations in his account of his own travels. And we are particularly informed, that when these were written, both his father and his uncle gave testimony to the truth of all he related.

* This second attempt was made A. D. 1368.—*Voyage à Pekin* DE GUIGNES, jun. Vol. III. page 230.

commercial intercourse among the subjects of a rich, powerful, and free country, its adoption must ever be the worst and most fallacious of all resources that an impoverished or a despotic government can adopt. In a nation like China, where the ruler is considered as approaching the Deity, where laws are made less to protect the people than to support the absolute power* of the sovereign, and where man is, by education and habit, degraded into a state of the most passive submission, a mandate to compel credit might be

* Though there can be no doubt that the mass of the population of China, from the exemption they enjoy from war, are among the most happy of those who live under an arbitrary rule, the government of that country may be termed the perfection of despotism. There are laws, it is true; but the emperor can make or abrogate these laws at pleasure. Men have a right to a trial, but the monarch names or removes the judges. Filial piety is deemed the first of duties; but all bend to the emperor, as a divine parent. He is called the Son of Heaven; which implies, that he has no duties but to God. He receives adoration from his subjects, and his orders are deemed sacred. The usages, as well as the laws of this empire, are all framed to support the power of the ruler. High officers and nobles, who might, in a country where all the gradations of society are so marked, become dangerous from their official power, are preserved in a state of dependence by continual removals. Their sons are educated at the Imperial College, where the principal lesson taught them is, that of a holy respect for the emperor. In short, all the institutions of this vast empire are studiously designed to remind men of their actual condition, and to make them fear to leave those ranks assigned to them in the community; and this is more effected by the fear of punishment than the hope of reward.

The minds of men born in a free country may revolt at this picture of the calm of despotism: but the mass of the inhabitants of those regions of Asia who are exposed to the continual tempests of a barbarous ambition, which recognises no law but the sword, and has no object but conquest, deem the Chinese, on account of their exemption from these evils, the happiest of men; and consider the government, which keeps them in such complete quiet and subjection, the best that human wisdom has ever invented.

CHAP. XII.

attended with temporary effect: but, in a kingdom like Persia, where the materials of government have ever been rude and misshapen, where there is always much of natural liberty, of turbulence, and of latent sedition, the very proposition of this plan was calculated to have ruined the most able monarch. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that the indolent and irresolute Key Khatou took alarm at the loud clamours of the inhabitants of his capital, and indeed of the whole kingdom; for, we are told, all combined in execrating this scheme, and its authors. But though this singular measure was repealed almost as soon as it was adopted*, the sovereign lost the confidence of all ranks by attempting to enforce it; and, a few months subsequent, the resentment of a personal injury led Baidu Khan, a grandson of Hulakoo, to rebel against his authority; and the unfortunate monarch was, after a short struggle, made prisoner, and put to death, by a confederacy of his own disaffected nobles.

Key Khatou put to death. A. D. 1294. A. H. 694.

Baidu Khan, who succeeded Key Khatou, enjoyed the crown of Persia only a few months: he was dethroned and slain by his nephew, Ghazan Khan, the son of Arghoon Khan; who, if we are to believe the historians of his reign, was compelled to attack his uncle and sovereign to preserve himself from destruction. This prince refused to ascend the throne of his ancestors till he was regularly elected, as the most renowned of his race had been, by the chiefs of the empire. A coroultai, or assembly of the Moghul nobles†, was

And succeeded by Baidu Khan. Who is slain.

Ghazan Khan elected king.

* It lasted only three days; and the author of the Dil-Kusha states, that its author, Muzuffer, was torn to pieces by the mob.

† It is a very curious fact, noticed by General Kirkpatrick, on the authority of a Persian author, that at a coroultai, which was held for the election of Kaik Khan, on

called; and we are told, that the monarch addressed them in a very impressive manner. While he explained his intention of labouring to restore the government to a better condition, and called upon them for their aid, he at the same time threatened all who should, by their actions, retard the intended reforms, with the severest punishment. Since the death of Hulakoo, the government had been more in the hands of powerful nobles than in those of the monarch. These, in fact, had become a body of petty princes, and the state was disturbed with their pretensions and usurpations. The regulations established by Chenghiz were neglected; and that superintending authority and strict police, by which alone despotism can be rendered tolerable, from its protecting those over whom it tyrannises from being injured by others, had, in the empire of Persia, no existence, but in name. We learn, indeed, the extent of the abuses which a succession of two or three weak princes had given rise to, from the most authentic of all sources, the preambles of those laws, or rather regulations, which Ghazan Khan made to correct them. This wise and just prince not only revived and reformed the Institutes of Chenghiz, but framed a new and more full code of edicts; the object of which was, the reform of the administration of justice; the establishment of good regulations in the collection of the public revenue; the distribution of lands for the support of the army; the regulation of inns, or caravansaries; the reform of the system of public post-houses for officers and couriers of government, which appear to have been established throughout the empire*; the suppression of robbers; and the fixing

State of the government at the time of his accession.

Regulations established by him.

the plains of Kapchack, some of the ameers, or nobles, voted by proxy.—*Vide New Asiatic Miscellany.*

* The posts still exist in Turkey, and several parts of Europe, in the same rude form that they were first established in Persia; but they are no longer to be found in that

CHAP. XII.

the standard of coins, weights, and measures. These, and a number of other laws, or edicts, which cannot be classed under any general head, were founded upon principles that showed as much attention to the moral improvement of his subjects, as to the increase of the strength and vigour of his government. The Institutes* of Ghazan Khan are not only transcribed at full by some of the best Persian historians, but have been adopted by succeeding monarchs, as regulations eminently calculated to promote the general prosperity of a community, constituted like that for which they were originally framed.

His wars with the sultans of Egypt.

The principal wars which this monarch carried on were with the sultans of Egypt. His policy led him to seek the aid of the states of Europe; and Pope Boniface the Eighth endeavoured to excite, by a display of his connexion with Ghazan Khan, the Christian princes to another crusade†. It was probably this connexion with the head of the Christian church that led to a general impression among western writers, that Ghazan Khan was not sincere in his conversion to Mahomedanism: and this belief was confirmed by the wars in which he was continually engaged with a race of monarchs‡ who were, at that period, deemed the defenders of the religion of

country, owing probably to the confusion in which its government has been for the last century. The post-houses are miserable hovels, at each of which a number of horses are kept. These are given to any person who has an order for them; and the abuses of such a department must be enormous, when not under very strict regulation.

* The whole code of his Institutes has been translated from the Persian, by that able orientalist, the late General William Kirkpatrick.—*Vide New Asiatic Miscellany.*

† History of the Crusades, page 408.

‡ The sultans of Egypt.

the prophet of Arabia against the combined efforts of the Christian world: but Mahomedan writers are too sensible of the glory of having such a convert, to doubt his sincerity*. The fact appears, that the celebrated Ameer Nouroze, whose great influence and talents made his aid essential to Ghazan Khan, informed him, that unless he embraced the religion of Mahomed, it would be difficult to place him upon the throne of Persia; and that the Tartar prince acted like Henry the Fourth of France upon a nearly similar occasion. His apostasy, however, from the faith of his fathers, was rendered still more remarkable than that of the European monarch, by his example producing the instant conversion† of near one hundred thousand of his followers, who, with the true spirit of Tartar soldiers, followed their leader into the pale of Islam, and soon became the active supporters of that faith which they had so suddenly embraced. In the speech that Ghazan Khan made to the ameers, at the coroultai, (or assembly of chiefs,) when he was elected, he dwells upon the sincerity of his belief: and he was the first of this race of kings who threw off all allegiance to the Khakan of Tartary, by directing that the name of that monarch (whom he was compelled to deem an infidel,) should not, in future, be struck on the coins‡ of Persia. This act of contumacy produced an invasion of Khorassan by an

Conversion of himself and army to the Mahomedan faith.

Throws off his allegiance to the Khakan of Tartary.

* Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.

† The great conversion of the monarch and his army took place at Firoze Koh on the seventeenth of June 1265.

‡ On the coin which Ghazan Khan struck, the Mahomedan creed, ("There is no "god but God, and Mahomed is his prophet,") was inscribed, in place of the name and titles of the Khakan of Tartary.

CHAP. XII.

army of Tartars: but they were repelled by Nouroze, who obliged them to recross the Oxus with great loss. The power of this great minister and general appears to have grown with his success; till he at last became either an object of suspicion or of dread to the sovereign whom he had placed upon the throne. His death was the consequence*. Some historians have endeavoured to reconcile us to this ingratitude of Ghazan Khan, by asserting that that prince continued, through life, to hate the man who had forced him to become a convert to a religion which he inwardly abhorred, and which, they say, it was the chief object of the war he waged with the Sultan of Egypt to destroy†. As a proof of this, they adduce his readiness to re-establish the Christians in the Holy Land: but all the promises this monarch made to the Christian potentates, were probably dictated more by motives of policy than of religion. He was engaged in a war in which he required their aid: and he sought it by the common means of holding out those views which he thought most likely to induce them to join him.

Power of his minister, Nouroze.

A. D. 1296. A. H. 696. Who is put to death.

In the contest which this monarch carried on in Syria he was at first successful; but latterly experienced a complete reverse of fortune. This, we are informed, preyed upon his spirits, and accelerated his death, which took place at a town near Rhe, that he had built and called Sham Ghazan, or "the Syria of "Ghazan;" a proof how much his mind dwelt upon the conquest of that country.

A. D. 1303. A. H. 703. Death of Ghazan Khan.

* Mahomedan authors ascribe the murder of Nouroze to a combination of the Moghul ameers, who continued friendly to the Christian religion, or the ancient worship of their own country, and whose hostility to the Mahomedan religion grew with its success.—*Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.*

† De Guignes.

His character

Ghazan Khan was remarkable for the lowness of his stature, and the extreme ugliness of his face and person*; but he had a mind richly endowed with learning† and virtue. This prince, however, to obtain the crown, professed the Mahomedan religion; and his life had passed in friendship with Christians, and in wars with the followers of the faith he had adopted. This apparent contradiction of profession and principle must have rendered him unpopular with almost all classes of his subjects; for we can hardly believe that Christians could have reposed with confidence in a monarch, over whom political motives had such power as to make him an apostate‡; or that Mahomedans could have been attached to a ruler who so openly countenanced and aided their enemies. Nevertheless, Ghazan Khan has the singular fortune of being exalted, by eastern authors, into an example for monarchs; and of being deplored by western writers as one of the greatest losses the cause of religion ever suffered: but the latter sentiment

* The Christian monk, Haiton, who was long at the Court of Ghazan Khan, after describing a battle with the Sultan of Egypt in which the Persian monarch displayed the greatest conduct and courage, adds: "It is astonishing how so many virtues can "reside in so diminutive and ugly a person."—De Guignes.

† We are informed by De Guignes, who probably follows a western author, that Ghazan Khan made Cyrus his model, and was constantly reading the life of that prince, and of Alexander; but unless this monarch understood Greek, he must have been contented with the fabulous but animating pages of the Persian poets, Ferdosi and Nizamee, for an account of the actions of these heroes.

‡ It is not distinctly stated whether he apostatized from the religion of his ancestors, or from that of the Christians: but, if we are to credit western writers, we must believe that he was attached, through life, to the latter faith, though he does not appear ever to have made a public profession of his belief in its doctrines.

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1303. A. H. 703.

has probably arisen from his being the last monarch of Persia who was at all disposed to assist the followers of the Cross in their efforts to recover Palestine.

Sultan Mahomed succeeds to the throne.

The throne of Ghazan Khan descended to his brother, who is best known in history by the name of Sultan Mahomed Khodah-bundah*. During the reign of this prince, his kingdom was only disturbed by one invasion of Khorassan by the Tartars of Chaghtai†, and a rebellion in Ghilan. The Tartars were repulsed; but the royal army sent to reduce Ghilan was defeated; and this failure was rendered memorable from Kutluck Shah, the principal general who had commanded the armies of Ghazan in Syria being slain in the action‡.

A. D. 1306. A. H. 706.

His character.

Sultan Mahomed Khodah-bundah is said to have been a just prince. He was the first monarch of Persia who proclaimed himself of the sect of Aly. He gave a public proof of his attachment to this sect, by causing the names of the twelve holy Imaums to be engraven on all the money which he coined: and his memory continues to be cherished in Persia, more probably on account of his faith than of his virtues.

Builds the City of Sultaneah.

Sultan Khodah-bundah built the celebrated City of Sultaneah‖, which he made the capital of his dominions: and it continued that

* "Mahomed the slave of God." This was his title; his Tartar name was Ouljaitou Khan.

† A great tribe had taken the name of Chaghtai, of whom the leaders were the descendants of that wise and pious prince. ‡ De Guignes.

‖ This city is now completely deserted: and, as it was entirely built of brick, there are but few vestiges of its former grandeur. Part of the mausoleum of Khodah-bundah remains: and there is enough to show that it has been a beautiful building. The diameter is more than a hundred feet; and the elevation of the grand dome about one hundred and twenty. The tomb is in the centre: and some of the marble, of which

of his immediate successors. It was ornamented with many fine buildings: but the most splendid of which any vestige now remains, is the tomb of its founder.

He is succeeded by his son, Abou Seyd. A. D. 1316. A. H. 716.

Mahomed Khodah-bundah was succeeded by his son, Abou Seyd*, who was only twelve years of age when he was raised to the throne. The kingdom was thrown into confusion by the disputes of the nobles†. These contended with each other for power during the minority of the young prince: and the Ameer Chouban, who had been intrusted with the management of public affairs during Abou Seyd's minority, had so increased his influence by a marriage with the prince's sister, that his power appeared to be almost on a level with that of his sovereign. The first event which occurred to shake the authority of this powerful nobleman, was the rebellion of his son, Timour Tash, who was Governor of Syria. He, however, hastened with a large army to reduce him to obedience: and the repentant youth, instead of meeting his father in the field, threw himself at his feet, and implored his forgiveness‡. Chouban carried him a prisoner to Sultaneah, and left his fate to be decided by Abou Seyd, who was so much pleased with the loyalty of his minister, that he not only pardoned Timour Tash, but restored him to his government.

A.D. 1320-22 A. H. 720-22.

it was constructed, is still preserved: but the whole is dilapidated; and the present king, Futteh Aly Shah, has taken some of the materials to build a small summer-house, where he resides when his army is encamped (which it usually does a few weeks every season,) in the fine plains of Sultaneah.

* He is often called by his title of Behauder Khan.

† The principal of these were the Ameer Chouban, chief of the tribe of Seldouz, and Ameer Hussein Kourkhan.

‡ De Guignes.

CHAP. XII.

Chouban, some time after this occurrence, formed a plan for increasing the power of his family, by marrying his daughter, Bagdad Khatoon*, to the Ameer Hussein, one of the principal chiefs of the Moghuls†. This lady, who was eminent for her beauty, had been seen by Abou Seyd; and the young prince had become deeply enamoured of her charms‡. Forgetting the dictates of prudence, he endeavoured to avail himself of a law, or rather usage, among the Moghuls, by which a person is obliged to divorce his wife, if the monarch desires to marry her. Abou Seyd demanded Bagdad Khatoon for his queen: but neither the father nor husband were disposed to comply with this demand; and they were too strong to be coerced. Chouban, in the hopes that absence would destroy a passion which threatened his family with disgrace and ruin, prevailed upon the king to go to Bagdad; and sent his son-in-law, with his fair bride, in an opposite direction||. But the love of Abou Seyd increased: and the disappointment he had suffered made him so hostile to Chouban, that he at last forced that chief into a rebellion, which, after some success, terminated in his death§. The Ameer Hussein saw no safety but in resigning his consort to the prince; to whom this lady was, soon after her father's death, publicly married: and her influence over him became so great, that she was enabled, in a great degree, to restore the fortunes of her family.

A. D. 1327. A. H. 728.

* The Lady of Bagdad. † D'Herbelot. ‡ Hubbeeb-ul-Seyur.

|| The Ameer Hussein went to Karabagh, a district on the left bank of the Arras, or Araxes.

§ He was taken and slain by a chief in Khorassan, upon whose protection he had thrown himself.

Abou Seyd, who appears, though a weak and indolent monarch, to have been a brave soldier, had hastened to Shirwan to meet an army which was advancing from Kapchack to invade his territories in that quarter: but he was taken ill, and died of a fever which he caught in that unhealthy province. His body was carried to Sultaneah and interred in the same sepulchre with that of his father. This monarch may be termed the last of the dynasty of Hulakoo who enjoyed any power. The few princes of that sovereign's family who were raised to the throne after Abou Seyd, were mere pageants*, whom the nobles of the court elevated or cast down as it suited the purposes of their ambition. Among the chiefs who rose to eminence, during this period of trouble and confusion, the principal were the sons of Chouban; Hussein Koochuck†, and Ashraff. The former was

A. D. 1335. A. H. 736. Death of Abou Seyd.

Hussein Koochuck and Ashraff obtain power.

* The following is a list of the princes of the family of Chenghiz, who were raised to nominal power after the death of Abou Seyd Behauder:—

Muezudeen Arpa Khan was crowned in A. D. 1335: reigned five months, and died in A. D. 1336.

Moossa Khan was elevated in A. D. 1336: reigned two months, and was dethroned.

Mahomed Khan was elevated in 1336: reigned nearly two years, and was murdered in A. D. 1338.

Saukey, the sister of Abou Seyd, was elevated to the throne in A. D. 1338, by Shaikh Hussein Choubanee, by whom she was given in marriage, with a nominal kingdom as her dowry, to Jehan Timour, in A. D. 1339. Jehan Timour was deposed the same year, and Soliman Khan was declared king: he left the kingdom and went to Dearbehir in 1344.

Nousheerwan was elevated in A. D. 1344.

These nominal kings are not noticed by several historians who record the contests of those turbulent Ameers, in whose hands they were pageants.

† Some authors term these ambitious nobles princes, and speak of the dynasty of Chouban.

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1355.
A. H. 756.

slain by his own wife, to revenge the imprisonment of her lover; and the latter lost his life and power in an action he fought at Koee, in Aderbijan, with Jauni-Beg-Khan, the ruler of Kapchack, who had invaded Persia with a large army.

The cruelty and oppression with which the sons of Chouban, after the death of Abou Seyd, treated the family of that monarch, compelled several of his descendants to seek their safety in flight. Hussein Buzoorg, an immediate descendant of Arghoun, went, a few years after the death of Abou Seyd, to Bagdad, seized that city, and became the founder of a petty dynasty of princes. His life passed in contests to establish his authority over the territories of Bagdad, and he died before this object of his ambition was accomplished. But his son, Aweis, was more fortunate: he not only succeeded in completing the conquest his father had commenced, but carried his arms into Aderbijan and Khorassan. Aweis left his government to his second son, Hussein*, who assumed the title of Jellal-u-deen, or "the glory of the faith." This excellent prince, who is alike celebrated for his benevolence and love of justice, lost his life in an action with his brother Ahmed, a cruel and unjust ruler, whose enormities compelled his subjects to invite the Ameer Timour to their relief: and almost the whole of the future life of Ahmed passed in an ineffectual struggle with that conqueror†.

Hussein Buzoorg, an immediate descendant of Arghoun, founds a dynasty.

A. D. 1356.
A. H. 757.

His son, Aweis.

A. D. 1574.
A. H. 776.

Leaves his government to his son, Hussein.

* The eldest son of Aweis, Hussun, was seized by the nobles and put to death the moment his father expired, that the evils of a disputed succession might be avoided.

† Ahmed, after the death of Timour, left Egypt, where he had fled for safety, and made a weak effort to recover the dominions of which he had been despoiled: but he was taken and put to death by Kara-Yusoof, a Turkoman chief, who was

From the period at which the fortunes of the family of Hulakoo began to decline, till the conquest of Persia by the Ameer Timour, the province of Fars was governed by a dynasty of petty rulers, who took the name of Muzuffer, from their founder, Mubariz-u-deen Mahomed, whose title was Ul-Muzuffer, or "the victorious." The capital of this family was Shiraz, which is said to have attained its greatest prosperity under their rule. Their history (which presents the usual detail of murders and petty wars,) merits little attention. Hafiz, the Anacreon of Persia, was at Shiraz when it was taken from Shah-Munsoor, the fifth of this race of princes*, by the Ameer Timour †, and was honoured by the marked favour of that great conqueror.

Rule of the dynasty of Muzuffer.

A. D. 1318—1392. A. H. 718—795.

We learn from the history of the dynasty of Muzuffer, that the power of the descendants of Hulakoo over Fars terminated with

the founder of a petty dynasty of rulers, termed Turkoman Kara-Koinloo, or "the "Turkomans of the black sheep," from their carrying a figure of that animal in their banners.

* This dynasty governed Fars seventy-seven years; during which, seven princes enjoyed power. The first was Mubariz-u-deen-Mahomed-Muzuffer; the second, his son, Shah Shujah; the third, Shah Mahmood, son of Ul-Muzuffer; the fourth, Sultan Ahmed, son of Ul-Muzuffer; the fifth, Shah Munsoor, son of Muzuffer; the sixth, Shah Jakai, son of Muzuffer; and the seventh was Shah Zein-ul-Abdeen, the son of Shah Shujah. The two last reigned only a few months.

† We are told, that when Timour was at Shiraz, he sent for the celebrated Hafiz, who was then an inhabitant of that city. The Tartar conqueror, with apparent, if not real displeasure, demanded how the poet came to dispose of his two finest cities, Samarcund and Bokharah, which, in a beautiful stanza, he had said he would give for the mole on the cheeks of his mistress. "Can the gifts of Hafiz ever impoverish Timour?" was the reply; which changed the displeasure of the monarch into admiration, and produced reward instead of punishment.

CHAP. XII.

Mahomed Khodah-bundah. From the day that Abou Seyd was raised to the throne, the disputes among the nobles of his court produced a general weakness and distraction, that pervaded the whole empire, almost every province of which was seized by some powerful chief. A kingdom in such a state could offer little opposition to a formidable invasion of Tartars, commanded by the most warlike monarch that even that region of heroes ever produced: and we cannot, therefore, be surprised, that it proved an easy conquest to the great Timour.

CHAPTER XIII.

The History of Timour, or Tamerlane. His Conquest of Persia: and a brief Account of his immediate Successors in that Kingdom.

CHAP. XIII.

A. D. 1336.
A. H. 736.
5th Shaban.
Birth of Timour.

THE Ameer Timour is best known in Europe by the name of Tamerlane, which is a corruption of Timour-lung, or "Timour the "Lame," a name given to him on account of a personal defect. This great prince, we are informed by the writer of his history, was born in Subz, which he describes as a suburb of the City of Kesch*. His father was the chief of a tribe† who professed allegiance to the Khans of Tartary. One of Timour's ancestors had been vizier to Chaghtai, the son of Chenghiz; and flattering historians have traced his descent to the same source as that of the Moghul monarch. The common ancestor of both (these authors affirm) was the celebrated Buzunjur‡, who has been already mentioned.

* Kesch was the capital of a district of the same name. It became, after Timour ascended the throne, his favourite summer residence, and was called Shaher-e-Subz, or "the verdant city;" the name by which it is now known. It is situated about one hundred and thirty miles to the east of Bokharah, and about thirty to the south-east of Samarcund.

† The name of this tribe, or perhaps that of the branch to which Timour belonged, was Borlaus.

‡ The following is his pedigree, as given by Mirkhond. That historian states, that the Ameer Timour was the son of Torgai Nevian, (or noble,) son of Barkal Nevian, son of Ameer Hinkar Nevian, son of Abghau Nevian, son of Karegar, son of Karagan,

CHAP. XIII.

The anarchy and confusion into which the country of Transoxania was thrown by the extinction of the immediate descendants of Chaghtai, and the ambition of the chiefs who sought to divide the large dominions of that family, was most favourable to the rise of Timour. The advance of Toghluk Timour Khan, Chief of Budukshan and Kashgar, who claimed Transoxania as his inheritance, from being related to the family of Chenghiz, gave the first opening to the young chief to display his character. His uncle, Hajee Borlaus, who was the head of the tribe, and governed Kesch, was so much alarmed at the approach of Toghluk's army, that he fled to Khorassan*. Timour resolved to throw himself upon the clemency† of the Khan of Kashgar, with a view, if we are to believe

Toghluk Timour Khan advances into Transoxania. A. D. 1359. A. H. 761.

Flight of Hajee Borlaus.

Timour throws himself on the clemency of Toghluk.

son of Eerdimgy Nevian, son of Kagioulai Nevian, son of Tomnai Khan, son of Baisangour Khan, son of Kaidau Khan, son of Doutomnan, son of Bouka Khan, son of Buzunjur. Here his genealogy joins that of Chenghiz, which, with those who do not believe in his descent from the sun, mounts up to Turke, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah.

* This chief returned to his native country, but on a second invasion fled again, and was put to death in Khorassan.

† Timour informs us, that he asked counsel of his peer, or holy father, upon this occasion, and received the following answer: " 'It was once demanded,' this peer " wrote to him, 'of the fourth Khulleefeh, if the canopy of heaven were a bow; and " if the earth were the cord thereof; and if calamities were the arrows; if mankind " were the mark for those arrows; and if Almighty God (the tremendous and the " glorious) were the unerring archer; to whom could the sons of Adam flee for pro- " tection?' The Khulleefeh answered, saying, 'The sons of Adam must flee unto " the Lord! Thus, it is thy duty at this time to flee unto Toghluk Timour, and to " take from his hand the bow and the arrows of wrath.'—When I received this " answer," Timour adds, " I became strong of heart, and I went, and I saw Toghluk " Timour Khan."—TIMOUR's *Institutes*, page 17.

what he states himself, of arresting that ruin with which his country was threatened*; but probably in the hope of making a powerful friend by an early submission. Whatever was his object, the measure led to the advancement of both his fame and fortune†. He appears to have gained the confidence of Toghluk, by whom he was appointed to the government of his native province‡, while that chief marched back to his own dominions to attack some of his rebellious subjects‖. Toghluk, however, soon returned; and having

Is appointed governor of his native province.

* Timour's Institutes, page 19.

† We learn this from the Institutes or Memoirs of Timour. A Persian version of this work has been translated into English by Major Davey, an able orientalist, and published, after his death, by Doctor White, professor of the eastern languages at Oxford. The late General Kirkpatrick observes, that the first translation of this work from the Turkish into Persian was made by command of the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan[28]; and that the Dil-Kusha states, that the copies of the MS. were so rare, that the one which was kept in the family of Timour was handed down, from father to son, as a valuable legacy: and this very volume, he adds, fell into the hands of the Emperor of Constantinople, who suffered many copies to be made from it. The circumstance of this work being translated into Persian in India, accounts for its hardly being known in Persia. The vanity of that nation would reject a work in their own language that contained all the wisdom of Solomon, coming from such a quarter. A very sensible Persian, of the name of Zein-ul-abdeen, assured me that he had seen a copy of the Institutes of Timour in the original Turkish language, in the library of a Persian chief at Herat.

‡ I here follow the historian of Timour. According to the Institutes of that chief, he was at this time appointed to the general government of Maverul-Naher, or Transoxania.

‖ Timour assumes the merit of having, by his presents and intrigues, fomented these divisions among the enemies of his country.

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[28] Vide New Asiatic Miscellany.

CHAP. XIII.

completely subdued all the territories between the Jaxartes and the Oxus, he nominated his son, Ouleaus Khajah, to the important charge of maintaining this possession. Timour was appointed first counsellor and general to Ouleaus: but he soon threw off his allegiance to that prince: and for several years after this occurrence, his history presents a scene of constant and extraordinary vicissitudes. It was in these years of his early life that he received those lessons which enabled him to conquer half the world. But it would fill a volume to describe, with any minuteness, the difficulties and dangers which he encountered and overcame. He seemed born to stem the torrent of adversity; and evinced, in his youth, the same wisdom and courage that distinguished his manhood. Timour, during a great part of this period, led a wandering and perilous life in his native country. He was seldom accompanied by more than a hundred followers, and was often without one: but he was still the chief of a tribe; and, from being so, had always more secret than avowed friends: while his enemies, unless very powerful, must have feared to betray or put to death a leader, whose blood would have been revenged upon their children*.

Throws off his allegiance to Ouleaus Khajah.

Leads a wandering life.

Amid all his troubles, this prince appears never to have despaired of ultimate success; and his adherents, when his fortune was at the

* The right of relations, and of persons of the same class or tribe, to take life for life, may be deemed one of the first principles of natural justice; and this usage appears essential in all states where there is no established law. It is, in fact, one of the strongest guards by which families or communities can defend each other. A man is disgraced, in such a society, who allows the blood of his father or brother to pass unrevenged; but a chief of a tribe is deemed still more dear to his followers than any relation of blood, and every man of the tribe is pledged to revenge him, even upon the third and fourth generation of those by whom he has been slain.

lowest ebb, though few in number, were of no mean description. He informs us that they were all brave men, and of high birth; and "that he felt grateful to God when he saw those, who had a right to "be his equals, consent to become his servants*." After the death of Toghluk Khan, when his son, Ouleaus, was forced to proceed to Kashgar, the prospects of Timour began to improve. Many of the friends of his family joined him; and he has given us, in the following account of one of these meetings, an animated picture of the patriarchal character of those ties by which a Tartar tribe is united. "I had not yet rested from my devotions," he observes, "when a number of people appeared afar off; and they were pass- "ing along in a line with the hill. I mounted my horse, and came "behind them, that I might know their condition, and what men "they were. They were, in all, seventy horsemen; and I asked of "them saying, 'Warriors, who are ye?' and they answered unto me, "'We are the servants of Ameer Timour, and we wander in search "of him; but, lo! we find him not.' And I said unto them, 'I also "am one of the servants of the Ameer. How say ye, if I be your "guide, and conduct you unto him?' And one of them put his "horse to speed, and went and carried news to the leaders, saying, "'We have found a guide, who can lead us to Ameer Timour.' The "leaders drew back the reins of their horses, and gave orders that "I should appear before them. They were three troops: and the "leader of the first troop was Toghluk Khajah Borlaus; and the "leader of the second troop was Ameer Seif-u-deen; and the leader "of the third troop was Toubuk Behauder. When their eyes fell "upon me, they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted

CHAP. XIII.

His prospects begin to improve.

* Timour's Institutes.

CHAP. XIII.

" from their horses, and they came, and they kneeled, and they " kissed my stirrup. I also alighted from my horse, and took each " of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of " Toghluk Khajah; and my girdle, which was very rich in jewels, " and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of Ameer Seif-u-deen; " and I clothed Toubuk Behauder with my cloak. And they wept; " and I wept also. When the hour of prayer was arrived, we prayed " together. And we mounted our horses, and came and alighted at " my dwelling: and I collected my people together, and made a " feast*."

A. D. 1362. A. H. 764. Unites himself with Ameer Hussein, and defeats Ouleaus.

Timour had connected himself in a league of the closest friendship with Ameer Hussein, one of the most powerful nobles of Transoxania. The object of both was to expel the enemies of their country: and when Ouleaus was obliged to proceed to Kashgar, they attacked him on his retreat, and defeated him. That prince, however, soon returned, and gained a great victory over these chiefs, who were forced to save themselves by flight; but the gallant defence which was made by the inhabitants of Samarcund, and a great mortality among the horses of his army, obliged Ouleaus to retire again to his native kingdom; and his departure left the countries between the Jaxartes and the Oxus free from their foreign oppressors.

A. D. 1363. A. H. 765.

Contest between Ameer Hussein and Timour.

The absence of Ouleaus led to a contest for power between Hussein and Timour: their friendship had been nourished by misfortune, and cemented by the marriage of the sister of the former to the latter chief: but their characters were so opposite, that its duration was impossible. Hussein was violent and avari-

* Timour's Institutes, page 53.

cious, and desired to repair the losses he had sustained by extortion and oppression; while those who were reduced to want by his rapacity, found Timour always ready to give them every relief in his power: and we are informed, that the jewels of his favourite wife*, the sister of Hussein, which had been given by Timour to relieve the distress of some of the principal inhabitants of the country, were actually taken by his sordid brother-in-law in payment of fines that he had imposed upon them†. Occurrences of this nature, aggravated by a dissimilarity of temper, could not fail of causing dissensions between these powerful lords. Timour was accused of plotting against the state. He answered the charge, and acquitted himself with honour: but the insult of such an accusation was not to be forgotten; and the death of Hussein's sister, which happened about this period, seemed to dissolve the only tie by which they were bound. Soon after this event, Timour, on the plea of self-defence, placed himself at the head of a considerable army. In the contest which ensued, he was at first unsuccessful; but his fortunes, when at the lowest, were restored by an enterprise to which the history of the world can hardly furnish a parallel, and which marked, beyond all other events of his life, that union of art, courage, and wisdom, which combined to form the character of this extraordinary man.

CHAP. XIII.

A. D. 1365. A. H. 767.

Among other advantages which Hussein had gained, he had taken the Fort of Kürshee from Timour; and that chief informs‡ us, that he deemed his honour pledged to regain this important post:

* The name of this lady was Ouruljun Khatoon.

† Petit de la Croix's Translation of Sherrif-u-deen.

‡ Timour's Institutes, page 95.

CHAP. XIII.

but it was impossible to do so by open hostility, for he had only a very small force, and it was defended by a strong garrison, and a body of twelve thousand men were encamped in its vicinity.

Timour takes Kurshee by stratagem.

Timour resolved to have recourse to stratagem; and having proceeded to the Oxus, he concealed himself near the banks of that river, and caused a report to be spread that he had fled to Khorassan. This report was credited; and the troops of Hussein became negligent, and thought of nothing but the joys of triumph. When he was satisfied, to use his own words*, "that his enemies "had spread the carpet of riot and dissipation," he selected two hundred and forty-three of his bravest followers; and having crossed the Oxus, advanced to the village of Sheerkund, where he remained for twenty-four hours. From thence he made a rapid march on Kurshee; and when within three miles of that fort, he ordered his soldiers to employ themselves in making ladders, while he went forward to reconnoitre with a party of forty men. It was night: and he informs us, that when he observed "the dark shade "of the castle, he commanded his warriors to halt†;" and proceeding with two favourite soldiers (Mubasher and Abdullah‡) to the brink of the ditch, which was full, he was enabled to pass over it by the means of a hollow tree, that was laid across it to convey water into the fort. Mubasher had been left with the horses; Abdullah accompanied Timour, who went first to the gateway and tried to open it, but could not. He next went round the walls, and having marked

* Timour's Institutes.

† Timour's Institutes, page 97.

‡ Timour terms these two soldiers Khanah-zad, or "house-born," which is the name usually given to the sons of slaves born in the family; and, among the Mahomedans, persons of this description are almost deemed relations.

a place which, from its lowness, seemed easy of ascent, he returned by the route he had come, and brought his whole party to the spot where he had alighted. Forty-three men were left with the horses. One hundred, conducted by Abdullah, went with ladders, which had been prepared for the purpose, across the hollowed tree to the spot that had been examined by their daring leader, where they scaled the wall; and then proceeding to the gateway, put the guards to death as they lay asleep, and opened the gate to Timour, who had advanced to their aid with another hundred men. The moment the whole were in the city they rushed to the attack of the castle, at the same time sounding their trumpets, and shouting, in order to terrify the garrison, and induce them to believe that the body by which they were attacked was numerous. They completely succeeded; every post was deserted; and Timour allowed many to escape, in the hope that the alarm taken by the troops within might be communicated to the camp, and that he might be relieved, by their flight, from the great force by which he knew himself to be encompassed. But the generals of Ameer Hussein discovered at daylight the smallness of that body by which the garrison of Kurshee had been surprised, and resolved to make every effort to repair the disgrace which they had sustained. The numbers were so disproportioned, that it appeared impossible for the party who had taken the fort to maintain the conquest they had so gloriously made. But they were all heroes, and they were commanded by Timour. Every attack of the enemy was repulsed; continual sallies were made; and the troops of Hussein, who soon found that their success was doubtful, became divided and discontented. One leader separated his division; and the whole soon commenced a retreat; which they

Ameer Hussein endeavours to regain it.

He retreats.

CHAP. XIII.

were not able to effect without the loss of a considerable part of their baggage. Timour dwells with just pride on this early event of his life, and declares that it was on this occasion he first discovered "the incalculable advantage which wisdom has over force, and with "what small means the greatest designs may be accomplished*."

This extraordinary success raised the reputation of Timour, and forced his rival to have recourse to every effort that art or violence could suggest to subdue him, but in vain: and, after a long struggle, mutual convenience, and a sense of the danger to which their country was exposed by their discord, led these hostile chiefs to make peace with each other. We are informed, that Timour gained several victories over his adversary before this reconciliation took place. At the moment one of these actions was commencing, that leader addressed his followers in a speech worthy of the hero of Tartary. "This day, brave soldiers!" said that prince, "is a day of dancing "for warriors! The hall of the dance for heroes is the field of battle! "The shouts of war and the sound of trumpets are their songs and "music! and the wine they drink, is the blood of their enemies!"

Peace concluded between Timour and Ameer Hussein.

The peace concluded between Timour and the Ameer Hussein was not sincere, and could not, therefore, be permanent. Another rupture soon occurred, which terminated in the death of the latter. That chief, we are told, when reduced to capitulate in Bulkh, asked only to be permitted to end his days in retirement. This was granted: but even the partial historian† of Timour throws but a thin veil over the murder of his rival. Ameer Hussein, he pretends, was slain by a Tartar lord, whose brother he had put to death; and who, with

Ameer Hussein is murdered.

* Timour's Institutes.

† Sherrif-u-deen.

other nobles, were aware of the necessity of such a proceeding, to save the state from the dangers to which it would be exposed by the unwise clemency of their leader: but it is evident that that prince approved, if he did not command, an act, which made him the sovereign of his country.

A. D. 1369. A. H. 771.

Timour was occupied eleven years, after his elevation to the supreme power of Transoxania, in settling his own kingdom, and in conquering Kashgar and Khaurizm. After these objects were effected, he determined on the invasion of Khorassan. That province was then held by a chief of the name of Gheaus-u-deen, who, after a weak effort, threw himself upon the mercy of the conqueror. Timour spared his life; but levied so severe a contribution upon Herat and the other cities under his rule, that all the inhabitants were reduced to beggary. Candahar and Cabul next yielded to his sword. Many of the strong holds, however, in these and the neighbouring territories, must have continued to resist his arms; for we find him occupied four years in suppressing rebellions that occurred in Khorassan, and in subduing Seistan and Mazenderan: all of which provinces were rendered deserts by the destructive ravages of the Tartars; for even submission did not exempt their unfortunate inhabitants from pillage and massacre.

Timour conquers Kashgar and Khaurizm A. D. 1380. A. H. 782.

Also Khorassan, Candahar and Cabul.

Subdues Seistan and Mazenderan. A. D. 1383. A. H. 785.

After these countries were completely subdued by his troops, Timour crossed the Oxus, with an immense army, to invade Persia. He easily overthrew the degenerate descendants of Hulakoo; took and destroyed their capital of Sultaneah; carried his successful arms across the Araxes*; overrun Georgia; and received the sub-

A. D. 1384. A. H. 786. Crosses the Oxus to invade Persia.

* He passed this river by a noble bridge called "the bridge of Zeal-ul-Mulk," which was in the province of Nukshevan.

CHAP. XIII.

mission of the Khan of the Lesghees, and of the ruler* of Shirwan. While he was personally employed in these operations, one of his generals subdued the Mountain Chief of Laristan, who had rendered himself peculiarly odious to all good Mahomedans by plundering a caravan of pilgrims to Mecca. Timour at this period made war upon the Turkomans who had settled in Asia Minor; and their being addicted to the vile practices of robbery and murder, was the excellent pretext of the leader of a Moghul army for his attack of this savage nation, whose chief, Kara Mahomed, was obliged to save himself by flight, while the City of Van, his capital, was taken and pillaged. He next marched against Zein-ul-abdeen, a prince of the race of Muzuffer, who governed Fars, and had extended his authority over the City of Isfahan, and a great part of Irak. Shah Shujah, the father of this prince, had courted the friendship of Timour, and had, at his death, recommended his son to his protection; but that youth, instead of obeying the summons of the conqueror to attend at his court, had confined the envoy who carried the command. This conduct was probably pleasing to the Moghul monarch, as it gave the colour of justice to his invasion of Irak and Fars†. When he had adopted this resolution, he marched to Isfahan‡, which surrendered the moment he encamped before it. Satisfied with this ready submission, he commanded that the town should

A. D. 1386. A. H. 788. Takes Georgia. The Lesghees submit to him. Timour makes war upon the Turkomans.

A. D. 1387. A. H. 789. Marches against Zein-ul-abdeen.

Isfahan surrenders to him.

This chief obtained his restoration to power by very artful flattery. Among the presents he brought were eight slaves; according to Tartar usage there should have been nine. "Where is the other?" said Timour. The prince stepped into the rank, exclaiming, "I myself am the ninth!" Timour was so pleased, that he confirmed him in his principality.

† Petit de la Croix's Translation of Sherrif-u-deen.

‡ The Governor of Isfahan was an uncle of Zein-ul-abdeen, the ruler of Fars.

be spared, but that a heavy contribution should be levied upon its inhabitants. This had almost been collected, when an accident occurred which involved the city in ruin. A young blacksmith happened one night to beat a small drum for his amusement: a number of the citizens, mistaking it for an alarm, assembled, and became so irritated from a communication to each other of the distress they suffered, that they commenced an attack upon those whom they considered the immediate cause of their misery; and, before morning, nearly three thousand of the Tartars who had been quartered in the city were slain. After this massacre the gates were shut, to prevent immediate assault: but defence was impossible: and the rage of Timour, on hearing of the fate of his soldiers, exceeded all bounds. He would listen to no terms of capitulation; and the warmth of indignation was increased by the cold dictates of policy. He was commencing his career of conquest; and Isfahan was doomed to be an example to the other cities of the earth. The unfortunate inhabitants knew what they had to expect, and made all the resistance they could, but in vain: the walls were carried by storm: and the cruel conqueror did not merely permit pillage and slaughter, but commanded that every soldier should bring him a certain number of heads*. Some of these, more humane than their lord, purchased the number allotted, rather than become the executioners of unre-

The inhabitants rise against the Tartars.

Timour takes Isfahan by storm, and orders a general massacre.

* Timour makes the following concise mention of this massacre in his Memoirs:—"I conquered," he observes, "the City of Isfahan, and I trusted in the people of "Isfahan; and I delivered the castle into their hands. And they rebelled; and the "Darogah, whom I had placed over them, they slew, with three thousand of the "soldiers. And I also commanded that a general slaughter should be made of the "people of Isfahan."—TIMOUR'S *Institutes*, page 119.

CHAP. XIII.

sisting men. It was found impossible to compute all the slain; but an account was taken of seventy thousand heads, which were heaped in pyramids, that were raised as monuments of savage revenge*.

A. D. 1387. A. H. 789. Proceeds to Shiraz.

After this horrid massacre, Timour proceeded to Shiraz, which, with the whole of Fars, submitted to his authority †.

Fars, Yezd, Kerman, and Laristan, submit to his authority.

The chiefs of Yezd, Kerman, and Laristan, hastened to pay their duty to the conqueror; who, however, had hardly time to establish his officers over the countries which he had subdued, before he was compelled to return to Transoxania; the tranquillity of which had been disturbed by an invasion of Tochtamush Khan, ruler of Kapchack.

The next five years of Timour's life was employed in restoring peace to his own dominions, and in extending their limits to the furthest bounds of Tartary. One body of his troops spread dismay to the wall of China, while another army subdued to the banks of the Irtish, and a third marched to those of the Volga.

A. D. 1392. A. H. 794. Timour again invades Persia, and extirpates the race of Fedavees.

When he next invaded Persia, he advanced by the route of Mazenderan; all the chiefs of which hastened to acknowledge his power. Amid the general ruin which he spread, he had the merit of extirpating, upon this occasion, a band of assassins, with which the north-western provinces of Persia were infested; and from the name which these had assumed, of Fedavee, or "the

* Sherrif-u-deen Aly, the historian and flatterer of Timour, cannot conceal these acts of barbarous cruelty; but while he passes lightly over the fate of the poor inhabitants of Isfahan, he relates, with minuteness, the care which the royal Timour took to defend from spoliation the premises of a dead doctor of laws.—*History of Timour Beg*, Vol. II. page 292.

† Zein-ul-abdeen, unable to offer resistance, fled, to save his life.

" devoted," we cannot doubt but they were a branch of the sect of Ismailee, whose history has been already given*. CHAP. XIII.

In the beginning of next year, Timour advanced towards Bagdad. One division of his army proceeded through Aderbijan and Kurdistan, while that under his own orders moved by the province of Irak to the cities of Khorumabad† and Shuster‡. He next attacked the famous Killah Suffeed, a mountain-fort, which has been before described‖. It had been taken by the celebrated Persian hero, Roostum; and the fame of its strength was not diminished by its falling before a chief who has been justly deemed equally irresistible. The monarch, after this success, advanced to Shiraz with thirty thousand men; and his astonishment was excessive, at seeing his army attacked, when he came into the vicinity of that city, by the brave Munsoor§; who, at the head of between three and four thousand select horse¶, twice charged the centre of Timour's army, and completely routed all who opposed him. We are told, that Timour himself had nearly fallen beneath the sword of Munsoor, and was

A. D. 1393. A. H. 795. Advances towards Bagdad.

Takes the Killah Suffeed.

Is attacked by an army under Munsoor.

* Vide page 394.

† The Town of Khorumabad is about eighty miles from Kermanshah. It is the residence of the chief of the tribe of Fylee. It stands at the foot of a mountain, and is protected by a rude fort, built on a small conical hill in the centre of the town. It lies in 33° 32′ north latitude, and in 47° 43′ east longitude.—*Captain* FREDERICK'S *Journal.*

‡ This ancient city is frequently, but erroneously, called Tostar, in the History of the Tartar Princes.

‖ Vide page 27.

§ Shah Munsoor, who had succeeded his father, Zein-ul-abdeen, in the government of Fars, had, during Timour's absence in Tartary, reconquered the greatest part of the possessions of his family.

¶ Every man of this party was clad in complete armour.

CHAP. XIII. only saved by his helmet. But the gallant prince was not supported. The two wings of his army, which he had ordered to advance when he led the centre corps to the charge*, fled; and he was, in conse-

* Sherrif-u-deen, who was in the action, describes this charge.

" Shah Munsoor," he observes, " advanced at their head like a furious lion, and in " opposition to his reason, which should have preserved in his mind a suitable idea of " the person he had to do with, as one whose arm had cast down all his enemies: on a " Friday, at the hour of prayer, he attacked our main body, composed of thirty thou- " sand Turks, the most dexterous men of their time, in a place named Patila: he over- " threw their squadrons, broke their ranks, made his way into the midst of them, and " gained, behind our army, posts of the utmost consequence; then he returned, furious " as a dragon, to the fight, seeming resolved to lose his life. Timour stopt short with " some of his favourites, to consider the extreme vigour, or rather rashness, of this " prince, who dared to attack him in person. Timour seeing him come directly " against him, would have armed himself with his lance to oppose him; but he could " not find it, because Poulad Tchoura, the keeper of it, had been so briskly attacked, " that he fled, and carried away the lance. Timour, who had only fourteen or fifteen " persons with him, did not stir out of his place till Shah Munsoor came up to him. " This rash person struck the emperor's helmet twice with his cimeter; but the blows " did no harm, for they glanced along his arms: he kept firm as a rock, and did not " change his posture. Adel Actachi held a buckler over Timour's head, and Comari " Yesaoul advanced before him: he did several great actions, and was wounded in his " hand with a sword."

Shah Munsoor, repulsed in the attack upon the person of Timour, fell upon the Tartar infantry; but his two wings (as has been stated) fled. He was surrounded: and Sherrif-u-deen adds: " At length the Meerza Shah Rokh, though but seventeen years " old, behaved himself with so much valour and conduct, that he hemmed in Shah Mun- " soor, cut off his head, and cast it at the feet of the emperor, his father, congratulating " him on the victory. ' May the heads,' said he, ' of all your enemies be thus laid at " your feet, as that of the proud Munsoor is!' This lucky accident discouraged the " Persian soldiers, who till that time had fought well. These leopards were turned " into deers, for those who were not killed fled. Timour, pleased at this great victory,

quence, surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers. He fell, and his head was struck off by Shah Rokh Meerza, the son of Timour, who hastened to carry it to his father. The Persians, when they saw Munsoor fall, fled; and the Tartars were on the point of pursuit, conceiving the victory was complete, when another army, drawn up in perfect order, appeared in their front. But this corps was soon put to the route, and the conqueror took possession of Shiraz. All the princes of the race of Muzuffer submitted, and were put to death. The officers of the conqueror's army were appointed to the charge of the different provinces and cities which had been subdued; and on their commissions, instead of a seal, an impression of a red hand was stamped*: a Tartar usage, that marked the manner in which the territories had been taken, as well as that in which it was intended they should be governed.

Munsoor is killed.

Timour puts the princes of the race of Muzuffer to death.

Timour next marched against Bagdad, then ruled by Sultan Ahmed Eel-Khannee†, a bad and cruel prince, whose subjects were ill-disposed to defend such a tyrant: he fled, and his capital and territories submitted to the victorious Timour. Immediately after the reduction of Bagdad, that prince marched to the attack of Tukreet‡, a fortress not more remarkable for its ancient celebrity, than the resistance which it offered, on this occasion, to the arms of the Tartar monarch. Tukreet stands upon a rock, and is situated near the

Bagdad submits to him.

" embraced the princes his sons, and the Nevians, and fell on his knees with them to " return thanks to God for the victory."—PETIT DE LA CROIX's *Translation of Sherrif-u-deen*, Vol. I. p. 417, 418.

* De Guignes.

† He took this title from being of the race of Hulakoo.

‡ It is believed to be the Birtha of the ancients.

CHAP. XIII.

Tigris, between Bagdad and Moossul. According to some authors, it was first built by Alexander the Great; while others ascribe its foundation to the monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty. It was, when Timour attacked it, held by a notorious chief, or rather robber, of the name of Hussun, whose depredations on the surrounding country made him an object of universal terror. He expected no mercy, and therefore defended his fort with a valour and despair, that nothing but the courage and numbers of the Tartars could have overcome. The Mahomedan historian* who details the events of this celebrated siege, gives a description, which though perhaps imperfect, is still curious, as it affords us a general idea of the mode in which the Tartars attacked fortified places.

A. D. 1393. A. H. 796.

Mode in which he attacked Tukreet.

Timour first (according to this author) drew up his army; and directed the drums to beat, and the war shout to be given: they next surrounded the fort, and proceeding by sap, began to undermine the outworks, while battering-rams, and machines that threw large stones, were fixed near the walls, to destroy the dwellings of the besieged. The emperor had ordered his tents to be pitched close to the lines of attack, that he might better encourage his soldiers, whom he commanded to carry the place at any loss. The walls of the fort appeared impregnable: they were either formed of immense and lofty rocks, or of masonry betwixt them, that in height, depth, and solidity, seemed equal to the vast masses of stone which they connected. The Tartars, we are informed, soon worked their way under cover to the foot of the walls; and one of their leaders made a fortunate attack upon a

* Sherrif-u-deen.

tower, the possession of which forced the garrison to abandon all their outworks, and to retreat to the body of the fortress; a general attack on which was immediately ordered: and the engineers, we are informed, marked by "red furrows" the space allotted for each division, and gave its commander written orders how to proceed in undermining the fortifications*. The regiments of the left wing of the army, which were the most distinguished, had their share of attack first allotted. These regiments composed the tomaun†, or division of Kepeck Khan, and were commanded by Arslan. They worked in files, and were followed by the tomaun of the prince, Shah Rokh‡, which laboured with such effect, that in a very short space of time they had pierced the rock thirty-five cubits‖. All the other regiments were employed in a similar manner: and we may judge of the extent and strength of the fortifications of Tukreet, when informed that seventy-two thousand men of Timour's army were incessantly employed for many days in undermining them. When this labour was far advanced, a parley took place; but it broke off, and the siege was carried on with increased vigour. Timour ordered his troops to enter the places that had been undermined, and to fill these immense cavities with combustibles§. On the night of the

A. D. 1393. A. H. 796.

* Petit de la Croix's Translation of Sherrif-u-deen, Vol. I. page 444.

† Ten thousand men.

‡ The fourth son of Timour, and the only one who survived him, except Meeran Shah, who was insane.

‖ Fifty-two and a half feet.

§ The combustibles used were dry wood and pitch. This mode of undermining the walls of a city, and subverting them by subterraneous fire, was practised by the Romans, as appears from the twenty-fourth chapter of the fourth book of Vegetius, in which he treats of mines.

"When it is resolved," that author observes, "to attack a place by mine, the be-

CHAP. XIII. twentieth of Mohurrum, (sixteen days after the siege commenced,) they set fire to the whole. It burst forth in a vast volume of smoke. The props by which the mines were supported gave way The rocks and walls were rent; they fell with one great crash, and brought with them many of the enemies' strongest towers. The Tartars rushed through the ruins to the storm, and advanced to the very centre of the place, but they were every where bravely opposed. The besiegers (the historian observes) fought for glory, the besieged for life*. The assailants appear to have met with a momentary check; and orders were given by Timour, that those parts of the walls which were yet left should be undermined. The bastion, where the tomauns of Allahdad and Amancha were labouring, was destroyed to the very foundation, and Hussun was obliged to retreat with his remaining

" siegers employ a number of men to excavate the earth, with great labour, in the " same manner that the Bessi dig for veins of gold and silver. Thus, by sinking a " cavern, an infernal or subterraneous road is opened for the destruction of the city: " and the dark insidious plan may be carried into effect in two ways. Sometimes a " party of the besiegers, issuing out of their mine by night into the heart of the city, " without being observed by the inhabitants, burst open the gates, introduce their " fellow soldiers from without, and slaughter the unguarded citizens in their houses. " Sometimes, on reaching the foundations of the place, they undermine the greatest " part of them, removing the earth from below, and then place temporary props of dry " timber to support the walls, and fill the space with a great quantity of fire-wood, " and other combustibles. This being done, the warriors are drawn up in readiness for " the attack. The wood under the foundation is kindled. As soon as the props and " planks are consumed, the walls fall down, and the place lies open to assault."

We learn from Herodotus, that the art of mining was understood by the ancient Persians in the reign of Darius: and Folard, in his Translation of Polybius, conjectures that the Greeks borrowed their knowledge of this branch of military science from the eastern nations.

* Petit de la Croix's Translation of Sherrif-u-deen.

followers to a strong citadel. The brave ameers, we are informed*, CHAP. XIII.
begged on their knees that Timour would allow them to storm that last defence, and finish at once the glorious work: but the monarch would not consent; he commanded that it also should be undermined. The garrison, at this period, desired to capitulate, on condition that their lives should be spared. This Timour fiercely refused: "Let them deliver themselves up or not," said that monarch, "as they choose: I know that, by the aid of God, I "shall seize their chief, and raze to its foundation this den of "thieves." His soldiers were so animated by the words and actions of their great leader, that they surpassed all their former efforts in this attack: and, on the twenty-fifth of Mohurrum, (five days from the storming of the first wall,) they completed the conquest of the last tower on the summit of the rock. Hussun, and all the garrison that survived, were brought to Timour; who, separating (according to his partial historian†) the inoffensive inhabitants from the soldiers, pardoned the former, but divided‡ the latter among the different tomauns of his army, who had orders to put them to death by torture. The engineers, we are told, formed pyramids of their heads; and on each of these was inscribed, "This "is the punishment for robbers!" Timour, according to the author who records the details of this memorable siege, when he destroyed Tukreet, directed that a part of the fortifications should be left entire,

Completes the conquest of Tukreet.

* Petit de la Croix's Translation of Sherrif-u-deen. † Sherrif-u-deen.

‡ This mode of dividing the prisoners was, no doubt, to give to each corps an opportunity of revenging, on their enemies, the blood of the men they had lost during the siege.

CHAP. XIII.

that future ages might wonder at the prowess of those who had taken such a fort by assault.

Subdues several provinces.

The Tartar armies were, after this arduous conquest, dispersed over Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Georgia; all of which countries were subdued. Tochtamush Khan, the ruler of Kapchack, had ventured to make an inroad into Shirwan; but he was attacked* in his own country, defeated, and deprived of his crown. The conquering Timour, after traversing Kapchack, entered Russia, and marched as far as Moscow†, which he took and plundered. Next year he destroyed Astracan, and pillaged Georgia and Circassia, making himself master of almost all the strong holds of these mountainous and difficult countries. After these conquests he returned to Tartary, and made preparations for one of the most splendid, if not the most arduous of all his enterprises—the invasion of India. Many of his ameers opposed this resolution, on the ground that their children would become effeminate and worthless in so warm a climate: but Timour tells us that he consulted the Koran on this occasion, as he did on most others, and the verse which fate directed him to was as follows: "O prophet! fight with the infidels

Tochtamush Khan defeated A. D. 1395. A. H. 797.

Plunders Moscow. A. D. 1396. A. H. 799.

Also Astracan, Georgia, and Circassia.

Prepares for the invasion of India.

* We are informed by one author, that Timour's troops were, in this war, so dispirited for want of provisions, and so inferior in numbers, that their defeat seemed certain: but that artful chief bribed the standard-bearer of Tochtamush Khan to betray his master. The standard of that chief was inverted during the action, and his troops fled, thinking he was slain.

† In this invasion of Russia, Sherrif-u-deen Aly says, the Tartars obtained a great number of women and girls of all ages, and of extraordinary shape and beauty. The ruler of Russia is termed Oorooss Khan; but this appellation merely signifies "the "lord of Russia."

" and the unbelievers*." Even the dissatisfied ameers were, he adds, reconciled by this happy omen. CHAP. XIII.

A particular account of this expedition† would be a mere detail of dreadful massacres. His generals had, before he moved, overrun the country of the Affghans, and the greatest part of Mooltan. Timour subdued as far as Delhi, and after a short siege took that city. The cruel spirit in which these conquests were made, may be judged by one fact. The Tartar army had taken upwards of one hundred thousand Indians prisoners before they reached Delhi: when the siege of that city was resolved upon, their leader judged that the operation might be embarrassed from the number of the captives; an order was issued for their slaughter; and terrible vengeance was

A. D. 1398-9. A. H. 800-1.

Takes Delhi, and orders all the Indian captives to be slaughtered.

* Timour informs us, that the army with which he invaded India consisted of ninety-two thousand horsemen; and the affinity of this number to the names given to the Prophet Mahomed, was deemed a happy omen of success.—TIMOUR'S *Institutes*, page 135.

† In the spring of the year in which he invaded India, Timour made an irruption into the country of the *Sia Posh*, or " men with black garments;" a singular tribe, who, living in a strong country, amid the mountains of Budukshan, had long maintained their independence. Their fastnesses were forced by Timour's soldiers, and they were compelled to submit; promising, at the same time, to embrace the Mahomedan religion. They, however, soon afterwards rose upon the Tartars appointed to guard them, put nearly a thousand of them to the sword, and regained their mountains. Timour again attacked them, and was victorious. He, on this occasion, (we are informed by his historian,) followed *a precept of Mahomed.* " *The women were spared, but* " *all male idolaters were put to death!*" The *Sia Posh* were, however, neither exterminated nor conquered, and they are to this day an independent race, with peculiar manners, language, and religion. They are in a state of continual warfare with their neighbours, and are the terror of all the Mahomedans in their vicinity.—ELPHINSTONE'S *MSS.*

CHAP. XIII.

denounced against any person who should attempt to evade the bloody mandate*. It is believed that not one of them escaped death. The history of mankind cannot furnish another example of so horrid an act of deliberate cruelty: yet the being by whom it was perpetrated has been exalted by historians and poets into a demi-god: and several of these, not contented with ascribing to him that valour, policy, and martial skill, which he undoubtedly possessed, have extolled him for his numberless virtues; and, above all, for his justice and clemency!

A. D. 1399. A. H. 801.

Timour†, when the conquest of Hindostan was completed‡, returned to Samarcund, and seemed inclined to take some repose

* Sherrif-u-deen Aly, who in general glosses over, or tries to excuse, any act that is calculated to detract from the reputation of his hero, contents himself with the bare relation of the facts of this massacre. He adds, with apparent feeling, that Moulana Nasr-u-deen Omer, one of the most eminent of the learned men at the court of Timour, who could never consent so much as to kill a sheep, was on this occasion constrained to order fifteen thousand of his slaves to be slain. These probably were poor Indians, who had sought and obtained the protection of this venerable man on account of his reputation for humanity.

† The English reader, who has only heard of Tamerlane in Lee's tragedy, or even in the Translation of his Institutes, will hardly believe that the prince whose history I am writing is the same monarch.

‡ Timour took the City of Meerut (a town near Delhi, situated between the Jumna and Ganges,) by storm, and then marched to subdue the chieftains who inhabit the mountains near the source of the Ganges. All the plain country appears to have submitted to his authority. We are told by Dow, on the authority of Ferishta, that the Fort of Meerut was taken by mines: and he adds, that when they were *sprung*, they blew the walls and bastions to pieces. This description seems to imply explosion produced by gunpowder, which was not invented (at least not for any military purpose,) in the time of Timour. In whatever mode he took this city, his usage of its garrison was still

after his great labours: but the bad government of his son, Meeran Shah*, in Persia, had led many chiefs, who had been deposed, to attempt the recovery of their territories. Among these was Ahmed Eel-Khannee, who succeeded in repossessing himself of Bagdad. The ruler of Georgia had also rebelled. Timour was compelled to march into that province, and a season was spent before he could again reduce it to subjection. Bagdad was attacked and reconquered, and a number of the inhabitants put to death, as a punishment for their having revolted.

Some of his conquered provinces revolt.

Timour subdues them.

About the period of these events, Timour meditated a greater conquest. He proposed to make himself master not only of Syria and Egypt, but of all that country which is now distinguished by the name of Turkey. A tribe of Tartars, called Turks, had followed the fortunes of the Seljookee sultans of Iconium. In the confusion which attended the decline of that dynasty, Othman, the chief of this tribe, proclaimed himself independent, and fixed his residence at a town called Yengi-Shaher, or "the new city," situated in the vicinity of Bursa. The descendants of this chief had risen rapidly into power upon the ruins of the broken empire of Constantinople: and that imperial city was threatened with immediate destruction by Bayezeed, (the Bajazet of European historians,) at the very moment when Timour's invasion of Asia Minor called the Emperor of the Turks to defend his own dominions, instead of attacking those of others. Bayezeed was the fourth

Prepares for the invasion of Turkey.

Bayezeed threatens the attack of Constantinople.

more cruel than that of Tukreet. Sherrif-u-deen Aly informs us, with apparent satisfaction, "that the male infidels of Meerut were all flead alive, and their wives and "children carried into captivity."—*History of Timour Beg*, Vol. II. page 71.

* Sherrif-u-deen states, that the prince Meeran became a lunatic.

CHAP. XIII.

Character of Bayezeed.

prince of the Turks, and the great grandson of Othman, the founder of that dynasty*. His character was that of a capricious and cruel monarch: but he had displayed great fortitude under some serious reverses: and the rapidity with which he had often led his armies from one extreme of his kingdom to the other, had obtained him the name of Ul-Dirrim, or "the lightning." The war† which took place between this prince and Timour, terminated in an action that

A. D. 1402. A. H. 804. Timour gains a battle over him.

was fought near Angora in Asia Minor; the result of which was the complete triumph of the Moghuls. The Turks are represented as having been wasted by fatigue‡ and thirst before they commenced the action; and the courage of their leader appears only to have shone forth when the battle was lost. He did not descend from an eminence, where he had gone to view the engagement, till his troops were thrown into irretrievable confusion. His despair then

Bayezeed is made prisoner

overcame his reason; he threw himself amidst his enemies; and, after a display of useless valour, was made prisoner and carried to the tents of his conqueror, who, according to Persian authors, received him with great kindness, assigned him suitable accommodations, and continued‖ to treat him with distinction as long as he

and dies.

lived, which was little more than a year. Grief at his reverse of

* His family, and indeed all their subjects, have been called Othmans, or Othomans, from this chief. The date of the establishment of his power may be fixed A. D. 1300, Hejirah 700.

† Timour's last demand from Bayezeed was, that he should surrender Kara Yusoof, chief of the Turkomans, to whom he had given protection.

‡ Sherrif-u-deen speaks very highly of the Europeans in Bayezeed's army. They displayed, he observes, astonishing valour.

‖ He made him King of Anatolia: but this nomination was a mere form, as Bayezeed was never released.

fortune is supposed to have been the cause of his death, as it led him to reject those medicines which were necessary to his recovery from a violent attack of illness*. The defeat of Bayezeed

* This account of the conduct of Timour to his royal captive is taken from the page of his flattering historian, Sherrif-u-deen: but the following passage from the works of Sir William Jones shows, that a very different account was given by a cotemporary historian of the conduct of Timour on this remarkable occasion. "There are," that writer observes, "two celebrated histories of the Life of Tamerlane; one in Persian, "the other in Arabic; both of them written with all the pomp and elegance of the "Asiatic style. In the first, the Tartarian conqueror is represented as a liberal, bene- "volent, and illustrious prince: in the second, as deformed and impious; of a low "birth, and detestable principles. It seems difficult at first to reconcile this contra- "diction; but the difficulty vanishes, when we learn, that great part of the Persian his- "tory was composed under the inspection of Tamerlane himself, and received only the "polish of language from the pen of Ali Yezdi, (Sherrif-u-deen); and that the Arabian "author bore the most inveterate hatred against that monarch. The story of the iron "cage, in which Tamerlane confined Bajazed, is generally treated as a fable upon the "authority of the very learned M. D'Herbelot, who asserts, that it is not mentioned "by the Arabian historian, though he omits no opportunity of debasing the moral "character of his hero. This argument would, perhaps, be decisive, if it were founded "upon true premises; but unfortunately, in the thirteenth line of the two hundred "and sixty-eighth page, the Arabian expressly affirms, *that Tamerlane did enclose his "captive, Ilderim Bajazed, in a cage of iron, in order to retaliate the insult offered to the "Persians by a sovereign of the Lower Asia, who had treated Shapor, King of Persia, in "the same manner; that he intended to carry him in this confinement into Tartary, but "that the miserable prince died in Syria, at a place called Akshehr.* This fact," Sir William Jones adds, "is not the more true for being asserted by Ebn Arabshah; but "it seems strange, that the judicious M. D'Herbelot should have overlooked this "passage, and should speak so positively of a book which he had read with so little "attention: nor is the point itself of any great consequence; but it may show how "cautious we should be in relying upon the authority of illustrious names."—*Sir* WILLIAM JONES's *Works*, Vol. V. page 547.

CHAP. XIII.

Timour's authority established on the shores of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Bosphorus. A. D. 1402. A. H. 805.

was followed by the fall of his dominions: and the authority of Timour, which had been before recognised over Syria and Egypt, was now established on the shores of the Mediterranean, and on the banks of the Bosphorus. Every city that offered resistance to the power of the proud victor was laid in ashes, and its inhabitants massacred. This was the fate of Smyrna, to the attack of which Timour was invited by a report of the riches that this seaport had acquired by its commerce with Europe. We may form some judgment of the comparative superiority of the Moghuls over the Turks in the art of war, by their having taken this city* in fifteen days, which, with the same means of defence, had resisted the attack of Bayezeed for seven years.

He takes Smyrna.

After these successes†, Timour was occupied for a short time in settling his vast dominions. When this labour was accomplished, his passion for conquest (which, like other desires of the human heart, seems to increase by indulgence,) led him to call a general assembly ‡

* Sherrif-u-deen Aly gives a very minute account of this siege, in which Timour not only employed such mines as have been described, but every kind of known engine of attack: the besieged, he admits, showed the greatest valour, but they were overcome by the superior numbers of the Tartars, and, except a few, who swam to their vessels, were all slaughtered.

† Timour, after his return from Syria, removed a great number of Turkish tribes, who had settled in that country, back to Transoxania, and to the plains of Persia.

‡ We find that Timour frequently called these Coroultais, or "general diets" of the ameers, or nobles, before he undertook any great enterprise: and he appears to have always addressed them in a speech calculated to obtain their cordial assent; and, through them, to animate the zeal and courage of their followers. From the remotest periods to the present day, the power of the great monarchs of Tartary has been supported and controlled by these assemblies of ameers, or barons.

A. D. 1404.
A. H. 807.

Assembles all the chiefs, and proposes the conquest of China.

of all the Tartar chiefs; and these must have been a little astonished to hear their monarch (who was, at this period, seventy-one years of age,) propose, as his next enterprise, the invasion of the kingdom of China. The race of Chenghiz had been expelled from that empire: and Timour deemed it a duty, to which the Tartar nation was called by every consideration of honour, to conquer a country which they had before possessed. All agreed to the proposition; and the preparations were commenced with vigour. Timour settled his eldest sons in the respective kingdoms they were to govern during his absence. He celebrated the marriages of all the younger branches of his family with the most imperial magnificence, and then assembled, for the great design he had in view, two hundred thousand of the best soldiers in his dominions, commanded by the bravest and most experienced officers. His historian has preserved the speech which the aged sovereign made to his ameers, when he called upon them to support him in this expedition. "He had not been able," he observed, "to effect the vast conquests he had made without some "violence, and the destruction of a great number of true believers: "but," he added, "I am now resolved to perform a good and "a great action, which will be as an expiation of all my sins. I "mean," said he, "to exterminate the idolaters of China: and you, "my dear companions! you who have been the instruments of many "of my crimes, shall share in the merit of this great work of repent-"ance. We will proceed to this holy war; we will slay the infidels; "mosques shall every where rise on the ruins of their vile temples: "and the Koran has told us, 'that good works efface the sins of "this world.'"

His speech to the assembly.

CHAP. XIII.

Timour crosses the Jaxartes. His death. A. D. 1405, 1st April. A. H. 807, 17th Shaban.

When all his preparations were complete, Timour marched*, and passed the Jaxartes when frozen: but his career drew to a close. He was obliged, by a violent illness, to halt at the City of Otrar†, where, in a few days, this mighty conqueror breathed his last, after having declared his grandson, Peer Mahomed Jehangheer, his successor.

Remarks on eastern authors who have written the Life of Timour.

Almost all eastern authors, who have written the History of Timour, have lavished praises upon the memory of that monarch. They have blazoned his courage, his talents, and his virtues, and tried to veil, or to excuse, when they could not hide, his deepest crimes. One of the most celebrated of these, whose regard to truth has made him record all the dreadful massacres perpetrated by his hero, though he confesses that Timour had some sins to answer for, tells us he is nevertheless assured that they were all forgiven before he died, and that his soul passed "from its "terrestrial mansion of pride, to the heavenly paradise of "eternal delights." We have, however, one exception to this host of flatterers. An Arabian author‡ has written the Life of Timour with all the virulence of an enemy, and has given us a very opposite picture from what we read in the page of Persian historians of the character and actions of that prince. The following description, in which this writer introduces the Genius of Winter as threatening, with retributive vengeance, the

* He moved on this celebrated expedition on Wednesday, the twelfth Rujub, A. H. 807.

† This city, which is sometimes called Tarab, is situated, according to Sherrif-u-deen Aly, seventy-six leagues from Samarcund.

‡ Ahmed-ben-Arabshah.

tyrant warrior, who disregarded not only man, but the elements, is a fine example of his animated and bold, but poetic style. "Winter," he observes, "surrounded Timour's army: the sharp "sleet and the cold blast opposed their progress. They were "given over to the fury of the tempest. The Genius of the "Storm entered his assembly, and was heard to exclaim, in "a voice of thunder, 'Stop thy rapid career, thou unjust "tyrant! How long dost thou mean to carry flames over an "unhappy world? If thou art a spirit of hell, so am I: we "are both old, and our occupation is the same,—that of subju-"gating slaves: and most baneful is the effect of pestilential "stars*, when they meet in terrible conjunction. But proceed "to extirpate mankind, and render earth cold! Yet thou wilt "find at last that my blasts are colder than thine. If thou canst "boast of countless bands, who, faithful to thy orders, harass and "destroy; know, that my wintry days are, with God's aid, destroyers "also! and, by the Almighty that liveth, I will abate thee nothing! "Thou shalt be overwhelmed with my vengeance! and all the fire "thou hast shall not save thee from the cold death of the icy "tempest†!" But we must neither form our opinion of the character of this extraordinary man from the eulogiums of his flatterers, nor from the detractions of his enemies: to understand that fully, we must refer to the actions of his life.

* The conjunction of Saturn and Mars, always baneful, is here likened to Timour and Winter united to spread desolation.

† This fine passage in Ahmed-ben-Arabshah has been translated into Latin by Sir William Jones.

CHAP. XIII.

Timour's character and government.

The Ameer Timour* (for he never assumed the title of khan) was of a good stature†, had a fair complexion, an open countenance, and a strong shrill voice. He was much maimed, and lame on the right side; a circumstance from which (as has before been stated‡) he derives the name of Tamerlane. The character of this prince merits great attention; for no human being ever possessed qualities so well calculated to attain success in the dangerous path of ambition. Born the chief of a Tartar tribe, he inherited valour: but it was in the vicissitudes of his youth, and amid the distractions of his native country, that he obtained an experience, which taught him to trust more to policy than to force; to hesitate at no means that could accomplish his end; to brave the danger which he could not avert; and, above all, to dive into the secret springs of other men's actions; and, from that knowledge, to render all

* He latterly took the title of sultan, and his flatterers styled him Saheb Keran, or "lord of the great conjunctions" (of the stars). He was also distinguished by his family name of Gurgan, which both De Guignes and D'Herbelot, by a strange mistake, term Kur Khan; and which, the latter tells us, means "allied to kings." This mistake is evident, from the spelling of this word in every Persian history.

† In a history which an abbot of the name of Jean-Du-bec gives of Timour, and which, he states, is taken from the Arabian historian, Al Hacin, we are told, that this monarch had such divine beauty in his eyes, that their lustre was oppressive to beholders. His visage, the same author says, was fair, and his body well proportioned: he had but little hair on his chin. But the good abbot informs us, that Timour, contrary to the usage of his country, never cut or shaved the hair of his head, which "was curled and "long, and of a beauteous dusky brown or violet colour." He adds, that the reason which the conqueror gave for this practice was, "*That his mother, who came of the "race of Samson, requested him always to preserve his hair as a mark of his descent.*" —PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. page 141.

‡ Vide page 449.

around him subservient to his own advancement. We find it difficult to pronounce whether this wonderful man had most art or courage, or by which of these qualities he subdued the greatest number of his enemies. In the community to which Timour belonged, every thing could be effected by a chief, to whom his own tribe were inviolably attached, and who was popular with the soldiers of his army. To gain these was the great, the constant object of his life. He studied their characters, flattered their vanity, fed their avarice, generously rewarded their valour; and, above all, he was patient of their discontent, and ready to pardon even their crimes. His example also must have had a powerful effect on such a race of men. The early deeds of Timour were the tales with which the Tartar mother amused the son she desired to be a hero. Nor did his increased years and greatness prevent his exposing his person in the day of battle. "When I clothed myself in the robe of empire," Timour himself observes, "I shut my eyes to safety, and to the "repose which is found on the bed of ease*."

From the age of twenty to that of seventy-one, (a period of more than half a century,) scarcely a day of this conqueror's life was passed without action or danger; and his experience as a soldier was, perhaps, as great as that of any man that ever lived. Timour naturally valued himself upon those qualities in which he excelled, and he considered other men as useful only as they were good warriors. To all such he was the best of monarchs. "I ordained," Timour states, "that the right of the warrior should not be injured;

* Timour's Institutes.

CHAP. XIII.

" and that the soldier who had grown in years should not be " deprived of his station or his wages; and that the actions of the " soldier should not be suppressed: for those men," he adds, " who " sell their permanent happiness for perishable honour, merit com- " pensation, and are worthy of reward and encouragement*."

There was no feature more remarkable in the character of Timour than his extraordinary perseverance. No difficulties ever led him to recede from what he had once undertaken: and he often persisted in his efforts under circumstances that led all around him to despair. He used, on such occasions, to relate to his friends an anecdote of his early life. " I once," said he, " was forced to take " shelter from my enemies in a ruined building, where I sat alone " many hours. Desiring to divert my mind from my hopeless con- " dition, I fixed my observation on an ant that was carrying a grain " of corn larger than itself up a high wall. I numbered the efforts " it made to accomplish this object. The grain fell sixty-nine times " to the ground; but the insect persevered, and the seventieth time " it reached the top of the wall. This sight," said Timour, " gave " me courage at the moment; and I have never forgot the lesson it " conveyed†."

Such a leader as Timour must have been idolized by his soldiers; and with an army of six or seven hundred thousand men attached to his person, he was careless of the opinion of other classes in the community. The object of this monarch was fame as a conqueror; and a noble city was laid in ashes, or the inhabitants of a province massacred, on a cold calculation that a dreadful impression would be

* Timour's Institutes.

† Persian Manuscript.

made, which would facilitate the purposes of his ambition. He pretended to be very religious, was rigid in performing his sacred duties, and paid attention to pious men; who, in return for his favour, used to assure him that God had given the countries of other monarchs to his victorious sword. The parade which he made of these prophecies, proves that he either believed in them, or that he thought they might produce an effect favourable to his designs.

Timour, we are informed by his son, Shah Rokh*, introduced the holy law of Mahomed into his dominions, and abolished the precepts of Chenghiz Khan. He, however, appears to have made very few material alterations in the military regulations of that great sovereign. We are in possession of the Institutes, or rather Memoirs, which this prince wrote, and in which he mixes an account of the principal actions of his life with rules for the administration of the vast regions which he had subdued. It is amusing to read the liberal and wise sentiments contained in the general maxims of government which Timour asserts that he established; but one fact will satisfy us what must have been the result of his actual system. The Tartar leader of the tomaun, the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred, and of ten, were the officers of justice, and of revenue, in the conquered territories. These men of blood, in whom martial skill and courage were all the qualities which their leader ever required, must have been ill-chosen instruments† for restoring a country to pro-

* Letter from Shah Rokh to the Emperor of China.—*Asiatic Miscellany*, Vol. I. page 89.

† Timour in his Institutes informs us, that, in order to keep those officers whom he nominated to great charges suspended between hope and fear, he appointed to each station another person, whom he denominates a Kotul, or "successor." The

CHAP. XIII. sperity: but they did what was desired; they continued, by their dreadful cruelties, that impression which the arms of the conqueror had first made, and, by suppressing rebellion, left their monarch at liberty to pursue his conquests in some other quarter of the world.

From what has been said, we may pronounce that Timour, though one of the greatest of warriors, was one of the worst of monarchs. He was able, brave, and generous; but ambitious, cruel, and oppressive. He considered the happiness of every human being as a feather in the scale, when weighed against the advancement of what he deemed his personal glory; and that appears to have been measured by the number of kingdoms which he laid waste, and the people that he destroyed. The vast fabric of his power had no foundation, it was upheld by his individual fame; and the moment that he died, his empire dissolved. Some fragments of it were seized by his children: but it was in India alone that they retained dominion for any length of time. In that country we yet perceive a faint and expiring trace of the former splendour of the Moghul dynasty: a pageant,

learned editor of the Translation of his Institutes remarks, that "by this artful policy, "he not only secured his authority over the provinces which he divided among his "Ameers, by placing a spy (for such was the Kotul) over the conduct of each of them, "but made every province answer the purpose of satisfying *two* instead of *one* of his "Ameers[29]." It is difficult to understand how a policy could succeed, that proclaimed suspicion at the moment it gave charge; or how both parties could have been satisfied where their interests were opposed, and the prosperity of one at variance with the success of the other.

[29] Timour's Institutes, page 76.

supported by the British nation, still sits upon a throne at Delhi; and we view in him the gradual decline of human greatness, and wonder at the state to which a few centuries have reduced the lineal descendants of the great Timour.

Timour had bequeathed his crown to his grandson, Peer Mahomed; but that prince was at Candahar when his father died: and Khulleel Sultan, (another grandson,) who was present with the army, obtained the support of several powerful chiefs, and the possession of Samarcund, the capital of the empire. A contest took place between these princes, which terminated unfavourably for Peer Mahomed, who was soon afterwards put to death by the treachery of his own minister*. Khulleel Sultan, who was a prince of excellent temper, and had many good qualities, might have preserved the power he had acquired, had not his violent love for the celebrated Shad-ul-Mulk† diverted him from the cares of government. That fascinating woman, who had before lived with a Tartar chief‡, obtained so absolute a sway over her infatuated lover, that every consideration was subordinate to the gratification of her wishes. Never was the vanity of ambition more strikingly exemplified. The vast treasures which Timour had amassed by the conquest of nearly half the world, were squandered at the will of a courtesan, whose extravagance was boundless. But this scene could not last. The chiefs who had raised Khulleel to the throne, were scandalized at a proceeding which they deemed degrading to the character of the successor of the great Timour; and their discontents were aggra-

Peer Mahomed is put to death. A. D. 1406. A. H. 809.

Rule of Khulleel Sultan.

* De Guignes. † This name signifies "the joy or delight of the country."

‡ She was then an object of the attachment of Khulleel Sultan, who, it was supposed, had secretly married her: and Timour twice intended putting her to death.

CHAP. XIII.

vated by the complaints of the high-born females of the deceased emperor's haram, who saw, with disgust, a woman of low birth and dissolute character raised above them*. These feelings gave rise to a conspiracy, which ended in the ruin of the unfortunate Khulleel, who was seized by the conspirators, and sent a prisoner to the country of Kashgar; where, instead of endeavouring to effect his release and recover his power, he spent the whole of his time in writing verses to his beloved mistress, who had been exposed, by his reverse of fortune, to the most cruel indignities. She was, we are informed, led in chains through the streets of Samarcund, and had to sustain the insults and outrages of an irritated populace, who not only ascribed to her many of the oppressions they had suffered, during the reign of Khulleel, but viewed her, as she really was, the cause of all the misfortunes of that unhappy prince.

A. D. 1408. A. H. 811.

He is sent a prisoner to Kashgar.

Sultan Shah Rokh, the uncle of Khulleel Sultan, marched from Khorassan the moment he heard of the misfortunes of his nephew. His authority was immediately acknowledged, not only in Samarcund, but over all Transoxania: and Khulleel, unable to endure absence from the object of his love, hastened to throw himself upon Shah Rokh's clemency. The generous monarch commiserated his sufferings, and not only gave him the government of Khorassan, but restored his beautiful mistress to his arms. This amiable but weak prince died in Khorassan some years afterwards: and Shad-ul-Mulk, on the occurrence of this event, acted a part which has given fame to her memory—she struck a poniard to her heart: and the lovers were buried in one tomb at the City of Rhe†.

The authority of Sultan Shah Rokh is acknowledged.

Death of Khulleel Sultan. A. D. 1409. A. H. 812.

* De Guignes.

† De Guignes.

CHAP. XIII.

Character and government of Sultan Shah Rokh.

Sultan Shah Rokh was the fourth son of the Ameer Timour. He held the government of Khorassan at his father's death, and appears to have declined entering into any contest for the Crown of Tartary. When, however, his nephew was expelled, he marched, as has been before stated, and made himself master of the empire. He was a brave and generous, but not an ambitious prince: and, during a reign of thirty-eight years, we hear of no wars in which he was engaged, except with the Turkoman tribes of Asia Minor, whose power Timour had overcome, but not destroyed; and who had, since the death of that monarch, recovered their possessions, and extended their dominions over Aderbijan. Shah Rokh, whose courage, we are told by eastern historians, was equal to his virtue, defeated Kara Yusoof in three great battles: and, after the death of that Turkoman prince, he was still more successful in a war in which he was engaged with his sons, Jehan Shah and Secunder; the former of whom was reduced to the condition of a tributary Governor of Aderbijan, and the latter became a fugitive from his country. But Shah Rokh inherited no passion for conquest. Imitating the virtuous son* of Chenghiz, he desired not to extend, but to repair, the ravages committed by his father. He rebuilt the walls of the cities of Herat and Merv, and restored almost every town and province in his dominions to prosperity. This prince also encouraged men of science and learning: and his court was very splendid. He cultivated the friendship of cotemporary monarchs; and we read in the page of his historian† a very curious account of some embassies which passed between him and the Emperor of China‡.

* Octai: vide page 420.

† Khondemir.

‡ Asiatic Miscellany, Vol. I. page 77.

CHAP. XIII.

Character and rule of Ulugh Beg.

A. D. 1446. A. H. 850.

A. D. 1449. A. H. 853.

Sultan Shah Rokh died at the age of seventy-one: he was succeeded by his son, Ulugh Beg; a prince who had made peaceful studies* the chief object of his life, and had entirely neglected the art of war; a science more important than all others to a person in his condition. His fate was cruel: he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by his own son, Abdul Lateef†. It is a consolation to know that this unnatural prince enjoyed the power he had attained, by so monstrous a crime, only for the short period of six months: he was slain by his own soldiers.

After the death of Ulugh Beg we discover a crowd of the descendants of Timour contending for the provinces of his empire: and so great was the respect which men entertained for the blood of the hero, that every one who could boast of it in his veins, found adherents who enabled him either to obtain a throne, or an honourable grave. Baber‡, the grandson of Shah Rokh, succeeded in establishing himself in the government of Khorassan and the neighbouring countries. This prince, who had been very dissipated, assured his friends of his resolution to reform, by making a solemn vow at the tomb of the Imaum Reza, at Mushed, to renounce wine; and for a time he had the fortitude to preserve this sacred pledge. But habit could not be conquered: he renewed his excesses, and brought on an illness which terminated his life.

Baber obtains the government of Khorassan.

A. D. 1456. A. H. 861.

Is succeeded by Abou Seyd. A. D. 1457.

Baber was succeeded by Abou Seyd||, the great grandson of Timour. This prince, who had, during the life of Shah Rokh,

* Ulugh Beg assembled all the astronomers of his kingdom; and the celebrated tables which are known by his name, were the result of their labours.

† De Guignes. ‡ Not the famous founder of the Moghul empire in India.

|| Abou Seyd was the son of Meerza Sultan Mahomed, the son of Meeran Shah, the son of Timour.

governed the City of Shiraz and the province of Fars, repaired, CHAP. XIII.
at the death of that monarch, to the court of his successor; and having, during the changes that had occurred, greatly increased his power and influence, he made an effort, at the death of Baber, to A. D. 1468. A. H. 873. obtain the empire*. He was at first successful, but ultimately lost his life in an expedition against the Turkomans†. Abou Seyd left eleven sons; but none of them merit notice, except Oman Shaikh, who was appointed Governor of Andekân, a province of Tartary; and his memory is preserved, as the father of the justly celebrated Baber, who, after maintaining a long and glorious struggle against Shahibeg Khan Usbeg, the enemy and conqueror of his family, retreated to India, where his great qualities obtained him one of the most splendid empires in the world, which his descendants long enjoyed, and of which they are at this day the nominal sovereigns.

Oman Shaikh appointed Governor of Andekan.

At the death of Abou Seyd, Sultan Hussein Meerza, a descendant of Timour, made himself master of the empire. The great victories which this prince gained over the numerous competitors for the throne, as well as over the Usbegs, obtained him the title of Ghâzee, or "the victorious." The court of this prince boasted of many eminent men. The celebrated Persian historian, Khondemir, was his subject; and the page of that author has perpetuated the good qualities and triumphs of his sovereign. But A. D. 1505. A. H. 911. the fortune of Hussein faded before that of the prince who had

* De Guignes.

† He was obliged to retreat from Kârâbâgh in consequence of want of provisions: he was pursued, made prisoner, and slain by Hussein Beg, the chief of the Turkomans.

CHAP. XIII. driven Baber from his dominions; and his son and successor, the last of the race of Timour who reigned in Persia, was compelled, by the victorious Usbegs, to seek his safety in a foreign country*.

An account of the tribes of Kârâ-Koinloo and Ak-Koinloo.

The Turkomans of Asia Minor have been before noticed. These were, as has been stated, divided into two great tribes. The Kârâ-Koinloo, and Ak-Koinloo, or "the tribes of the black and white "sheep," from their carrying the figures of these animals in their respective standards.

Kârâ Mahomed founds the dynasty of Kârâ Koinloo.

Kârâ Mahomed, the founder of the first dynasty, left his small territories, of which the capital was Van, in Armenia, to his son, Kârâ Yusoof, who, though possessed of considerable power, was compelled to fly before the sword of Timour†. When that conqueror died, he returned from Egypt, and was victorious in an action with Ahmed Eel-Khannee, the ruler of Bagdad, whom he made prisoner and put to death. After this success, Kârâ Yusoof collected an army of upwards of one hundred thousand men, and was preparing to attack Sultan Shah Rokh, but he was suddenly taken ill, and died at a small village near Tabreez‡. Never did an occurrence happen which marked more forcibly the character of that ephemeral power, which rests solely upon military means, than that which took place at the death of this chief. No enemy was near; but the loss of their leader at once disorganized the numerous army which Kârâ Yusoof had assembled: and while the different leaders were thinking of their own views, the

A. D. 1420. A. H. 823.

* This prince, whose name was Bâidezunnân, found refuge with Shah Ismail Sooffee, who had established his power in the eastern parts of Persia: he was settled at Tabreez; and when the Othoman Emperor, Selim, took that city, he sent him to Constantinople, where he died.

† De Guignes.

‡ De Guignes.

body of him they had so recently honoured and obeyed as their sovereign lay naked and mutilated, the ears having been cut off on account of their rich pendants. The putrid corpse was at length interred by an inferior officer, who was induced, by a motive of pity, to pay the last sad rites to one who, the hour before he died, commanded the service of several millions of subjects.

Is succeeded by Secunder.

This prince was succeeded by Secunder, who commenced his reign by putting to death his brother, Abou Seyd. He was defeated, as has been before stated, by Shah Rokh, who added Rhe to his own possessions, and gave Tabreez to Jehan Shah, the brother of Secunder. The latter ruler survived these events but a short period: he fell by the hands of his own son; and the parricide was protected by his uncle, Jehan Shah, who, after having fully established himself in Aderbijan, conquered Georgia, great part of Irak, and all Fars, and Kerman*. He desired to carry his arms into Khorassan, but was compelled to return by the successive rebellions of his two sons, to whom he had committed the charge of the cities of Tabreez and Bagdad. He had no sooner reduced them†, than he was obliged to assemble all his forces to encounter Uzun Hussun, chief of the Turkomans of the white sheep, who was rising rapidly into fame, and had established a powerful principality at Diarbekir. Jehan Shah fell in one of the first actions he fought with this chief; and his son, Hussun Aly, who succeeded in collecting a large force,

Jehan Shah.

Conquers several provinces.

A. D. 1464. A. H. 869.

His war with Uzun Hussun.

A. D. 1466. A. H. 871.

Hussun Aly succeeds Jehan Shah.

* De Guignes.

† One of his sons, Peer Boodâk Khan, who had seized Bagdad, defended that city for some time, but was made prisoner and put to death.

CHAP. XIII.

was equally unfortunate. That prince, after some vicissitudes, was defeated and made prisoner by Uzun Hussun, who put him, and all his family and relations, to death. This cruelty is commended by many historians, who assert, that it was necessary, to avenge the honour of his family. Secunder, the son of Kârâ Yusoof, when he fled from Shah Rokh, had, by accident, made Kârâ Osman, the grandfather of Uzun Hussun, prisoner. He confined him at Erzeroom, where he died: and Secunder had the barbarity, when he afterwards visited that place, to dig up the body of his enemy, that he might strike the head off and send it in triumph to the Sultan of Egypt. This horrid and brutal outrage produced an irreconcileable feud between the two tribes: and the extirpation of all the relations and descendants of Secunder was considered an inadequate revenge for his base and insulting treatment of the remains of Kârâ Osman.

Cause of the feud between the tribes of Kârâ-Koinloo and Ak-Koinloo.

An account of the dynasty of Ak-Koinloo.

The history of the chiefs of the tribe of the white sheep presents nearly similar events to that of their rivals and enemies. The dynasty which Uzun Hussun founded, is sometimes termed Bâyenderee, from the name of a person to whom they trace their descent. We may date their first aggrandizement from the reign of Timour, who accepted the services of one of their leaders, and rewarded his valour and attachment with several grants in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor. Kârâ Osman, the name of the chief who was so distinguished, entered, after the death of Timour, into a war with the tribe of the black sheep*. His fate has been related, as well as the vengeance taken for the insults offered to his corpse, by Uzun

Its founder.

Kârâ Osman.

* De Guignes.

Hussun, or Hussun the Long*. The latter prince, after he had extirpated his rivals, engaged in a war with Sultan Abou Seyd. He is said to have owed his triumph over a very superior force more to his skill and activity, than to his courage. We are told by his historians, that he avoided close action, but continually harassed his enemies by a species of warfare which is termed Kossâckee†, or "resembling the Kossâcks." In other words, the war was carried on against their supplies. His success was complete: the army of the sultan was reduced to such distress by these predatory attacks, that they were literally forced to disperse without fighting a battle; and in that hurry and confusion, which always attends the flight of an irregular body of men, their monarch fell into the hands of Uzun Hussun, who, from that event, became sovereign of a great part of the dominions of the House of Timour‡.

CHAP. XIII.

Uzun Hussun's war with Abou Seyd.

A. D. 1468. A. H. 873.

Uzun Hussun, after he had made himself master of Persia, turned his arms in the direction of Turkey: but his career of greatness was arrested by the superior genius of the Turkish Emperor, Mahomed the Second, from whom he suffered a signal defeat, which terminated his schemes of ambition. He died, after a reign of eleven years, at the age of seventy. All authors agree in ascribing valour and wisdom to this prince, who, we are told by an European ambassador|| that resided at his court, was a tall thin man, of a very open and

Death of Uzun Hussun.

* He is often termed, in European history, Uzun Kassim.

† The Marhattas, who are masters in this species of warfare, also call it Kossâckee; and that term, which has become a word in their language, proves the source of their art in predatory war.

‡ De Guignes.

|| An envoy from Venice, who was sent, by that republic, to solicit the aid of Uzun Hussun against the Turks.

CHAP. XIII.

engaging countenance: and we learn from the same authority, that his army amounted to fifty thousand horse; a great proportion of which were, in this writer's opinion, of very indifferent quality.

A. D. 1478.
A. H. 883.

From the death of Uzun Hussun till the elevation of Shah Ismail Suffaveah, a period of twenty-six years, there are few events worthy of notice. The sons, grandsons, and nephews, of Hussun, contended with each other for his territories; and, by their dissensions, not only accelerated their own ruin, but prepared the way for a dynasty of a very different character to any that had yet governed Persia. The inhabitants of that country, wearied of the continual wars carried on by chiefs of military tribes, (who to the common motives of hostility often added those of family feuds,) saw with delight a race of monarchs rising into power, who appeared likely, from their origin and habits, to be exempt from many of those feelings which, by their tendency to perpetuate discord, had made a nation despair of ever again obtaining the first of all blessings,—internal peace.

CHAPTER XIV.

History of the Suffavean Dynasty of Kings, from the Rise of that Family, till the End of the Reign of Abbas the Great.

CHAP. XIV.

Descent of the family of Shah Ismail.

SHAH ISMAIL* was the first of the Suffavean monarchs. He traced his descent† from Moossâh, the seventh Imaum; and almost all his ancestors were regarded as holy men, and some of them as saints. They had long been settled at Ardebil, where

* In the account of the first reigns of the Suffavean monarchs, I follow Mahomed Kumâl-ebn-Ismail, who was an officer of eminence at the Court of Abbas the Second. Though a flatterer, he is esteemed the best authority. He has written a small but valuable work called Zubd-ul-Tuarikh, or "Historical Selections."

† We find in the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh a full account of the ancestors of Shah Ismail, who, according to the author of that work, was the son of Sultan Hyder, the son of Juneyd, the son of Shaikh Ibrahim, the son of Khaujah Aly, the son of Sudder-u-deen, the son of Shaikh Suffee-u-deen Ishâck, the son of Jubreel, the son of Shaikh Sâlâh, the son of Shaikh Kûttub-u-deen, the son of Shaikh Sâlâh-u-deen, the son of Russheed, the son of Mahomed-ul-Hafiz, the son of Aiwuz-ul-Khaus, the son of Firoze Shah Zereen-Kûllâh, the son of Syud Mahomed of Arabia, the son of Syud Aboul Kâssim, the son of Aboul Kâssim Humzâ, the son of Moossâh Kâzim, the seventh Imaum.

CHAP. XIV.

they lived as retired devotees, that they might attract disciples and obtain that fame which they pretended to despise. The first of this family who acquired any considerable reputation was Shaikh Suffee-u-deen*, from whom this dynasty takes its name of Suffaveah. He was succeeded by Sudder-u-deen †, who, as well as his immediate descendants, Khaujah Aly, Juneyd, and Hyder, acquired the greatest reputation for sanctity. Cotemporary monarchs, we are informed, visited the cell of Sudder-u-deen. The great Timour, when he went to see this holy man, demanded to know what favour he could confer upon him. "Release those prisoners you have "brought from Turkey ‡," was the noble and pious request of the

Shaikh Suffee-u-deen.

Is succeeded by Sudder-u-deen.

* Suffee-u-deen means "the purity of the faith." It has been a subject of controversy, whether the name of Suffee, as applied to this person, was a proper name, or meant to designate his religious character as a Sooffee. It might have been either: both Suffee and Sooffee have the same root, Sufâ, which means "clean, pure:" and as it is a point that, from this very circumstance, never can be settled, it does not merit discussion. There is no doubt that Shaikh Suffee-u-deen was a Sooffee, or "philoso-"phical devotee:" but his being named as he was, is not essential to establish this fact.

† He is often called Sultan Sudder-u-deen. The latter name means "the pre-"eminent of the faith."

‡ The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh observes, "That when Shaikh Suffee died, "Sudder-u-deen succeeded. The temporal rulers of the age (he adds,) paid their "respects to this holy man. Among those was the Ameer Timour, who bade Sudder-"u-deen demand a favour of him. The saint required that he would release the pri-"soners he had brought from Room (Turkey). Timour complied with his desires." There appears no reason to doubt the correctness of this writer, though both D'Herbelot and Sir W. Jones relate this anecdote of Suffee-u-deen, who is always represented as a person of extraordinary piety and great fame.

saint. The conqueror complied; and the grateful tribes, when they regained their liberty, declared themselves the devoted disciples of him to whom they owed it*. Their children preserved sacred the obligation of their fathers; and the descendants of the captives of Timour became the supporters of the family of Suffee, and enabled the son of a devotee to ascend one of the most splendid thrones in the world. History does not furnish us with a better motive for obedience, or a nobler origin of power.

Khaujah Aly. Khaujah Aly, after visiting Mecca, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He died at that city; and his tomb is still shewn as that of the Shaikh† of Persia‡.

Juneyd. His grandson, Juneyd, took up the sacred mantle‖ after the death of his father§; and so great a crowd of disciples attended this holy man, that Jehan Shah, the chief of the tribe of Kârâ Koinloo, or the black sheep, who at that time ruled Aderbijan, became alarmed at their

* Mirkhond and Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† He is often called Shaikh Aly: both Shaikh and Khaujah are terms of respect.

‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‖ The mantles, or patched garments, which are used by Ascetics, or Sooffee teachers, have always been, in the East, objects of religious veneration. The legacy of the mantle is in fact the mode by which these holy men transfer their empire over the minds of their disciples, to their successors. Their power is grounded upon their sacred character; and that rests upon their poverty and contempt of worldly goods. Their mantle is in general *their all;* and its transfer, therefore, marks their heir. Some of these mantles can be traced several centuries, and their value increases with their age. They become relics, which are almost worshipped; and their envied possessor has many disciples and followers, who venerate the tattered and patched garment much more than the person who wears it.

§ The father of Juneyd was Shaikh Ibrahim; but little is said of him, except that he was a pious man.

CHAP. XIV.

numbers, and banished him from Ardebil. Juneyd went next to Diarbekir, and met with the kindest reception from its ruler,

Proceeds to Diarbekir, and marries the sister of Uzun Hussun.

Hussun, a chief whose history has been given, and who became so celebrated under the name of Uzun Hussun. This prince thought it an honour to connect himself in marriage with the holy man, and gave his sister to Juneyd: but neither this alliance, nor the numbers and influence of his followers, could enable the banished priest to re-establish himself at Ardebil. Disappointed in that hope by the jealous policy of Jehan Shah, he went, with his disciples, to Shirwan; and soon afterwards

Is killed, and succeeded by Sultan Hyder.

lost his life from the wound of an arrow which he received in a conflict with the troops of that province*. His son, Sultan Hyder†, succeeded him. Hyder was of proud descent, as his mother was the sister of Uzun Hussun; and his conduct showed that he was fully as much alive to his duties, as the descendant of a race of warriors, as to those which he inherited as the representative of a family of saints. His uncle, Uzun Hussun, who had, by his overthrow of Jehan Shah and the Sultan Abou Seyd,

Who marries the daughter of Uzun Hussun.

become sovereign of all Persia, gave him his daughter‡ in marriage: and he had three sons by this princess; Sultan Aly, Ibrahim Meerza, and Sultan Shah Ismail. When the eldest of these attained the age

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† The lofty names of sultan and shah were often assumed by religious men, who pretend, from their holiness, to possess a celestial kingdom.

‡ The name of this princess, according to Mahomedan authors, was Aulum Shoaeh, or "the light of the world." But we are informed by a cotemporary European writer, that she was called Martha, and was the daughter of Uzun Hussun by the Christian Lady Despina, who was a daughter of Calo Joannes, King of Trebizond.—PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, Vol. V. page 382.

of manhood, Hyder assembled all his followers, and, with the view of revenging his father's death, made an attack upon Shirwan: but the attempt was unfortunate; he was defeated and slain by the governor of that province*. The remains of the martyr (for so this warlike priest was deemed,) were interred at Ardebil. He was canonized, and his tomb became a place of devotion to his followers.

Is defeated, and slain.

Sultan Aly was proclaimed the successor of his father: but he and his brothers were seized at Ardebil by Yâkoob, one of the descendants of their grandfather, Uzun Hussun, who, jealous of the numerous disciples that resorted to Ardebil, confined them to the Hill Fort of Istakhr in Fars, where they remained prisoners upwards of four years; when, taking advantage of the anarchy that followed Yâkoob's death, they made their escape, and fled to Ardebil, where they were soon joined by many of their adherents. But, before a sufficient force could be collected, they were attacked, and Sultan Aly was slain. His brothers fled in disguise to Ghilan, where Ibrahim Meerza died.

Sultan Aly proclaimed his successor.

Is confined in the Fort of Istakhr with his brothers.

A. D. 1492. A. H. 898.

Ismail, the third son of Hyder, was a child during the occurrence of these events. We are informed of no particulars of his life till he had attained the age of fourteen, when he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched against the great enemy of his family, the ruler of Shirwan†, whom he defeated. Alwund-beg, the son of Yâkoob-beg, a prince of the dynasty of Ak-koinloo, or "white sheep," heard of this event with alarm,

Ismail.

A. D. 1499. A. H. 905. Marches against the ruler of Shirwan.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† The title of this chief was Shirwan Shah, or "the King of Shirwan."

CHAP. XIV.

A. D. 1500. A. H. 906. Becomes master of the province of Aderbijan.

and hastened, with all the troops he could collect, to crush the young warrior. But his army had no better fate than the troops of Shirwan; and the triumphant prince, who had become, by the two victories he had obtained, master of the province of Aderbijan, established his residence at the City of Tabreez. Next year he marched into Irak, and fought a great action near Hamadan with Sultan Moorâd, another prince of the family of Ak-koinloo, whom he also vanquished. After this success, he soon made himself master of all that province; and in less than four years from his leaving Ghilan, the son of the pious Hyder was the acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom of Persia.

Defeats Sultan Moorâd. A. D. 1502. A. H. 908.

Observations on the rise of the Suffavean kings to power

Shah Ismail, as has been before observed, possessed a great advantage in not being born the chief of a tribe. His family were objects of hostility to none; and were regarded by almost all his subjects with sentiments of religious reverence and veneration. The most celebrated of his ancestors were Sooffees; and had, no doubt, held all the opinions and tenets of that sect of philosophical deists; but it was necessary that the holy raptures in which they indulged should have an object more comprehensible to the mass of their adherents than the Divinity. That which they chose was their ancestor Aly, the companion, nephew, and son-in-law of the prophet. In the history of Aly, as represented by the Persians, there was something peculiarly calculated to interest the best feelings of human nature. We can suppose that his followers contemplated, with an admiration that bordered on devotion, a youth of fourteen becoming the first convert of the prophet; displaying, throughout his life, an unshaken constancy in the opinions he had so early adopted; inferior to none in zeal, and superior to all in courage;

cherished by his uncle, who bestowed upon him his favourite daughter, and destined him for his successor: yet, after all, deprived for a period of an inheritance, which seemed, on every ground, his right; but, nevertheless, submitting patiently to the wrongs he sustained from the elevation of the three first successors of the prophet, Aboubeker, Omar, and Osman, rather than draw that sword, which was the terror of infidels, against true believers, who, however misled, were still followers of the faith he loved.

Though Aly ultimately attained the caliphate, he enjoyed that dignity but a short period. His desire to prevent contentions among the "faithful," made him submit his claims to the decision of an artful enemy, and he was defrauded of power before he fell under the dagger of an assassin. The injuries which he sustained had produced early divisions among the Mahomedans; and these were increased by the misfortunes that attended his son, Hussein, who, deceived by the promises of his adherents into an attempt to gain dominion, perished miserably on the sandy plains of Kerbelah; while his brother Hussun was doomed to the more cruel fate of being poisoned by a wife he loved, who was led, by her avarice and ambition, to become the instrument of his implacable enemies.

From the time these events occurred, there had always been a sect, who, upholding the rights of Aly and his children, addressed them in their prayers, and vented secret curses on those by whom they had been oppressed. But the great power of the Soonee, or "orthodox Mahomedans," had repressed these sectaries, who had been often visited by the most cruel persecutions. The ancestors of Shah Ismail had instructed their adherents in

CHAP. XIV. the tenets of this sect. Aly was the sacred name on which they continually called. His wrongs were the object of their inmost thoughts; and that hatred which an indulgence in these sentiments excited against his enemies, was, by an easy and natural transition, transferred to those who continued to respect and reverence names which they abhorred. It was in his active and invincible hatred to all Soonees, that is to all persons who believed in the superior right of the three caliphs who preceded Aly, that the disciple of the family of Suffee recognised himself as a zealous follower of the new faith he had adopted; and the very name of Sheah, which signifies "a sectary," and which his enemies had given as a reproach, was changed into a title, in which he gloried, and by which he deemed himself pledged to eternal hostility against the adherents of the enemies of Aly. No feeling could be more calculated to promote the greatness of Persia as an independent kingdom. It was a flame which spread to every bosom; and, as a powerful motive of action, was, while the fervour continued, perhaps fully equal in its force to that noble spirit of patriotism, which can alone be known in nations who enjoy the invaluable blessings of a free and just government.

Ismail took full advantage of the enthusiasm of his disciples, to cherish feelings so essential for the political greatness of the empire he governed. The seven Turkish tribes*, who had been

* The names of these tribes were the Oostâjaloo, the Shâmloo, the Nikâlloo, the Bâhârloo, the Zûlkudder, the Kujur, and the Affshâr. Each of these, (according to the Persian manuscript from which I have taken their names,) had seven subordinate tribes under them; but this probably refers not to eels, or tribes, but subordinate teerahs, or branches.

the chief promoters of his glory and success, were distinguished by a particular dress: they wore a red cap, from which they received the Turkish name of Kûzel-bash, or "golden heads," which has descended to their posterity. The swords of these tribes were consecrated, by these distinctions, to the defence of the Sheah religion; and a sense of that obligation has survived the existence of the family by whom it was first created.

It would be tedious to enter into a minute detail of the actions of Ismail. He was occupied, for some years after he ascended the throne, in subjugating those provinces of Persia which continued to resist his authority. When that object was accomplished, he attacked and took Bagdad and its surrounding territories. In the year succeeding that on which he made this conquest, he encountered the Usbegs in Khorassan, defeated them, and slew their chief, Shahibeg Khan; and this victory gave him complete possession of that large and valuable province. He next proceeded to Bulkh, which he also subdued; and then returned to the City of Koom. He had enjoyed but a short repose when he was called to the defence of Khorassan, which was again invaded by the Usbegs; who, however, were once more defeated: and Ismail, by leaving some of his bravest troops in that quarter of his dominions, provided, in the best manner he was able, against their future predatory attacks*.

Conquests made by Shah Ismail. A. D. 1508. A. H. 914.

A. D. 1511. A. H. 917. Defeats the Usbegs.

To this period Ismail was successful, but he had now to encounter a powerful enemy. Sultan Selim† advanced from Constantinople

A. D. 1514. A. H. 920.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† According to the Turkish historians, Selim proclaimed his expedition against Ismail a religious war; and the royal saint of Persia is often termed, in their page, Shytân-Kooli, or "the slave of the devil."

The Chevalier D'Ohsson has, in his learned work upon the Mahomedan religion,

CHAP. XIV.

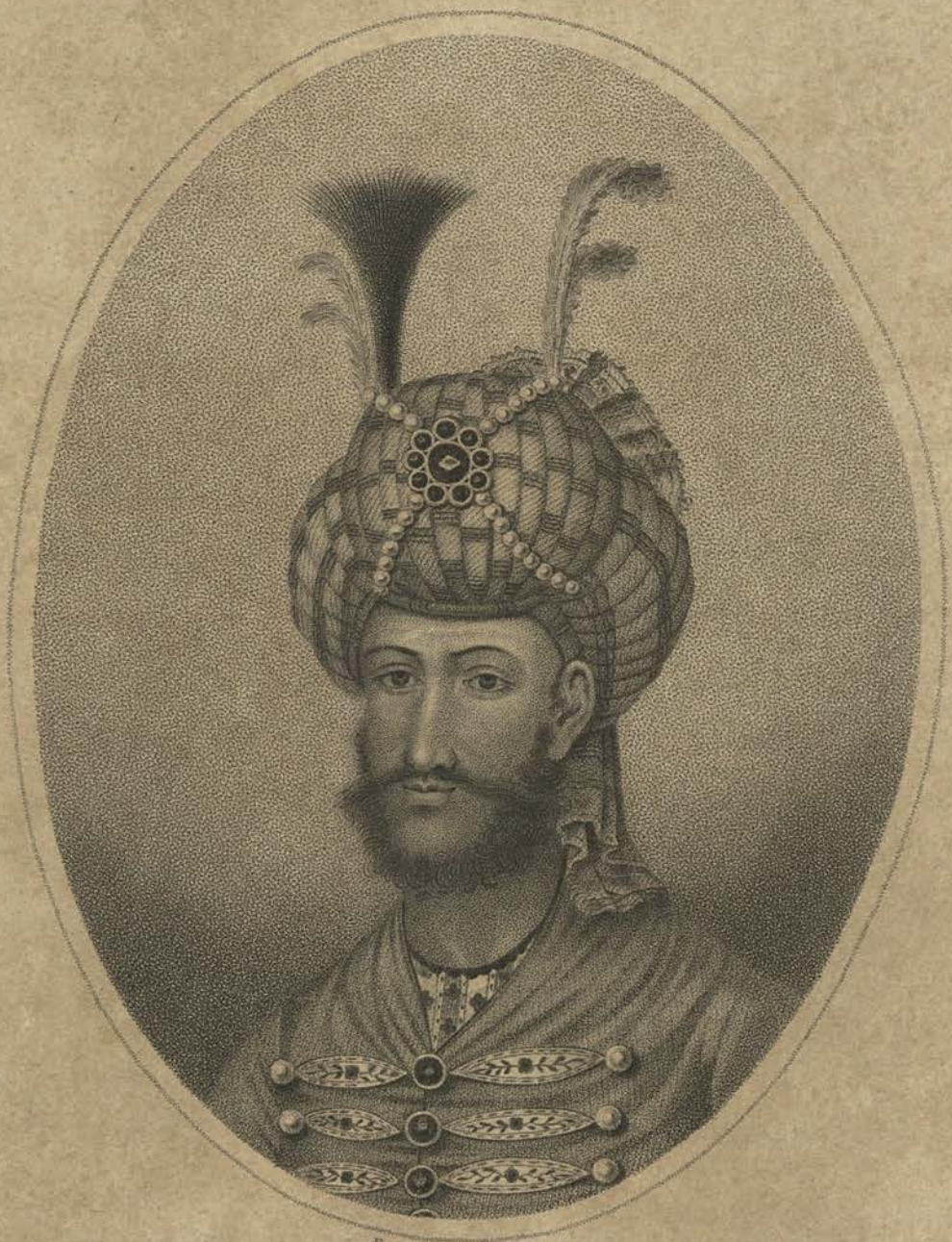
Sultan Selim marches to invade Persia, and defeats Ismail.

towards Persia, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. An action took place on the frontiers of Aderbijan, in which the Persian monarch suffered a complete defeat. Among other officers of rank, Meer Syud Sheriff, the Sudder-ul-Suddoor*, or chief pontiff of the kingdom, was slain. Ismail, who had contemplated victory, in this contest, as the consummation of his glory, tried all that the most desperate valour could effect to obtain that object. We are told by Persian authors, that the cannon of Selim were linked together, to prevent the charge of the Persian cavalry, and that the sabre of the brave monarch cut asunder the large chain by which they were joined. But all was in vain; the day was irretrievably lost. The effect of so great a reverse upon the sanguine mind of Ismail, was deep and lasting: though before of a cheerful disposition, he was never afterwards seen to smile.

The Turkish monarch reaped no other fruits from his victory but the glory of defeating Ismail, and the plunder of the Persian camp. A want of supplies forced him to retreat; and the great preparations which he subsequently made to conquer Persia, were directed against the Egyptians and Circassians. The death of Selim, which happened

given us a copy of the letter which Sultan Selim addressed to Shah Ismail upon this occasion, which is at once arrogant and imperious. The haughty style of the monarch was supported by the Turkish Oulamâh, who, in the Fetwâhs they published at the commencement of this war, declare there is more merit in killing one Persian Sheah, than in destroying seventy Christians.—D'Ohsson's *Ottoman Empire*, page 101.

* This office was never bestowed on any but a Syud, that is, a descendant of the family of the prophet. The person holding it was at the head of the ecclesiastical establishment of the empire; and, during the whole period of the Suffavean dynasty, enjoyed great power. His title of Sudder-ul-Suddoor may be translated, "the pre-eminent among the ministers."



Engraved by C. Heath.

SHÂH TÂMASP.

From an Original Persian Painting.

Published March 1st 1815, by John Murray, Albemarle Street.

some time afterwards, encouraged Ismail to cross the Araxes, and attack Georgia, which he subdued. But this was the last of his conquests: he died* at Ardebil, where he had gone on a pilgrimage to the tomb of his father.

A. D. 1519. A. H. 926. His death, and character.

The Persians dwell with rapture on the character of Ismail, whom they deem not only the founder of a great dynasty, but the person to whom that faith, in which they glory, owes its establishment, as a national religion. He is styled in their histories Shah Shean †, or "the King of the Sheahs;" an appellation which marks the affection with which his memory is regarded. Though he may not be entitled to their extravagant praises, he certainly was an able and valiant monarch. During his whole life he only suffered one defeat; and the large park of artillery, and improved knowledge in the science of war, which Sultan Selim must have derived from his intercourse with Europe, were no doubt the real causes of the advantage which he gained over the gallant Ismail.

A. D. 1523. A. H. 930.

Tâmâsp succeeded his father when he was ten years of age, and fell of course into the hands of his ministers. He had hardly ascended the throne, when he was involved in a war with Obeid Khan, ruler of the Usbegs: but we find him compelled to return

Tâmâsp succeeds to the throne.

A. D. 1525. A. H. 932.

* This prince died on Monday the 19th of Rejeb, A. H. 930. He left four sons; (Tâmâsp Meerza, Sâm Meerza, Baharam Meerza, and Ilkhâs Meerza;) and five daughters.

† We are told by a cotemporary European traveller in Persia, that his subjects deemed him a saint, and made use of his name in their prayers. Many disdained to wear armour when they fought under Ismail; and so enthusiastic were his soldiers in their new faith, that they used to bare their breasts to their enemies, and court death, exclaiming, "Sheah! Sheah!" to mark the holy cause for which they fought.—PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, Vol. V. page 384.

CHAP. XIV.

from Khorassan, where he had gone to encounter that monarch, to his capital of Kazveen, in consequence of a violent dispute between two of the Kûzel-bash tribes; whose feuds, at this period, threatened to disturb the internal tranquillity of the kingdom. His presence settled this quarrel; and he hastened back to Khorassan, in which province one of his generals, whom he had left to keep the Usbegs in check, had been completely defeated. The royal army encountered the enemy between the cities of Jâm and Mushed, and gave them a signal overthrow. After this success, Tâmâsp went to Bagdad; the government of which had been usurped by Zûlfekâr Khan, a chief of the Kurd tribe, of Kûlhoor*, whom he took and put to death.

Encounters and defeats the Usbegs. A. D. 1527. A. H. 934.

Though the arms of the young king were victorious against all foreign enemies, the peace of his kingdom appears, at the commencement of his reign, to have been continually disturbed by the jealousy, violence, and ambition, of the Kûzel-bash chiefs, who were alike eager to attain power during the minority of their sovereign. The tribe of Shamloo† had one day a scuffle with that of Tukûloo, and pursued their chief, Jehan Sultan, till he took refuge in the king's tents: a conflict ensued with the royal guards, and Hussein Khan Shamloo was slain. Encouraged by the fall of this chief, the whole tribe of Tukûloo prepared to assault that of Shamloo, and would listen to no terms of accommodation, except it was made a condition that the young monarch should be delivered over to their charge; or, in other words, that their chief should become, by the possession of

Feud between the tribes of Shamloo and Tukûloo. A. D. 1529. A. H. 936.

* This tribe, which is now settled near Kermanshah, is still very numerous.

† This term is a compound of Sham Syria and loo-son, and its signification of "Sons of Syria" corroborates the fact of its being one of those tribes that Timour conveyed, as prisoners, to Persia, when he subdued Bayezeed.

the royal person, ruler of Persia. Tâmâsp, who was now sixteen years of age, heard the insulting proposal with undisguised indignation. He called upon all the soldiers of his army to save their king from being the prisoner of an insolent and overbearing tribe*. The appeal was successful, and almost all declared their readiness to support their prince. Taking advantage of their warmth in his cause, he commanded a general attack of the tribe of Tukûloo; and, though the clan was numerous and brave, they were soon overpowered; a great number of them were slain, and the remainder compelled to find safety in flight.

Tâmâsp calls upon the soldiers to save him.

A. D. 1530. A. H. 937. The Usbegs invade Khorassan.

The Usbegs, taking advantage of the internal distractions of Persia, invaded Khorassan, and invested Herat so closely, for a period of eighteen months, that its wretched inhabitants were reduced to live upon the flesh of dogs and cats: but Tâmâsp advanced to their relief, and the Usbeg chief abandoned the siege, and retreated with precipitation into Tartary. A short time subsequent to this event the tranquillity of the empire was threatened by a more serious danger. Solimân, the Turkish Emperor of Constantinople, invited by an ex-ruler of Aderbijan, and by some discontented nobles of Persia, invaded that kingdom, and after conquering all the territories to the west of the Araxes, the provinces between the Tigris and Euphrates, and part of Kurdistan, he besieged Tabreez, which was forced to surrender. Encouraged by this rapid success, he marched to Sultaneah, and would have reduced that city also, had not the great severity of the season compelled him to retreat. He proceeded to Bagdad, which was

A. D. 1532. A. H. 939. The Emperor of Constantinople invades Persia.

Besieges Sultaneah.

Is compelled to retreat, and abandon all his conquests.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XIV. evacuated at his approach. Next season he again entered Persia, but was soon compelled to retire to his own dominions. The Persian monarch, who had hitherto acted on the defensive, and avoided an engagement, commenced the most active operations the moment Solimân retreated. His advance into Armenia forced the Turkish army to hasten to the defence of their new conquests *; almost all of which they were obliged to abandon.

Rebellion of Sâm Meerza.

The rebellion of Sâm Meerza, a prince of the blood royal, threw Khorassan into confusion; and Obeid Khan Usbeg, whose invasions of that country appear to have been periodical, made himself master

A. D. 1534. A. H. 941.

of Herat; but, on the approach of Tâmâsp, he plundered that noble city, and retired, with immense spoil, across the Oxus. The king continued his march to Candahar; and Sâm Meerza, who had taken possession of that capital, fled at his approach. The rule of this city, and the province subject to it, was bestowed upon Peer Boodâk

A. D. 1536. A. H. 943.

Khan Kujur†, who next year surrendered it to Kâmerân Meerza, the son of Baber, the reigning Emperor of Delhi.

Tâmâsp's reception of the Emperor Hoomâyoon.

A. D. 1543. A. H. 950.

The reign of Tâmâsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Hoomâyoon, when that monarch was forced to fly from India, and to take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality; and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue. The arrival of the fugitive Hoomâyoon presented an opportunity of a very singular

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† This is the first mention I have met in Persian history of any noble of the tribe of Kujur, by whom the throne of that country is now occupied.

nature for the display of this noble quality; and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All the means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest: and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tâmâsp merited the praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations: but his own feelings must have been most gratified by the applause of his subjects: every one of whom felt elevated by the munificent hospitality with which his sovereign treated the fugitive Emperor of India.

Ilkhâs, the brother of Tâmâsp, had rebelled, on hearing a false report of that sovereign's death. He submitted; but was subsequently led by his fears to fly to Turkey, where he entered into an alliance with the Emperor of Constantinople, which encouraged Solimân to another invasion of Persia. Ilkhâs had many friends; and the danger might have been serious, if he had been able to preserve terms with Solimân, which, fortunately for his brother, he could not. We find, that after he had advanced as far as Isfahan, and the Turkish army had made themselves masters of all Aderbijan, that the affairs of the reigning monarch were suddenly restored by their disagreement. Solimân made an attempt to seize the person of Ilkhâs, who fled, and took refuge in Kurdistan, where he claimed the protection of one of the principal chiefs of that province, who soon afterwards was tempted, by a large bribe, to deliver him into the hands of his justly incensed brother, by whom he was imprisoned, and, after a short period*, it was announced that his life had terminated.

Ilkhâs, the brother of Tâmâsp, rebels against him, and obtains the aid of the Emperor of Constantinople. A. D. 1547. A. H. 954.

Their subsequent disagreement. A. D. 1548. A. H. 955.

Ilkhâs is delivered over to his brother.

* He died in less than a year after his imprisonment, and was supposed to have been put to death. The chief who gave him up was Surkhâb-beg Waly, of

CHAP. XIV.

Tâmâsp subdues Georgia.

The war with Turkey continued for some years after this occurrence, but was marked by few events of consequence. Tâmâsp subdued Georgia, and took some inconsiderable cities in Asia Minor*; but he fell back when the Turkish emperor advanced to the banks of the Araxes. His enemies, however, soon retreated; and the support which the unfortunate Georgians had afforded them so irritated the King of Persia, that he again overran the whole of that province, and led thirty thousand of its inhabitants into bondage.

A. D. 1552. A. H. 960.

The anarchy† which prevailed at this time in the Turkish empire, gave Persia a respite, and was favourable to the age and indolence of Shah Tâmâsp, who had now fixed his residence at his capital of Kazveen, and given over the charge of his armies to his generals. Bayezeed, a son of the Emperor Solimân, had fled to him for shelter, and was at first most kindly treated: but the bad conduct of this prince, and that of his attendants, forced the King of Persia to a very different course; and he not only confined him, but gave him up to his father, between whom and Tâmâsp, the peace that had been before concluded was confirmed by this occurrence. In the last twenty years of the reign of Tâmâsp, the chief events which are related by his historians are the periodical invasions of

Shelters Bayezeed, the son of Solimân. A. D. 1560. A. H. 968.

Delivers him up to his father.

Ardelân: his capital was Shâher-zour. He pretended to negotiate an arrangement between the brothers, by which Tâmâsp agreed to give the government of Shirwan to Ilkhâs. But the death of the latter, and the regular annual payment of one thousand tomâns to Surkhab from the royal treasury, proclaimed the character of this disgraceful transaction.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† Solimân the First, duped by the artifice of one of his queens, had become the assassin of his children, and by cruelty and injustice had thrown several provinces of his empire into rebellion.

Khorassan by the Usbeg Tartars; and the ravages of a famine*, which, we are told†, was so dreadful, that men became cannibals, and devoured their own species. The country was also partially afflicted by the plague; and at the City of Ardebil alone, thirty thousand persons perished of this fatal distemper.

A famine and plague. A. D. 1571. A. H. 979.

Tâmâsp died at the age of sixty-four, after a reign of more than fifty-three years. This sovereign, who was of a kind and generous disposition, appears to have possessed prudence and spirit; and if he was not distinguished by great qualities, he was free from any remarkable vices. In his early life he had probably been guilty of some excesses: but he publicly repented‡ at the age of twenty-nine, and ordered all the taverns in his kingdoms to be destroyed. The bigoted attachment of this prince to his religion, was shown in his conduct to an English merchant, accredited by a letter‖ from Queen

A. D. 1576. A. H. 984. Character of Tâmâsp.

His reception and treatment of Anthony Jenkinson, the English ambassador.

* We are informed by the gravest Persian writers, that this famine was relieved by showers from heaven. There fell, according to these authors, a substance resembling a diminutive grain of wheat; and this substance, when mixed with a small portion of flour, became a most nourishing food!

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‖ The letter of the queen was in Latin and English. Its contents were as follow:

" Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, " and right victorious prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, " Parthians, Hireans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this side and beyond the " riuer of Tygris, and of all men and nations betweene the Caspian Sea and the Gulfe " of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnesse " of the Almightie God, it is ordeined, that those people, which not onely the huge " distance of the lands, and the inuincible widenesse of the seas, but also the very " quarters of the heauens do most farre separate and set sunder, may neuerthelesse " through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene

CHAP. XIV. Elizabeth. That great and active sovereign, desirous of extending the commerce of her kingdom, encouraged Mr. Anthony Jenkinson to visit the distant Court of Persia. An English writer states, that a

" them, not onely the conceiued thoughts or deliberations, and gratefull offices of " humanitie, but also many commodities of mutual intelligence. Therefore, whereas " our faithfull and right beloued seruant, Anthonie Jenkinson, bearer of these our " letters, is determined, with our licence, fauour, and grace, to passe out of this our " realme, and, by God's sufferance, to trauell euen into Persia, and other your iurisdic- " tions: we minde truely with our good fauour, to set forward and aduance that his " right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is " onely grounded upon an honest intent to establish trade of merchandize with your " subiects, and with other strangers traffiking in your realmes. Wherfore we haue " thought good, both to write to your maiestie, and also to desire the same, to vouch- " safe, at our request, to grant to our sayd seruant, Anthonie Jenkinson, good passports, " and safe conducts, by meanes and authoritie, wherof it may be free and lawfull for " him, together with his familiars, seruants, cariages, merchandise, and goods what- " soever, thorow your realmes, dominions, iurisdictions, and prouinces, freely, and " without impeachment, to iourney, go, passe, repasse, and tary so long as he shall " please, and from thence to returne whensoeuer he or they shall thinke good. If " these holy dueties of entertainment, and sweet offices of naturall humanitie may be " willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmely obserued, betweene us, and our " realmes and subiects, then we do hope that the Almightie God will bring it to passe, " that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both " to our furniture and honours, and also to the great commodities, and vse of our " peoples: so it will be knowen that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue " so much force to seperate vs, as the godly disposition of naturall humanity, and " mutual beneuolence haue to ioyne vs strongly together. God grant vnto your " maiestie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in " England, in our famous Citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the " yere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord and God Jesus Christ 1561, " and of our reigne the third.—HAKLUYT's *Voyages*, Vol. I. page 381.

pair of the king's slippers * were sent to the envoy, lest his Christian feet should pollute the sacred carpet of the holy monarch; and that after he came to the presence, the first inquiry Tâmâsp made was not regarding the object of the mission, but the belief of the ambassador, whether he was a Gaur, or unbeliever, or a Mahomedan? The Englishman replied, he was neither an unbeliever nor a Mahomedan, but a Christian; and added, that he held Christ to be the greatest of prophets. The monarch to whom he was deputed said, that he was in no need of the aid of infidels, and bade him depart. He did so; and a man followed him from the hall of audience till he was beyond the precincts of the court, sprinkling sand on the path he walked over: an action which could only be meant to mark the sense which the Mahomedan prince had of the uncleanness of the person that he had suffered to approach him.

Shah-Tâmâsp left a large family. His fifth son, Hyder Meerza, was his favourite, and had been kept at court, while the other princes were either confined, or employed in distant governments. Hyder, taking advantage of these circumstances, seized the palace and treasures, and proclaimed himself king†. It was the usage for the Suffavean monarchs to commit their sons to the charge of powerful chiefs of tribes, in order to create divisions favourable to their own security. Their narrow policy, anxious only for the

Hyder Meerza proclaims himself king.

* It is the usage of Persia at this day, and always has been, to eat and sleep on the same carpet on which they sit: they are, therefore, kept perfectly clean: and it is usual for every person to leave their shoes, slippers, or boots, at the threshold, and put on a pair of cloth slippers, which were probably what was sent to Mr. Jenkinson, whose religious feelings might have led him to mistake attention for insult.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XIV.

present, was careless to the future evils of this dangerous system. The chief of the Oostâjaloo, who had the charge of Hyder Meerza, was anxious for his elevation; but those of the tribes of Affshâr and Cherkus warmly espoused the interests of Ismail Meerza, the fourth son of Tâmâsp, who was, at the death of that monarch, confined in the Fort of Kâhke *.

Is opposed by Ismail Meerza.

Hyder, if he had known how to use the advantages which he possessed from being on the spot and commanding the treasures of the kingdom, would have established himself on the throne; but he became the dupe of the favourite sultânâh † of the deceased monarch. This lady, who was the sister of Shâmkâl, chief of the Cherkus, had long been all-powerful in the interior of the palace: but the death of Tâmâsp placed her at the mercy of Hyder Meerza; and that prince, from her conduct on a former occasion, when the king was very ill, ought to have been convinced that she was his enemy. Fearing this impression, she sought him the moment his father expired, and, throwing herself at his feet, hailed him as sovereign of Persia. "Account me," she exclaimed, "your truest, as I am your first slave!" Hyder, delighted at this act of ready submission, replied, "If you will but gain your "brother, I am secure."—"Let me seek him," she cried, "and "be assured of success ‡." Orders were instantly given to permit her to depart. She found her brother, with whom she concerted the means of destroying the prince by whom she had been so rashly

Intrigues of Peri-Khan Khânum.

Hyder Meerza is slain.

* This fort, which seems to have been used as a state prison, is believed by the Persian with whom I read the Aulum-aurah to be the modern Sheshâh.

† The name of this lady was Peri-Khan Khânum: she was alike celebrated for her beauty and ability.

‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

trusted; and who was, in consequence of her intrigues, massacred before his friends could assemble.

Ismail was proclaimed king the moment his brother was slain; and messengers were sent to convey him from a prison to a throne. The short reign of this unworthy prince was marked by debauchery and crime. The rebellion of one of his cousins, Sultan Hussein Meerza, who held the government of Candahar, deterred him, for some time, from following the dictates of his cruel disposition. He feared, before the crown was fixed upon his brow, to commit acts which might alienate his subjects: but the instant he was released, by the death* of Hussein, from apprehension of a contest for his power, he directed the massacre of all the princes of the blood royal that were at Kazveen, except Aly Meerza, whose life was spared: but even he was deprived of sight.

Ismail Meerza proclaimed king. A. D. 1576. A. H. 984.

Massacres the princes of the blood royal.

Mahomed Meerza†, the eldest son of Tâmâsp, had never been considered as a competitor for the throne, on account of a natural weakness in his eyes, which rendered him almost blind, and was supposed to incapacitate him for the exercise of the sovereign functions: but he had been employed, during his father's life, as Governor of Khorassan, and, when removed from that station, had been appointed to Shiraz, where he had gone with his eldest son, Humzâ Meerza, leaving, by desire of Tâmâsp, another son of the

* Sultan Hussein Meerza proclaimed himself king. He saw this measure was disagreeable to some of his chief officers, and therefore determined to poison them at a banquet; but the cup, either through mistake or design, was first served to himself, and he died the victim of his own treachery.

† This prince is often called Khodâh-bundâh, which means "the slave of God," and was assumed as a surname.

CHAP. XIV.

name of Abbas, then an infant at the breast, as nominal Governor of Khorassan, under the tutelage of Aly Kooli Khan *, a nobleman of high rank †. Ismail did not think himself secure upon the throne to which he had been raised, till he had slain Mahomed Meerza, and all his family. Orders to that effect were sent on the twelfth of Ramazan to Shiraz; and Aly Kooli was, at the same time, directed to put to death the young Abbas: and we are informed ‡, that a second order, of the most peremptory nature, was sent to command the instant execution of this infant: but the powerful chief to whom it was addressed, was led, by a superstitious motive, to defer obedience to the cruel mandate till the sacred month of Ramazan had passed. This short respite preserved the life of a prince destined to become the glory of Persia; for a breathless messenger || from Kazveen reached Herat on the last day of that month, and announced to Aly Kooli the death of Ismail, who had expired on the thirteenth, the day after the order for the murder of Abbas was despatched. Another express, with intelligence of that event, had been sent to Shiraz, and arrived within an hour of the period appointed for the execution of Mahomed Meerza, and his other children.

Orders the massacre of Mahomed Meerza and all his family.

A. D. 1577. A. H. 985.

The cruel mandate is deferred.

A. D. 1577. A. H. 985.

Cause of the death of Ismail.

A. D. 1577. A. H. 985. 13th Ramazan

The manner of the death of Ismail marked his vile and debauched character still more than his life. Having drank very freely, he went, as was his habit, disguised into the city. His companion was a confectioner; and they had rambled together

* Aly Kooli Khan was the chief of the tribe of Shamloo.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

|| Mahomed Bejurloo, an agent of Aly Kooli Khan, was the messenger.

till near morning, when the king, being fatigued, retired to take some rest in one of the upper rooms of his friend's house. His servants, who were not unaccustomed to these excursions, heard in the morning where he was, and assembled at the confectioner's house; but the door of the chamber in which the king slept was locked inside, and no one dared to disturb him. They became alarmed at his not waking, and made their fears known to his sister; who immediately repaired to the spot, and directed the door to be taken off its hinges. When they entered the room, Ismail was found quite dead; and his companion* lying near him, almost senseless from intoxication†. This man was immediately roused; and, from his evidence, it appeared that the king had taken, in addition to the liquor he drank, a greater quantity than usual of opium; and some suspicions were excited from his declaring, that the small box, in which the king kept the preparation‡ he used of this drug, was brought to him open, whereas it was generally shut. The confectioner added, that he had remarked this to Ismail, who replied, it was of no consequence, as a confidential female servant had opened it in his presence‖. This circumstance gave rise to a belief that he had been poisoned: but the joy which all felt, in being released from so depraved a tyrant, prevented any further inquiry into the causes of his death.

A. D. 1577. A. H. 985. Mahomed Meerza is proclaimed king.

Mahomed Meerza was instantly proclaimed king. His first act was to put the chief of the Cherkus, and his sister, to death; which was not more necessary as a punishment for their crimes, than to

* The name of this man was Hussein Beg.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ The Persian name of the preparation is Filaoon. It is chiefly opium, and very intoxicating.

‖ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XIV.

A. D. 1578. A. H. 986. Persia invaded.

secure himself against their hostility. Persia was invaded the year after he ascended the throne, by the Turks, the Usbegs, and the Tartars of Kapchack. None of these powers, however, made any serious impression; and the leader* of the latter, who had attacked Ghilan, was defeated, made prisoner, and afterwards murdered. This act of cruelty was revenged next year by a more successful irruption of the same tribe. The brother of the chief that had been slain, surprised Shirwan, and killed the governor, and a great number of the inhabitants of that city.

The chief of the Tartars taken and put to death.

Another invasion by the Tartars.

Sultan Mahomed Meerza, sensible of his own inefficiency, intrusted the whole charge of the empire to his vizier, Meerza Soliman; and he was confirmed in the confidence he bestowed on this nobleman, by the first successes of his reign. All his foreign enemies had been repelled; and two impostors, who had arisen in different parts of his dominions, and personated the deceased monarch, Ismail, had been defeated, and put to death. We may judge, however, that the country was far from settled, when we are informed†, that mendicant priests, assuming the name of so despicable a monarch, were able to collect numerous bodies of adherents, and to throw the whole kingdom into confusion. But these insignificant pretenders had hardly been overcome, when a more serious event threatened the tranquillity of this monarch's reign. The nobles of Khorassan had advanced to Nishapore, and proclaimed his youngest son, Abbas, King of Persia. Fully sensible of the magnitude of this danger, he instantly marched to Khorassan.

A. D. 1581. A. H. 989.

A. D. 1582. A. H. 990. The nobles of Khorassan rebel, and proclaim Abbas king.

* His name was Adil Gheriâh: the name of his brother and successor was Mahomed.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

His first campaign in that country was passed in an ineffectual effort to take Turbut. In the second he undertook the siege of Herat, which was defended by Abbas, and the nobles who supported him. During this siege, the Kûzel-bash chiefs, with Mahomed's army, made an attempt to assassinate Meerza Soliman. That minister fled to his sovereign for protection: but he was pursued by his powerful enemies; who, with all the spirit of feudal arrogance, told their king, that it remained for him instantly to decide whether he would give up the minister to their vengeance, or see them add their forces to those of his son Abbas. The weak Mahomed chose disgrace rather than danger; and he abandoned Soliman, who was immediately put to death by his enraged enemies. The confusion which the occurrence of this event caused in the councils of the king, forced him to retreat, and his future life was a series of misfortunes.

CHAP. XIV.

A. D. 1583. A. H. 991.

Meerza Soliman, the minister, seeks the protection of Mahomed Meerza.

But is given up, and put to death.

One author* informs us, that the excesses in which this prince indulged, when he resided at Tabreez, made Mahomed Khan, the chief of the Turkomans of the tribe of Tukûloo, remonstrate, in a very free tone, on the consequences of his intemperance. The king, stung with reproaches which he knew he had merited, sought the life of the person who had ventured to utter them. Mahomed Khan at first fled, but soon returned to court; and presented himself before the offended monarch with a sword suspended from his neck†. It was not doubted, that so extraordinary a mark of humble penitence in a man of high birth and rank, whose only crime was an imprudent zeal, would have led to his restoration to favour: but the timid dare

A. D. 1584. A. H. 992.

Causes of the hostility of the tribe of Tukûloo.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† This mode of begging clemency is the most humble, and consequently deemed by proud and barbarous men the most disgraceful. It signifies, "I approach you as "a criminal deserving of death, and bring myself the weapon you may use."

CHAP. XIV.

not forgive; and though Sultan Mahomed pretended to grant a pardon, and only ordered Mahomed Khan to be imprisoned, he subsequently put him to death*: and, by that cruel and ungenerous action, provoked the hostility of the tribe of Tukûloo.

The Turks invade Persia. A. D. 1585. A. H. 993.

These internal troubles encouraged the Emperor of Constantinople to invade Persia. Osman Pacha, a general of high reputation, was sent into that country with a large army, and succeeded in taking Tabreez. This event took place while the king was enjoying his summer residence in the cool valleys which border upon the lofty mountain of Sahund†. He immediately collected all the troops he could, and advanced to Bâsmeitch, a small town in the vicinity of Tabreez; and commenced a war of skirmishes, with a view of keeping the enemy in check, till he could assemble sufficient numbers to venture a general action. Orders were despatched in every direction: but the chiefs he had summoned, as they advanced to join the royal standard, communicated their grievances to each other, and agreed, that unless the king would remove some confidential ministers, whom they deemed unworthy favourites, they would not grant him their aid. The monarch was firm; or rather those, who had complete power over his mind, would not consent to their own disgrace and ruin; and the consequence was, that in addition to the usurpation of Khorassan by Abbas, the invasion of Aderbijan, and the capture of Tabreez by the Turks, Mahomed saw himself involved in a civil war with those on whose support he had chiefly depended‡.

Mahomed Meerza advances to Bâsmeitch.

His chiefs rebel.

The Turkish army retreats.

The death of Osman Pacha, which took place at this period, occasioned the retreat of the Turkish army: but a strong garrison was left in Tabreez, and it was necessary to besiege that city, at

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh. † Zubd-ul-Tuarikh. ‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

the same time that the insubordinate chiefs* were to be reduced. The valour of Humzâ Meerza, the eldest son of Mahomed, extricated his weak father from the difficulties with which he was surrounded. That prince succeeded in compelling the rebel chieftains to submit; and on finding that he could not take Tabreez by assault, he crossed the Araxes, and carried devastation into the Turkish provinces beyond that river; a proceeding which compelled the Turks to consent to a peace. But this gleam of good fortune soon vanished. The gallant Humzâ Meerza fell under the blow of an assassin. He was stabbed by a dillâk †, or barber, when in his private apartments; and the murderer effected his escape. This event was fatal to Sultan Mahomed Meerza. The fortunes of that monarch had been for many years upheld by the character of his eldest son, and his power terminated at the death of that prince ‡.

The rebel chieftains compelled to submit.

Humzâ Meerza is assassinated. A. D. 1585. A. H. 994. 28 Zilhâdge.

* They had taken a prince of the family of Suffee, called Tàmâsp, out of prison, and proclaimed him king.

† The name of this person was Hoodee. He, no doubt, was only an instrument. The Universal History ascribes this murder to Ismail, the brother of Humzâ Meerza: but the same authority informs us, that Humzâ Meerza was upon the throne, and that Ismail succeeded him. I must reject these facts, which are given on the uncertain authority of European travellers, and follow the distinct and authentic annals of the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh; who, however, might, as the historian of the family, pass over in silence the suspicions that fell upon Abbas on this occasion, or rather on those in whose hands that young prince was then a pageant. Father Anthony de Govvea, an Augustin friar, sent as envoy by Philip II. of Portugal to Persia, declares, that Abbas *told him* that his brother, Humzâ Meerza, was murdered by the Mahomedans on account of his partiality to Christians.

‡ It is remarkable that Sir Anthony Sherley, and all the European travellers who

CHAP. XIV.

We are informed by all the historians who have written the life of Abbas, that before the death of Humzâ Meerza, repeated orders had been sent for that prince to repair to the court of his father: but though he always professed a disposition to obedience, the high nobles who governed the province of Khorassan in his name refused to permit his departure*. A prince of the blood royal, they alleged, was absolutely necessary to preserve the tranquillity of the province, which would, they asserted, be exposed to imminent danger if he left it. Mahomed tried the expedient of appointing powerful nobles to relieve those who thus evaded his orders; but his officers returned without being able to establish

visited the Court of Persia a few years after this event, state, that the murder of Humzâ Meerza took place after the death of his father, and that he was King of Persia when he was slain. It seems hardly possible that the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh (who was minister to Abbas the Second) could be mistaken in such a fact; and he could have no motive for omitting the name of this gallant prince in his list of Persian kings. The difference between oriental and European writers upon this point, is only to be reconciled by supposing, that as Mahomed Khodah-bundah was, for the few last years of his life, from blindness and weakness of character, incapable of rule, and had resigned all power to his son, the latter was conceived by foreigners to be the actual sovereign. Sir Anthony Sherley, who mentions Humzâ Meerza being slain by a barber, informs us, that, after his death, the succession of Abbas was opposed by a faction of ambitious chiefs.

Olearus, the author of the Ambassador's Travels, informs us, that Humzâ Meerza reigned eight months, and his brother and successor, Ismail, an equal period. Yet the same author, who thus makes a lapse of sixteen months between Mahomed Khodah-bundah and his son Abbas, states, that the former died, and the latter ascended the throne, A. D. 1585.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

themselves, and Khorassan may be considered to have been an independent government during the whole of his reign. This state of affairs produced great confusion. Aly Kooli Khan and Murshud Kooli Khan, two powerful chiefs of Kûzel-bash tribes, had united their strength, on the plea of protecting Abbas, but with the real design of establishing their own power; for the young prince appears to have been, at this period, a mere pageant in their hands. The union of these haughty and ambitious nobles could not be permanent. The friends soon became rivals; and an action ensued, in which Murshud Kooli Khan was victorious. The young prince, at the commencement of this engagement, was with Aly Kooli. His horse was shot during the heat of the battle; and he was, at one period, in imminent danger of losing his life: but we are told, that the victorious tribe of Oostâjaloo, as soon as they saw the representative of the sacred family of Suffee in distress, stopped the pursuit, and threw themselves at his feet: nor did the pride of triumph prevent their leader from humbling himself before Abbas, with whom he immediately proceeded to Mushed*.

Aly Kooli and Murshud Kooli unite in the support of Abbas.

They quarrel, and Murshud Kooli is victorious.

It has already been stated that the chiefs of Khorassan had proclaimed Abbas King of Persia, and that Mahomed Khodah-bundah completely failed in the effort he made to re-establish his authority in that province. The confusion which ensued at the death of Humzâ Meerza, led Murshud Kooli Khan to march with the prince direct to Kazveen, which he took possession of without opposition ‡.

A. D. 1585. A. H. 994 †.

Abbas takes Kazveen.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† The author of the Aulum-aurah dates the elevation of Abbas in A. H. 996, two years subsequent to this date, which is taken from the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XIV.

A great number of the inhabitants of that city were soldiers of the royal army, and had accompanied Mahomed to Shiraz, where that monarch had proceeded in order to suppress a rebellion. The troops of Abbas were directed to lodge themselves in the dwellings of the absentees; and a proclamation was issued, which stated, that the houses, families, and property of all persons who did not return to Kazveen within a very limited period, should belong to the soldiers by whom that city was then occupied. Nothing could exceed the dismay produced by this measure; and the unfortunate Mahomed *, to whom none were personally attached, was deserted by every inhabitant of Kazveen in his army.

The Usbegs invade Khorassan.

The Usbegs invaded Khorassan immediately after Abbas left it. They besieged Herat; which fell, after a defence of nine months, into their hands. Its governor, Aly Kooli Khan, and several other chiefs of consequence, were put to death, and the city plundered. After this success no opposition was made to their ravages, and all the province of Khorassan was laid waste. Abbas, who had been embarrassed by the war with the Turks, hastened to conclude a treaty of peace with the Emperor of Constantinople, that he might

Abbas advances to Mushed.

march against the Usbegs. But though he advanced as far as Mushed, his attention appears, at this moment, to have been more directed to the establishment of his own authority, than to the attack of the enemies of his country. Murshud Kooli Khan. from the moment of his victory over his rival, Aly Kooli, had exercised all the functions of a sovereign. The mind of Abbas was not framed to be

* This monarch is never afterwards mentioned: he died; and owed, no doubt, the good fortune of a natural death to his complete inefficiency, and the universal contempt in which his character was held.

contented with the name of power. Impatient of his actual condition, he had recourse to, perhaps, the only remedy which he could adopt; and the death of Murshud Kooli, who was slain a few days after the army entered Khorassan*, gave this prince the possession of an authority which he never afterwards suffered to pass into the hands of another.

A. D. 1586. A. H. 995.

Some events occurred which compelled the king to return to his capital without an attempt to recover Herat: and he contented himself with leaving a garrison at Mushed, which was soon afterwards attacked by Abdûl Momeen Khan †, the chief of the Usbegs. Abbas, the moment he heard of the danger which threatened this sacred city ‡, marched to its relief: but he was taken violently ill, and confined for fifty days at Teheran; during which period his enemies accomplished their object; Mushed was taken, and given over to the fury of a savage army, by whom almost all its inhabitants were put to the sword ||. The news of this dreadful event, combined with the alarming state of the king's health, threw the whole kingdom into confusion; and Abbas was occupied, for some time after his recovery, in restoring the internal tranquillity of his dominions. An omrah, of the name of Yakoob Khan, had usurped the government of Fars. Dreading the king's indignation, he shut himself up in the Hill-fort of Istakhr; but was taken, and

Returns to his capital.

A. D. 1587. A. H. 996.

Mushed taken by the Usbegs.

Abbas restores tranquillity in his own dominions.

A. D. 1588. A. H. 997.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† This ruler was the son of Abdûllâ Khan. — *Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

‡ The tomb of the eighth Imaum, Aly Rezâ, is in this city; which is, in consequence, deemed sacred.

|| The author of the Aulum-aurah states, that Mushed was sacked A. H. 998.

CHAP. XIV.

put to death. After suppressing this rebellion, the monarch returned to Kazveen by the circuitous route of Yezd *.

A.D. 1589. A. H. 998.

Proceeds against the Turks.

The Turkish troops began, at this period, to collect on the frontier; and Shah Abbas, in order to watch their movements, had encamped on the banks of the Kur, or Cyrus †, the river which flows through Teflis, the capital of Georgia. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, an event occurred, which marked the character of this prince. As he was one day standing near the river with two or three of his favourite generals, some Turkish officers invited them to

Visits the Turkish camp in disguise.

cross, and partake of their hospitality. The king instantly went, was well entertained, and gave, in his turn, an invitation to his new friends, which they readily accepted. "We will attend you with "pleasure," said one of the Turks, "as we expect you will contrive "to obtain us a glance at your young monarch, whose fame is "already far beyond his years, and who promises to attain great "glory." Abbas smiled, and said he would do his utmost to gratify their wishes. When they arrived at the opposite bank, the behaviour of the Persians soon convinced them that their guest was the monarch

A. D. 1590. A. H. 999.

they so much desired to see. Abbas enjoyed their surprise; repaid their hospitality by the most sumptuous entertainment, and sent them back, loaded with presents, to their own lines ‡. The activity

* The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh states, that the king, on this occasion, directed his chief astronomer, Moollah Jellâl, to make an exact calculation of the time in which he rode from Shiraz to Yezd. The distance is eighty-nine fursukhs, or three hundred and three miles, three furlongs, and sixty yards, computing the fursukh at six thousand yards. The king, according to this author, performed the journey in twenty-eight hours and thirty-nine minutes.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

which he displayed in this campaign, and his reduction of the province of Ghilan, whose chief was attached * to the Turkish interest, prevented that invasion which had been threatened; and gave him leisure to attend to other quarters of his empire.

Reduction of Ghilan.

The Usbegs had continued their usual inroads into Khorassan: but as their chief object was plunder, they always retired as the Persians advanced, and Abbas in vain endeavoured to bring them to an action. While his attention was engaged in preventing their inroads, and in reducing Laristan, and some other parts of his dominions, whose rulers had only granted his predecessors an uncertain and conditional obedience, he was suddenly called from all considerations of foreign or domestic policy, by a prediction of his astrologers; who, from the aspect of the heavenly bodies, had discovered that a most serious danger impended over the reigning sovereign of Persia. Abbas was not exempt from the superstition of the age in which he lived, and he did not hesitate to adopt the strange expedient by which his counsellors proposed to avert the dreaded omen. He abdicated the throne; and a person of the name of Yusoofee, whom Persian authors take care to tell us was an unbeliever, (probably a Christian,) was crowned: and for three days, if we are to believe these historians †, enjoyed not only the name and state, but the power of a king. The latter part of their statement, however, we cannot credit. The cruel farce ended as was to be expected. Yusoofee was put to death; the decree of the stars was fulfilled by

Marches against the Usbegs.

Prediction of the astrologers

Abbas abdicates the throne.

A. D. 1591.
A. H. 1000.

* Abbas, we are informed, was so provoked by the repeated rebellions of this insubordinate province, that in A. H. 1002, he ordered a general massacre of its inhabitants.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XIV.

Reascends it.

the sacrifice; and Abbas, who reascended his throne in a most propitious hour, was promised, by his astrologers, a long and glorious reign*. The first great event which occurred after this extraordinary proceeding, was calculated to confirm the monarch in the truth of their predictions. The Usbegs, who, led by Tâleem Khan, a nephew of Abdûlla †, had entered Khorassan, found themselves (from the celerity of the march of the Persian army,) unable to avoid an action. This, which was fought ‡ near Herat, terminated in the complete defeat of these invaders. Their prince, several of their bravest leaders, and great numbers of their best troops, were slain; while the remainder only saved themselves from the same fate by a rapid flight across the Oxus. Ferhâd Khan, the favourite general of Abbas, is said to have behaved ill in this battle; and all his former services could not preserve him from the rage of his severe master, who put him to death, as an example || to others. We are informed by an English traveller of rank and respectability §, who was at the court of Abbas two years after this event, that there subsisted a treacherous design on the part of this nobleman to sacrifice his monarch; and that, in this action, he left Abbas, who was with a small part of his army in advance, to be overpowered: but that the

Defeats the Usbegs near Herat. A. D. 1597. A. H. 1006.

Puts Ferhâd Khan to death.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† When Abdûlla Khan died, he was succeeded by his son, Abdûl Momeen Khan, who was massacred, and his cousin, Tâleem Khan, placed upon the throne.

‡ This action took place on the sixth of Mohurrum, A. H. 1006.

|| We are told by some Mahomedan historians, that the monarch had other motives for this act of severity. These state, that Ferhâd Khan met with the usual lot of favourites; he fell from presuming too much on the favour of Abbas.

§ Sir Anthony Sherley.—*Vide his Travels*, page 60, 61.

Engraved by C.Heath.

SHAH ABBAS THE GREAT.

From an Original Persian Painting.

Published March 1st 1815, by John Murray, Albemarle Street.

loyalty and valour of the principal leaders under his command defeated his intentions. In disobedience to their general, they rushed to the support of their prince, to whom they brought at once relief and victory: and the principal of these chiefs, Aly-verdi Beg, was promoted to the high office that had been so long enjoyed by Ferhâd Khan.

This great victory gave the province of Khorassan a long respite from the inroads with which it had been, for some time, annually afflicted: and that province was, according to Persian historians, at once honoured and defended by the frequent visits of Abbas; whose increasing devotion was shown in constant pilgrimages* to the tomb of the Imaum Aly Rezâ, at Mushed. While the presence of the king gave prosperity and security to Khorassan, and enabled him to extend his territories in that direction as far as Bulkh, his generals were employed in reducing the islands of the Gulf of Persia, of which Bahrein, on account of its magnitude and vicinity to the pearl banks on the coast of Arabia, was deemed the most valuable conquest†. The whole of the mountain province of Lâr, which stretches from near Shiraz to the seaport of Gombroon, was also subdued; and the vanity of Abbas was flattered, by his general, Aly-verdi Khan, sending, among the captives, Ibrahim Khan, the chief of that province, who boasted a direct descent from Goorgeen Meelâd‡, one

A. D. 1600.
A. H. 1009.

* The king, as a mark of his devotion, walked, on one occasion, with all his officers from Isfahan to Mushed; and the chief astronomer measured the distance with a string fifty yards long. It was found to be one hundred and ninety-nine fursukhs eighty-one strings and a half.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ We read in the Aulum-aurah the following account of this family:—

"In the Tuarikh Mubsoottah it is written, that Goorgeen Meelâd, who was one "of the Pehlwans (or Heros) of the court of Kai Khoosroo, (or Cyrus,) was the ruler "of Lâr; and that province has remained with his descendants. In the time of the

CHAP. XIV.

of the companions of Roostum; and who, we are informed, had in his possession a crown that once belonged to Kai Khoosroo*.

" Mulook-u-Tuaif, (the Arsacæda,) they not only plundered other provinces, but added " to their possessions. Before the religion of Mahomed, and for some time afterwards, " they recognised the authority of the kings of Persia; but particularly during the " dynasty of the Akâserâh, (the name of the race of Nousheerwan,) but afterwards " they became more independent. The first of the descendants of Goorgeen Meelâd " that embraced the faith was Irij, who took the name of Julâludeen; he was ruler " of Lâr in the time of Omar Abdûl-Azeez, one of the last of the caliphs of the Benee " Omâee dynasty. From the time of the commencement of the Suffavean dynasty " till the present period, (Shah Abbas the Great's reign,) they had been obedient, " and held the high office of Ameer-Dewânee. Noor-a-Dâhir Khan, the son of " Abousheerwân, commonly called Shah Adil, was, at the commencement of the " reign of Shah Ismail, the Wâly of Lâr. Noor-a-Dâhir died in the reign of Sultan " Mahomed Khodah-bundah: he was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Khan, who, when " Shah Abbas marched to Shiraz to punish Yakoob Khan, neglected to join and " congratulate him as he passed near Lâr. The king, enraged at this neglect, and at " his repeated false excuses for non-attendance, ordered Aly-verdi Khan, ruler of Fars, " to march into Lâr. Ibrahim Khan was unable to meet Aly-verdi in the field, and " retired into the Fort of Lâr: he was, however, soon obliged to surrender himself and " all his property to the leader of the royal army. Among his property was found a " crown ornamented with rich jewels, such as rubies and pearls; it was called the Tâj " Kai Khoosroo, or 'the crown of Kai Khoosroo,' and had descended regularly from " Lâr, the son of Goorgeen Meelâd, to Ibrahim Khan, all of whose ancestors had worn " it as a diadem propitious to their rule. The City of Lâr had formerly another name. " It is said, that when Goorgeen died, he left a son called Lâr, who was nominated to " succeed him; and the city was called after him: and Kai Khoosroo invested him " with the crown that has been described, which had remained in the family ever since: " and it is also related, that when Goorgeen Meelâd was appointed ruler of Lâr, he " remained encamped on the outside of that city seven years, waiting for a fortunate " hour to make his entry. This the astrologers, at the expiration of that time, dis- " covered, and he went into the town; and from that date, which is near four thousand " years, his family have retained their rule as chiefs, though they have usually paid " tribute to the monarchs of Persia."

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

Abbas was encouraged by these successes to a greater effort. He had been compelled, by the situation of his kingdom, to preserve peace with the Emperor of Constantinople; but he could hardly deem himself the monarch of Persia while that sovereign held the Fort of Nahavund in one quarter of his dominions, and the cities of Tabreez and Teflis, with almost the whole of Aderbijan and of Georgia, in another. The misfortunes of his great ancestor, Ismail, and the almost uniform success which had attended the Turks in their wars with the Persians, were calculated to make him proceed with great caution: and our opinion of the character of this prince is greatly raised, by a consideration of the means he collected, and the measures he adopted, to effect the emancipation of the finest provinces of his country from the rule of so powerful an enemy.

Meditates the conquest of the Fort of Nahavund. A. D. 1602. A. H. 1011.

The most extraordinary events are often traced to accidental causes; but we should not hastily detract from those claims which genius always has upon fortune. The faculty possessed by superior minds of rendering those occurrences which are deemed trivial by other men subservient to great designs, may be compared to the power of the telescope, which gives magnitude to objects that have altogether escaped the unaided vision. It was at this period of his reign that two English gentlemen, of good family, and military reputation, sought the court of Abbas. They were brothers; and the eldest, Sir Anthony Sherley, gives us an account of the reasons which led him to travel into Persia. He had been encouraged by the Earl of Essex to proceed with some soldiers of approved valour to aid the Duke of Ferrara against the pretensions of the Pope*. The struggle was

Cause of Sir Anthony Sherley's proceeding to Persia.

* Sir Anthony Sherley's Travels, page 4.

CHAP. XIV.

decided by the submission of the duke, before the English knight reached the scene of action: but the noble patron, unwilling that one whom he had selected for such an enterprise should return, after a waste of "time, money, and hope*," without effecting any purpose, proposed to Sir Anthony to proceed to Persia; a country which, from the commerce that it carried on by land with the territories of Turkey and Russia, and by sea with the Portuguese and Dutch, had become, about this period, an object of some attention to the English nation. The companions of Sir Anthony's journey were his brother, Sir Robert Sherley, and twenty-six followers, "gallantly mounted, "and richly furnished†." Among the latter there were men of some science: one is particularly mentioned as being skilled in the art of casting cannon. Sir Anthony Sherley neither had, nor assumed, any right to the character of a public representative. He reached Kazveen when Abbas was in Khorassan: and when the monarch returned to that city after his victory over the Usbegs, he presented himself as an English soldier of fortune, who, hearing of the great fame of Abbas, desired the honour of entering his service. He at the same time propitiated a good reception by a handsome present‡.

His reception at the Court of Abbas.

The Persian monarch, who was pleased and flattered by the occurrence, honoured the English knight by a distinguished reception, gave him splendid presents‖, and promised him every encouragement.

* Sir Anthony Sherley's Travels, page 5. † Purchas's Pilgrims.

‡ This present consisted "of six pair of pendants of exceeding fair emeralds: "two other jewels of topazes; a cup of three pieces set in gold, and enamelled; a salt, "a fair ewer of crystal, covered with a kind of cut work of silver, and gilt, the "shape of a dragon."—Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY'S *Travels*, page 65.

‖ The present given by the king was "one thousand tomâns, forty horses, all

Aly-verdi Beg, who had been raised to the command of the army, became the declared friend and supporter of the European favourite; and all his influence was exerted to repel the attacks made upon him by those ministers who were adverse to hostilities with Turkey, and who represented the advice which Sir Anthony Sherley gave Abbas, on that occasion, as proceeding from the treacherous designs of a secret agent of a Christian court, that wished to promote its own interest, by embroiling true believers in war. But Sir Anthony did not advise the monarch, in whose service he had entered, to engage in a contest, without pointing out the means of rendering that successful. He offered himself as the instrument for establishing an alliance between Abbas and the monarchs of Christendom: one of whom, Rodolph the Second, sovereign of Germany, was at that period engaged in a war with the Emperor of Constantinople. His sincerity in the cause he had adopted, was proved by his leaving his brother, Sir Robert, at the Persian court, and by the pains he took to instruct the Persians in the science of war. The progress of the new corps of infantry which Abbas had raised to make himself independent of his turbulent chiefs, and to oppose in the field to the Turkish janissaries, probably owed their discipline* to the counsel and aid of the two Sherleys, and their

" furnished, two with exceeding rich saddles, plated with gold, and set with rubies " and turquoises; the rest either plated with silver, or velvet embroidered and gilt; " sixteen mules and twelve camels laden with tents and furniture for his house and " voyage."—Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY's *Travels*, page 72.

* The following passage, from a memorial of the Travels of Sir Robert Sherley, written by a cotemporary, appears to prove this fact:—

" The mightie Ottoman, terror of the Christian world, quaketh of a Sherly feuer, " and gives hopes of approaching fates: the prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian

CHAP. XIV.

military followers. We are, indeed, told, that they not only formed this force, but taught the Persians the use of artillery.

He is deputed to the Christian princes of Europe.

The credentials* which Abbas gave Sir Anthony Sherley are, perhaps, the most singular by which any public representative was ever accredited. They were addressed to the Christian sovereigns of Europe; and the Mahomedan monarch called upon all the princes who believed in Jesus to embrace his friendship. He described Sir Anthony (whom he always styled Meerza Antonio,)

" arts of war; and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, hath now five hun-
" dred pieces of brasse, and sixty thousand musketiers: so that they, which at hand
" with the sword were before dreadful to the Turkes, now also, in remoter blowes and
" sulfurian arts, are growne terrible."—PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, Vol. II. page 1806.

* The following is an English translation of this document:—

" There is come unto me, in this good time, a principall gentleman, (Sir Anthony
" Shierlie,) of his owne free will, out of Europe, into thiese parts: and al you princes y
" beleeue in Jesus Christ, know you, that he hath made friendship betweene you and
" me; which desire we had also heretofore graunted, but there was none that came to
" make the way, and to remoue the uaile that was betwene us and you, but onely this
" gentleman; who as he came of his owne free will, so also oppon his desire, I haue
" sent with him a chiefe man of mine. The entertainement which that principall gen-
" tleman hath had with me, is, that daylie, whils't he hath bin in thiese partes, we
" haue eaten togither of one dysh, and drunke of one cup, like two breethren.

" Therefore, when this gentleman comes unto you Christian princes, you shall
" credite him in whatsoeuer you shall demaunde, or he shall say, as mine owne person;
" and when this gentleman shall haue passed the sea, and is entred into the countrey
" of the great King of Muscouie, (with whom we are in friendshippe as breethren,) all
" his gouernours, both great and small, shall accompany him, and use him with all
" fauour, unto Mosco: and because there is great loue betwene you, the King of
" Mosco, and mee, that wee are like two breethren, I haue sent this gentleman through
" your cuntrey, and desire you to fauour his passage without any hindrance."—*Report of* Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY's *Journey*. London Edition, 1600.

as a gentleman, who had of his free will visited Persia; and "since he has been with me," said Abbas, "we have daily eaten "out of one dish, and drank of one cup, like two brothers." At the same time that he furnished him with these credentials, he granted many privileges to those Christian merchants who might choose to trade with Persia. The firman, or grant*, issued on this occasion, gave the fullest security to all such, both as to the

* Copy of an English translation of the Grant obtained by Sir Anthony Sherley from Shah Abbas, for all Christians to trade and traffick in Persia:—

"Our absolute commaundement, will, and pleasure, is, that our cuntries and do-"minions shall be, from this day, open to all Christian people, and to their religion: "and in such sort, that none of ours, of any condition, shall presume to giue them any euil word. And, because of the amitie now ioyned with the princes that professe "Christ, I do giue this pattent for all Christian marchants, to repaire and trafique, in "and through our dominions, without disturbances or molestations of any duke, prince, "gouernour, or captaine, or any, of whatsoeuer office or qualitie, of ours: but that all "merchandize that they shall bring, shall be so priviledged, that none, of any dignitie "or authoritie, shall haue power to looke unto it: neyther to make inquisition after, "or stay, for any use or person, the ualue of one asper. Neyther shall our religious "men, of whatsoeuer sort they be, dare disturbe them, or speake in matters of their "faith. Neyther shall any of our justices haue power ouer their persons or goodes, "for any cause or act whatsoeuer.

"If by chaunce a marchant shall die, none shall touch any thing that belongeth "unto him: but if the marchante haue a companion, he shall haue power to take pos-"session of those goodes. But if (by any occasion) he be alone, onely with his ser-"uants, the gouernor, or whomsoeuer shall be required by him in his sickness, shall be "answearable for all such goodes unto any of his nation, which shall come to require "them. But if he die suddainly, and haue neyther companion nor seruant, nor time "to recomende to any what he woulde haue done, then the gouernor of that place "shall sende the goodes to the next marchant of his nation, which shall be abiding in "any parts of our dominions.

CHAP. XIV.

safety of their property, and the free exercise of their religion: with the latter the priests of the kingdom were specially commanded on no account whatever to interfere.

It had been first settled that a young Persian nobleman should proceed with Sir Anthony Sherley to Europe; but this arrangement was altered, and a man of low rank substituted. His name was inserted in the credentials, after that of the English knight, to whom he was, in fact, little more than an attendant. The jealousy of the Court of Moscow elevated this person into the station of ambassador; and not only degraded and imprisoned Sir Anthony Sherley, but gave countenance and protection to a Portuguese monk that he had brought from Persia, and who had repaid his attentions by slandering his reputation. When a commission was appointed by the Emperor of Russia to inquire into a variety of reports relative to

Degraded and imprisoned at Moscow.

" And those within our kingdomes and prouinces, hauing power ouer our tolles " and customes, shall receiue nothing, nor dare to speake for any receipt from any " Christian marchant.

" And if any such Christian shall giue credite to any of our subiectes, (of any con- " dition whatsoeuer,) he shall, by this pattent of ours, haue authoritie to require any " caddie, or gouernor, to do him justice, and thereupon, at the instant of his demaunde, " shall cause him to be satisfied.

" Neyther shall any gouernor, or justice, of what qualitie so euer he be, dare take " any rewarde of him, which shall be to his expense: for our will and pleasure is, that " they shall be used, in all our dominions, to their owne full content, and that our " kingdomes and cuntries shall be free unto them.

" That none shall presume to aske them for what ocasion they are heere.

" And although it hath bin a continuall and unchaungeable use in our dominions " euery yeere to renue all pattents, this pattent, notwithstanding, shall be of full effect " and force for euer, without any renuing, for me and my successors, not to be " chaunged."—*Report of* Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY's *Journey*. London Edition, 1600.

the conduct of Sir Anthony, this priest was brought forward as the chief witness against him. Irritated to a great degree at the falsehoods he uttered, the impatient knight gave him a blow with his fist that laid him prostrate at the feet of the commissioners, who hastened to report to their monarch this daring act; which, however, we are told*, had the effect of obtaining better usage for the person by whom it was committed, and he was soon afterwards released, and allowed to prosecute his journey. He proceeded to the Court of the Emperor of Germany; by whom, as well as other sovereigns, he was warmly welcomed, as no intelligence could be more gratifying than the information he brought regarding the designs of Abbas against the Turks, who were at that moment the terror of Europe.

Is released, and permitted to proceed.

The King of Persia commenced the war he had for some time contemplated against the Emperor of Constantinople† by the attack of Nahavund; which he took, and levelled its fortifications with the ground. In the same year he summoned all the force of his kingdom, on the pretext of an expedition to Fars. He afterwards proclaimed his intention of moving into Mazenderan‡: but the concealment of his real design soon became as impossible as it was unnecessary. He marched into Aderbijan, and called upon his army by that regard which they had for their reputation, their country, and the memory of the holy Aly, to second his efforts against the enemies of Persia, and of the family of the prophet||. Aly Pâchâ, who commanded the Turkish army in this province, was

Abbas takes Nahavund.

A. D. 1602. A. H. 1011.

Marches into Aderbijan.

* Purchas's Pilgrims. † Mahomed the Third. ‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

|| The Sheahs deem themselves, from maintaining the rights of Aly, the peculiar adherents of the family of Mahomed, and reproach the Soonees as its enemies.

CHAP. XIV.

Defeats Aly Pâchâ, and takes Tabreez

A. D. 1605. A. H. 1014.

Erivân and Bagdad invested.

absent in Kurdistan, but hastened to his station, on hearing of the king's advance. He was, however, defeated, and made prisoner: and Tabreez, which was commanded by his son, submitted * to the conqueror, whose armies immediately invested both Erivân and Bagdad. The former fell early next season: but the king was forced to recall his general, Aly-verdi, from the siege of the latter, in order to reinforce his own army, and to enable him to meet the Turkish general †, who was collecting troops from every quarter of the empire; and who, the moment his preparations were complete, advanced to give the Persians battle.

Abbas's action with the Turks

The Turkish army amounted to upwards of one hundred thousand men, while that of Abbas was little more than half the number ‡.

* Some authors state, that Abbas made himself master of the City of Tabreez by a stratagem. Having disguised a party as merchants, he sent them in advance; they were incautiously admitted, and seized upon the fort. But father Anthoine de Govvea, who was envoy from Philip the Second of Spain at the Court of Abbas, gives a full relation of the proceedings at this period: and he states, that the life of Ali Pâchâ was saved on condition of his son surrendering Tauris; which was given up to Abbas on Sunday, the 6th of June, A. D. 1603, after being eighteen years in the possession of the Turks.

† The name, or rather title of their leader, was Jâghâl-âghli. This general, whose harsh appellation is softened into Cigala by Anthoine de Govvea, was a great favourite both of Sultan Amûrâth the Third, and of his son, Mahomed the Third. He did not long survive his defeat by Abbas; and his death, which took place in 1607, was deemed a joyful event by the Christians, of whom he was a bigoted oppressor. De Govvea, when he relates this event, adds: "God, like a merciful father, is "wont to break those reeds with which he chastiseth his children."—*Relations de Guerres, &c.* page 338.

‡ The Persian writers who record this action make the difference greater. I follow Anthoine de Govvea, who computes the Turks at one hundred thousand, and the

24th August, A. D. 1605. A. H. 1014.

He nevertheless determined (against the advice of all his ablest generals) to bring his enemies to action. The Turks advanced, as he expected, with a vast column of horse in front, which was supported by a line of infantry and cannon. Abbas, when they approached near, directed Aly-verdi to make a sweep round their flank with a small body of cavalry; but instructed him to keep at such a distance, that he should not be discovered till he gained their rear. He was then commanded to cover as large a space of ground as he possibly could with his numbers, and make a false attack upon them. The clouds of dust raised by this body were no sooner observed by the Turks, who were advancing against the main army of the Persians, than their general conceived it was the principal attack, and that it was directed against the camp, which had been left almost unguarded. A great proportion of the column in front was immediately detached to repel it. Regular armies alone can manœuvre with safety during the heat of battle. In those which have no discipline, every movement, but particularly one to the rear, is certain of producing confusion, and that soon becomes irremediable. The force which the Turkish general had detached was supposed, by almost all their own army, and that of the Persians, to have fled *. Abbas seized the moment of these impressions for a general charge; and his troops, already confident of success, gained an easy victory † over men dismayed by the supposed desertion

army of Abbas at sixty-two thousand. This author asserts, that it was Zeenâ Begum, the daughter of Shah Tâmâsp, and aunt of Abbas, who stimulated that prince to fight this great battle.—*Relations de Guerres*, page 287. * Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† Sir Robert Sherley attended the Persian monarch in this action, and received three wounds.—PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, Vol. II. page 1806.

CHAP. XIV. of their comrades. The leaders of the Turkish army did all that personal valour could to recover the day, and the numbers of officers of high rank that were slain or taken prisoners*, prove the great efforts which they made: but all was in vain; the overthrow was complete, and the Turks fled in every direction, leaving the field in possession of the Persians †.

The action was hardly over before sunset, and the pursuit continued for many hours. An event occurred after this victory, which is alike characteristic of the times, and of the hero by whom it was gained. As Shah Abbas sat upon the field of battle, carousing with his chief officers and some of the principal captives, a man of uncommon stature and soldier-like appearance was led past by a youth, who had just made him prisoner. The king demanded who that was. "I belong to the Kurd family of Mookree," said the captive. The king happened to have an officer of the house of Mookree in his service, of the name of Roostum Beg, who he knew had a blood feud with the family of the prisoner. "Deliver that captive "to Roostum Beg," said the king: but that chief refused to receive him. "I hope your majesty will pardon me," he said; "my honour, "it is true, calls for his blood, but I have made a vow never to take "advantage of an enemy who is bound, and in distress ‡!" This noble and generous speech seemed to reflect upon the king, who, in his irritation, called to the captain of the guards to strike off the head of the prisoner. The gigantic Kurd, the moment he heard this

* Five pâchâs were taken, and the same number were slain.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh. Anthoine de Govvea.

‡ Ajuz ou dust bustâ. *Distressed and hand-bound* are the terms in the original.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

command, broke the cords with which he was fettered, drew his dagger, and darted upon Abbas. A struggle ensued; and, in the general hurry of all to aid their sovereign, every light was extinguished, and no one dared to strike in the dark, lest he should pierce the monarch instead of his enemy*. After a moment of inexpressible horror, all were relieved by hearing the king twice exclaim, "I have seized his hand! I have seized his hand!" Order was restored, and lights brought. The brave but unfortunate captive was slain by a hundred swords: and Abbas, who had wrested the dagger from his hand, reseated himself in the assembly, and continued (according to his historian †) "to drink "goblets of pure wine, and to receive the heads ‡ of his enemies, "till twelve o'clock at night."

Abbas's wars with the Turks

From the period of this great victory till the death of Shah Abbas, he not only kept the Turks in complete check, but recovered all the territories which that nation had before taken from Persia. They were successively driven from their possessions along the shores of the Caspian, from Aderbijan, Georgia, Kurdistan, Bagdad, Moossul, and Diarbekir, all of which were reannexed by the sword of this monarch to the Persian empire. The Turks made several efforts to preserve their conquests, and, on one occasion, entered into a league with the Tartars of Kapchack; but their united

Recovers the provinces conquered by that nation.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† Anthoine de Govvea, page 301.

‡ It has always been the custom of the Kings of Persia to receive the heads of their enemies, and is so at this moment. We are told by Anthoine de Govvea, that those brought to the king on this occasion amounted to twenty thousand five hundred and forty-five. Page 300.

CHAP. XIV. forces received a complete defeat* from the Persian general, Kârâchee Khan; and this action, which was fought near Shiblee†, a small caravansary between Sultaneah and Tabreez, was the last of any consequence which occurred in the reign of Abbas.

A. D. 1618. A. H. 1027. The Turks are defeated.

The courts of Isfahan and Constantinople continued, during the whole of this monarch's reign, to carry on negotiations of an amicable nature; but though peace was often proclaimed, it never prevented hostilities from being resorted to when the slightest prospect of advantage invited an attack. The usual mode was to encourage the pâchâs, or rulers of the frontier provinces, to commence aggressions; and the Emperor of Turkey, or King of Persia, either disclaimed or supported the acts of these governors as policy dictated: the fact was, that the ambition of the sovereigns of both these nations was inflamed and seconded by the bigotry of their subjects, who desired war, to give vent to those feelings of hatred and detestation with which their opposite belief led them to consider each other. The Sheah historians of this period dwell with satisfaction on the most cruel acts, when a Soonee is the sufferer; and they hardly ever relate the death of a Turkish leader without devoting his soul to hell, as

* The Pâchâs of Van and Erzeroom were slain in this action. The Turkish general, Huleel Pâchâ, in a letter he wrote to Sir Paul Pinder, ambassador from the King of England at Constantinople, claims a victory over Kârâchee Khan, whom he describes as abandoning Tabreez to be sacked by the Turkish army[31]. He, however, admits, that in the action which afterwards took place at Shiblee, some of his army fell; which, in such a document, is acknowledging a defeat.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

[31] Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. II. page 1613.

the fit mansion for all such heretics. The recovery of Bagdad, of Nujuff, Kerbelah, Câzmeen, and Sâmrâh, were more gratifying to the Persians than all the other conquests of Abbas. At these sacred places are interred the remains of Aly, and several of his immediate descendants. CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1622. A. H. 1032.

Shah Abbas endeavoured by every means to increase those feelings of religious respect with which he was regarded by his subjects: and when we consider the enthusiasm of the age, his claims as the inheritor of the mantle of the saints of Ardebil, and the impression made by the victories which he had obtained over the heretic Turks, we are not surprised that he should almost have been adored: but, if we are to believe Persian writers, veneration for the holy character of the king was not confined to animated nature: it was imparted to substances which are the least susceptible of such impressions. We are gravely told, that on Abbas entering his kitchen at Ardebil, the lid of one of the pots that he approached raised itself twice, (four inches each time,) as if in respect to his royal person: and this wonder, or miracle, was attested not only by all the cooks, but by several officers of the court, who were in attendance upon the king when it occurred *. Abbas almost adored by his subjects.

The superstition of the age was greatly alarmed during the reign of Abbas, by the appearance of a comet †, which the astronomers Appearance of a comet. A. D. 1617. A. H. 1027.

* This miracle took place in the year of the Hejirah 1019. The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh states it as a fact that was not doubted.

† This comet is mentioned both by the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh and of the Aulum-aurah. It appeared, according to the latter, in the year of the Hejirah 1027; and was, when first seen, curved like a cimeter. It rose in the east, and its tail was to the south. Some days after its first appearance, another star, flaming like fire, was seen in

CHAP. XIV.

declared portended war to many nations, but not to Persia. That kingdom, however, they foretold, would be exposed to some lesser evils: and the ravages of the plague, an earthquake in Khorassan, and all the deaths and massacres which occurred within the next two or three years, were solely ascribed to its baneful influence.

The Usbegs kept in complete check during the reign of Abbas.

The Usbegs were, during the whole of the latter years of the reign of Shah Abbas, kept in complete check *; and the north-eastern frontier of Persia enjoyed a tranquillity beyond what it had known for many centuries. With the Emperor of India Shah Abbas maintained a constant amicable intercourse and good understanding, which was only interrupted by his taking the Fort of Candahar; and even that conquest does not appear to have caused any serious hostilities between the two nations. The Emperor Jehângheer was too much occupied in maintaining his throne, to venture on a war with a powerful sovereign for a distant province.

Abbas maintains an amicable intercourse with the Emperor of Delhi.

A. D. 1620.
A. H. 1030.

And with the European states settled in India.

Independent of his alliance with the Emperor of Delhi, Abbas maintained a friendly communication with the subjects of the different European states, who had formed settlements in India, all of whom expressed an anxious desire to improve their connexion with Persia the moment they saw that kingdom settled and prosperous. The English, the French, and the Dutch, had established factories at Gombroon, and, in the true spirit of commercial rivalry, endeavoured, by every secret intrigue, to injure each other. These

Intrigues of the European factories at Gombroon.

the east, which took a northerly direction. This was called a comet, (Zouzwâbâ): for a period (between a month and forty days,) it appeared very bright; after that it became dimmer every day till it vanished. * Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

factories were protected by Abbas, who was not insensible to the benefit his country derived from trade; but he viewed with very opposite feelings, the settlements of the Portuguese on the shores of his empire. That nation had, under the great Alphonso de Albuquerque, conquered all the islands of the Gulf: but Portugal no longer held a high rank among the states of Europe, and her distant possessions were rapidly declining. Of the numerous settlements which Albuquerque had made on the coast of Persia, Ormus, which was the first, was almost the only one that remained. This island lies at the entrance of the Gulf, and is only a few leagues distant from Gombroon. It has neither vegetation nor fresh water. Its circumference is not twenty miles; both its hills and plains are formed of salt; and that mineral is not only impregnated in its streams, but crusts over them like frozen snow. The nature of the soil, or rather the surface of the earth, renders the heat of summer more intolerant at Ormus, than in any of those parched islands, or provinces, with which it is surrounded; and unless we consider the advantages which it derives from its excellent harbour and local situation, it appears to be one of the last spots on the globe which human beings would desire to inhabit. The first settlers on this island were some Arabs, who were compelled by the Tartar invaders of Persia to leave the Continent. These gave it the name of Hormuz, or Ormus; being that of the district which they had been obliged to abandon. One old fisherman, whose name was Geroon, is said to have been its sole inhabitant when this colony arrived. They remained masters of Ormus till conquered by Albuquerque; and it had been in the possession of the Portuguese for more than a century. It had become, during that period, the emporium of all the commerce

Conquests made by the Portuguese in the Gulf of Persia.

Situation and description of the island of Ormus.

Its first settlers.

Its conquest by Albuquerque, A. D. 1507. A. H. 913. under whom

CHAP. XIV.

it became a great emporium of commerce.

of the Gulf: merchants from every quarter of the globe had flocked to a city* where their property and persons were secure against injustice and oppression, and from whence they could carry on a profitable commerce with Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, without being exposed to the dangers attendant on a residence in these barbarous and unsettled countries.

Abbas resolves on the conquest of Ormus, and is assisted by the English.

Abbas saw with envy the prosperity of Ormus: he could not understand the source from which that was derived, and looked to its conquest as an event that would add to both the glory and the wealth of his kingdom. Emaun Kooli Khan, Governor of Fars, received orders to undertake this great enterprise; but the king was well aware that it would be impossible to succeed without the aid of a naval equipment. The English were ready auxiliaries. An agreement, which exempted them from paying customs on the merchandise they imported at Gombroon, and gave them a share of the duties taken from others, added to boundless promises of future favour, were the bribes by which the agents of the East India Company were induced to become the instruments of destroying this noble settlement. A fleet was soon collected. Persian troops were embarked, and the attack made. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely; but, worn down by hunger and fatigue, and altogether hopeless of succour, they were compelled to surrender. The city was given over to the Persians, by whom it was soon stript of all that was valuable, and left to a natural

A. D. 1622. A. H. 1032. The Portuguese are compelled to surrender.

* This city was at one time very large: little is now left, except the ruins of the numerous reservoirs, which had been constructed to preserve the rain that fell in the periodical season for the use of the inhabitants.

decay. Abbas was overjoyed at the conquest: but all the magnificent plans which he had formed from having a great seaport in his dominions, terminated in his giving his own name to Gombroon, which he commanded to be in future called Bunder Abbas, or the Port of Abbas*.

The English are disappointed.

The hopes which the servants of the East India Company had cherished from the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormus, and their other possessions, were completely disappointed. The treaty which Abbas entered into to obtain their aid, by which it was stipulated that all plunder should be equally divided, that each should appoint a governor, and that the future customs both of Ormus and Gombroon† should be equally shared, was disregarded

* If the English ever indulged a hope of deriving permanent benefit from the share they took in this transaction, they were completely disappointed. They had, it is true, revenged themselves upon an enemy they hated, destroyed a flourishing settlement, and brought ruin and misery upon thousands, to gratify the avarice and ambition of a despot, who promised to enrich them by a favour, which they should have known was not likely to protect them, even during his life, from the violence and injustice of his own officers, much less during that of his successors. The history of the English factory at Gombroon, from this date till it was finally abandoned, is one series of disgrace, of losses, and of dangers, as that of every such establishment in a country like Persia must be. Had that nation either taken Ormus for itself, or made a settlement on a more eligible island in the Gulf, it would have carried on its commerce with that quarter to much greater advantage; and its political influence, both in Persia and Arabia, would have remained unrivalled.

† By the treaty between Abbas and the agents of the Company, all Mahomedans made captive were to be given up to the King of Persia, and all Christians to the English. Mr. Monnox, when he reports the fall of the island, boasts of his humanity to the prisoners; but adds, "I must trust to Heaven for my reward, for the Portuguese "are but slenderly thankful."

CHAP. XIV.

The Persian court disregards its engagements.

from the moment the conquest was completed. The sanguine anticipations of one of their chief agents, who wrote* to England "that their dear infant," (this term was applied to the commercial factory at Gombroon,) "would receive new life if the king but "kept his word," soon vanished: and we find the same person, after the fall of Ormus, stating†, that no benefit whatever can be expected from that possession, unless it be held exclusively by the English. But every expectation of advantage that had been indulged, was soon dispelled by the positive refusal of Abbas to allow the English either to fortify Ormus, or any other harbour in the Gulf.

Alarm taken by the English government in India.
A. D. 1622.
A. H. 1032.

The government of the Company in India appear, about this time, to have been seriously alarmed at the intrigues of Sir Robert Sherley; who, as has been related, was left by his brother at the Court of Abbas, and had continued the medium through which that monarch cultivated the friendship of the nations of Europe. Spain was at that period a state of great importance, and Abbas proposed to depute the English knight as his ambassador to the sovereign of that country, to whom it was believed he meant to offer the exclusive trade in silk‡. The expulsion of the Portuguese

A. D. 1624.
A. H. 1034.

* Letter from Mr. Edward Monnox to the Company, dated Isfahan, 1621.

† Letter from Mr. Monnox, 1622.

‡ There must have been serious foundation for this belief. Sir Thomas Roe, in a letter dated Moghul's Court, Ajmere, 10th September, 1616, states, that no good can be derived from Persia till the result of Sir Robert Sherley's embassy is known; and expresses a wish, that Sir Robert Sherley, who is at Goa, should fall into the hands of our shipping, which he strongly advises should make an attack upon the Portuguese vessels in that harbour. Sir Thomas states, that one such attack will do the Company's affairs more good than a dozen defences; and adds, that he has written to the Sooffee of Persia, advising him not to inthrall himself with Spain.

from Ormus made a change in this policy; and two years after that event, Sir Robert Sherley appeared in England as an envoy from Abbas to King James the First. Nothing could be more exaggerated than the impressions which he desired to convey to the British Court of the wealth and resources of Persia; and their fallacy was very fully exposed by the Directors of the East India Company: but the king's government were nevertheless flattered by the prospect of gain that was presented to them; and Sir Robert Sherley had the art to connect the settlement of his own private concerns with the general objects of national advantage. A gentleman of family and rank, Sir Dodmore Cotton, was named ambassador to Abbas, and instructed to proceed to Persia, accompanied by Sir Robert Sherley, and a numerous suite. This ambassador had his first public audience at the City of Ashraff, in Mazenderan. The pride of the King of Persia could not but be gratified by so splendid a mission; and the forms and ceremonies with which it was received, are very characteristic of the style and manners of the Court of Abbas*.

Sir Robert Sherley's appearance in England as ambassador from Abbas.

A. D. 1626. A. H. 1036. Sir Dodmore Cotton appointed ambassador to Persia.

Sir Dodmore Cotton, and the gentlemen with him, were seated, for a short time before they were presented, in an antechamber; but instead of coffee, the common treat on such occasions, they found a sumptuous dinner, served in dishes of gold, with abundance of wine, poured into golden goblets from massy flaggons of the same precious metal. From this chamber they were carried through two other apartments, which are described as most richly ornamented, and filled with golden vessels, adorned with rich jewels, which

A. D. 1627. A. H. 1037. His reception and entertainment.

* Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels.

CHAP. XIV.

contained rose-water, flowers, and wine. After passing through these apartments, they entered the hall of state, round the walls of which the chief officers of the empire were seated like so many statues, for not a muscle moved, and all was dead silence*. Beautiful boys, with spangled turbans and embroidered dresses, held in their hands golden goblets of wine, and proffered that beverage to all who desired it. Abbas was clothed in a plain dress of red cloth. He wore no finery about his person: his sabre alone had a gold hilt. Those high nobles who sat nearest him were also attired in a plain manner: and it was evident that the king, surrounded as he was with wealth and grandeur, affected simplicity: but perhaps his pretensions as a religious character required this public display of his personal† contempt of the vanities and riches of the world.

The ambassador explained, through his interpreter‡, the objects of his mission; which were, to enter into a league with Persia against the Turks, to obtain satisfaction for Sir Robert Sherley, an English gentleman, who had been in the service of Shah Abbas, but had been injured and defrauded by a Persian nobleman‖ lately deceased, and to increase the trade between the two kingdoms. The answer of the king was most gracious. He expressed

* Sir Thomas Herbert, the learned writer of the history of this mission, who attended Sir Dodmore Cotton, admirably describes this row of public officers, whom he calls "tacite meerzaes, chawns, sultans, and beglerbegs." Page 184.

† It has been said, that from the day on which Suffee Meerza was slain, he always wore plain clothes.

‡ The name of the linguist of the mission was Dick Williams.—Sir THOMAS HERBERT'S *Travels*, page 185.

‖ The name of this nobleman was Nukud Aly Beg.

his contempt of the Turks; his resolution to make the sons of the deceased noble do justice to Sir Robert Sherley; and he offered to receive annually English broad cloth in exchange for ten thousand bales of silk, to be delivered by his officers to the English agents at Gombroon. Abbas, we are told, was much amused with Sir Dodmore Cotton's inability to comply with the custom of the country in sitting cross-legged; but being desirous of pleasing his guest, he called for a goblet of wine, and drank to the health of the King of England. At the name of his sovereign the ambassador stood up, and took his hat off. Abbas smiled, and raised his own turban from his head, as a token that he shared in that feeling of respect for the sovereign of England which Sir Dodmore's action indicated. This pleasant and honourable reception raised great expectations, but they ended in complete disappointment. The future communications of the ambassador were through the minister Mahomed Aly Beg, who was attached to the interests of the enemies of Sir Robert Sherley, and, from that circumstance, became decidedly hostile to the English mission. Sir Robert Sherley, and Sir Dodmore Cotton, died in a few months after their arrival at court, and those who had attended them returned to England. The respectable writer* of the history of this embassy, who ascribes its failure to the

Failure of the mission.

Death of Sir Dodmore Cotton and Sir Robert Sherley.

* The Travels of Sir Thomas Herbert are extremely curious. He in general gives a very just account of the manners and character of the Persians: but the learned author writes with no tolerant spirit, and his very jests are tinctured by his religious feelings. In his account of a Mahomedan saint, whom he calls "Emeer-Ally-Zedday-Ameer," he terms him "a long-named, long-boned, (judging from the dimensions of his grave,) and "long since rotten prophet." And speaking of one of the ministers, to whom he took a similar objection, of a long name, he exclaims, "If God does not damn the fellow for

CHAP. XIV.

intrigues of the favourite* of Abbas, cannot speak with temper of that minister, whom he styles, in the true spirit and language of the times, "a most pragmatical pagan."

Character of Abbas's government.

Though Shah Abbas, in his conduct towards his enemies, and those of his subjects† who rebelled, was cruel and severe: he appears, in almost all instances, (unconnected with his own family,) to have acted more from the dictates of policy than of passion. His desire was to establish general tranquillity, which he knew in a despotic government must be founded on terror, and a complete submission to the authority of the monarch. He perfectly succeeded in the accomplishment of this object; and the long peace which Persia afterwards enjoyed, is to be chiefly ascribed to the wisdom of his measures. He studied, beyond all former sovereigns, the general welfare and improvement of his kingdom. He fixed on the City of Isfahan as the capital of his dominions, and its population was more than doubled during his reign. Its principal mosque; the noble palace of Chehel-Setoon; the beautiful avenues and palaces called the Châr Bâgh, or "four gardens;" the principal bridge over the River Zainderood; and several of the finest palaces in the city and suburbs, were all built by this prince‡. Mushed was

The improvements made by him in the City of Isfahan, in Mushed, and in Mazenderan.

" all his vile heresies, he will assuredly do it for his long name, which always puzzled " my lord ambassador."

* His name was Mahomed Aly Beg.

† He punished a rebellion of the inhabitants of Isfahan very severely; and, agreeably to the fashion of Timour, erected a pyramid with some of their heads.—Sir THOMAS HERBERT'S *Travels*.

‡ Chardin gives a minute account of the mosques and palaces that he built, and the great improvements he made in this city, which in his reign first became the capital of the kingdom. He increased the stream of the River Zainderood, which flows

greatly ornamented by him; and the cities of Ashraff and Ferrahabad, in Mazenderan, were adorned with several royal mansions. But these were his meanest works. He carried, at an immense expense, a causeway * across the whole of Mazenderan; and rendered that difficult country passable for armies and travellers at all seasons of the year. He threw bridges over almost all the rivers in Persia; and the traveller in that country met, in every direction, the most solid and spacious caravanseries, which had been erected by the royal munificence of this monarch.

Abbas encourages the Christians to settle in Persia

Abbas has been accused, and with justice, of acting with the greatest cruelty toward the princes of Georgia †, and the inhabitants of that province. His conduct was very different to a

through this river, by bringing those of another stream to join it. He revived an attempt that had been made by his predecessor, Tâmâsp, to bring the Karoon into it, but failed, after great efforts, to effect this object.

* "The causeway of Mazenderan is in length about three hundred miles, and it "runs from Kiskâr, in the south-west of the Caspian, several leagues beyond Astera- "bad in the south-east. The pavement is now nearly in the same condition as it was "in the time of Hanway; being perfect in many places, although it has hardly ever "been repaired. In some parts it is hardly above twenty yards wide in the middle, "with ditches on each side; and there are many bridges upon it, under which the "water is conveyed to the rice fields."—KINNIER's *Memoir*, page 166.

† His conduct to the Prince of Georgia and his family, as detailed by Chardin[33], presents a disgusting mixture of the lowest political intrigue with the dictates of sensual passion, religious persecution, and tyrannical cruelty: but as this tale perpetually recurs in the history of the disputes between the monarchs of Persia and their dependants, the Walys, or princes of Georgia, we must refer it as much to abject and depraved habits of the former, as to the injustice and violence of the latter.

[33] Vol. II. page 52.

CHAP. XIV. number of Armenian families whom he took in the course of his wars with the Turks. Instead of making them slaves, and compelling them to change their belief, as his predecessors had done in similar cases, he sought to give his native country the benefit of their knowledge and their industry. For this purpose he settled them in different parts of the kingdom, and not only gave them liberty to build churches, and to exercise the duties of their religion, but granted them many other important privileges; and personally afforded them the most liberal protection and encouragement. The principal of these colonies was Julfâ, one of the suburbs of Isfahan, which he built to receive the inhabitants of a town of the same name in Armenia. It flourished in a degree that far exceeded expectation; and Abbas lived to see his wise policy rewarded by the happiness and gratitude of its inhabitants, who, devoted to commerce, and far more industrious than the Persians, enriched themselves*, while they advanced, by the great trade they carried on with India and other quarters, the general prosperity of the empire. He sought also to enrich his favourite province of Mazenderan with a similar establishment. That country, he pleasantly observed, would, "as it abounded with wine and hogs,

* The Town of Julfâ, in Armenia, was long in possession of the Turks. The grand signior had made it a present to his mother. When Abbas marched to this town in 1603, the inhabitants not only expelled the Turkish officers that were in charge of it, but seized the revenue that had been collected, and carried that and the keys of their town as an offering to the Persian monarch, who ever afterwards treated them with marked favour and indulgence. Anthoine de Govvea informs us, that they possessed considerable wealth; and that when they were transplanted to a new Julfâ, near Isfahan, they were in number five thousand persons, and took their property with

" be a paradise to Christians*:" but its unhealthy vapours defeated his plan, and a great proportion of the colony died in a few years.

Internal administration of Abbas.

The internal administration of Shah Abbas has been praised by all the historians of his reign. There are a great number of instances of what might be deemed (under other forms of government,) excessive rigour† in the punishment inflicted on his generals and ministers: but we must recollect, that in Persia the will of the sovereign is, in almost all cases, the law of the land, and that he is always the director of its execution. The kingdom to which Abbas succeeded was in an unsettled state. The nobles were bold and seditious, and every province was ripe for rebellion. It must have required many and dreadful examples before such a country could have been reduced to that tranquillity which the general good required; and the energetic individual who effected this beneficial change, must often have seemed to act the part of a cruel tyrant‡. We can dis-

them; the king furnishing camels for its conveyance. Chardin, who mentions the colony of Armenians at Julfâ as an instance of the excellent government of Abbas, declares, that they were possessed of no property when they arrived, but at the end of thirty years they were so affluent, that there were more than sixty of them who possessed from one hundred thousand to two millions of crowns. * Chardin.

† He, on some occasions, cut off the nose and ears of governors who were convicted of injustice, and often inflicted the punishment of *tukht koollah* on officers who had been guilty of male-administration. The offender, who had a fool's-cap and bells put on his head, was mounted on an ass, and paraded through the streets, exposed to the scorn of the mob. Sometimes he was beaten, and forced to dance like a buffoon.—SHERLEY's *Travels.*

‡ Let us imagine, in the present tranquil state of our own country, that all criminals whom the laws condemn were sentenced by our king, and that the Court-yard of St. James's was the place of execution. Though his sentences might be as just as those of our judges, yet the monarch would be deemed a sanguinary despot.

CHAP. XIV.

cover few, if any, instances of unnecessary severity in his conduct, except when he thought his person or crown in danger: but, unfortunately for his happiness and his fame, his mind became in his latter years prone to suspicion; and the dreadful remedy to which he had recourse, on all occasions, was the instant destruction of those whom he suspected.

Measures adopted to repress the turbulence of the Kûzel-bash tribes.

This monarch had been early compelled to repress the ambition of the principal chiefs of the Kûzel-bash tribes, and had put several of them to death. He sought another defence against the effects of their turbulence, by forming a tribe of his own, which he styled *Shah Sevund*, or "the king's friends;" and he invited men of all tribes to enrol themselves in a clan, which he considered as devoted to his family, and therefore distinguished by his peculiar favour and protection. Volunteers could not be wanting at such a call: and we have one instance of ten thousand men being registered by the name of Shah-Sevund in one day*. This tribe, which became remarkable for its attachment to the Suffavean dynasty, still exists in Persia, though with diminished numbers. It could once boast of more than a hundred thousand families.

Shah Abbas took another mode of releasing himself and his posterity from the dangers to which they were exposed from the turbulence of the Kûzel-bash chiefs. The koortchy, or army, composed of their followers, amounted to between fifty and sixty thousand horsemen. The men of whom this force was composed would only obey leaders of their own tribe; and the king could not advance a favourite, except he was the chief of a Kûzel-bash family, to any rank or command in his army. Abbas reduced the number of

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

this formidable body to thirty thousand, and raised a corps of ten thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, who received their pay from the crown, and were commanded by those officers whom the monarch thought fit to appoint. The soldier who belonged to this corps was called koolâr, or gholam, both words signifying "slave*," if literally interpreted; but deemed an honourable appellation, which distinguished them as the personal guards of the king. The infantry were called tuffungchee, or musqueteers, and were the first ever embodied in Persia. Abbas is said to have chiefly intended them to oppose the janizaries† of Turkey; but they were otherwise useful, as they constituted a defence to the monarch against the violence of his nobles.

Religious character of Abbas.

Abbas, though he appears through life to have openly violated that law of the prophet which forbids wine, affected extreme piety; and there was hardly one year of his reign in which he did not make a pilgrimage to some sacred shrine. During two weeks that he was at Nujuff, he daily swept the tomb of the holy Aly, an envied office, which none but those who are of exemplary life are allowed to perform‡. He went, as has been before mentioned, on foot, from Isfahan to Mushed, to mark his respect for the holy Imaum interred at that place: and by this, and many similar marks of outward piety, he conveyed an impression, that although he might

* This new corps was chiefly formed of captives from Georgia, Iberia, and Armenia, who had become Mahomedans, but who cherished a great hatred to the Turkish troops.—CHARDIN, Vol. III. page 292.

† This word is Turkish. The compound yangee, "new," and cherâ, "camp, or "army;" forms yangee cherâ; which Europeans have corrupted to janizaries.

‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XIV. occasionally deviate from the path of rectitude, he was sincerely religious.

The Sudder-ul-Suddoor, or high pontiff of Persia, was a station first established by his ancestor, Shah Ismail. Syuds, or, in other words, descendants of the prophet, were alone nominated to this office, the powers of which were very great. There were also several other stations held by Moollahs, or men of a sacred character, the duties of which were important. In the reigns of the immediate predecessors of Abbas, the quarrels of these priests with each other had been the cause of serious troubles. Their influence was considerable; each had his disciples and supporters; and their discord and disunion had more than once threatened the tranquillity of the state. Abbas used to boast, that his reign was exempt from these divisions. And it is related, that when he was one day riding with the celebrated Meer Mahomed Bauker Dâmâd on his right hand, and the equally famed Shaikh Bâhâudeen Aumilee* on his left, the king desired to discover if there lurked any secret envy, or jealousy, in the breasts of these two learned priests. Turning to Meer Mahomed Bauker, whose horse was prancing and capering, he observed, "What a dull brute Shaikh Bâhâudeen is riding! he "cannot make the animal keep pace with us."—"The wonder is, "how the horse moves at all," said the Moollah, "when we consider "what a load of learning and knowledge he has upon his back." Abbas, after some time, turned round to Shaikh Bâhâudeen, and said to him, "Did you ever see such a prancing animal as that which Meer

* Both these doctors of law are held in the highest repute by the Sheahs, and their works are of great authority on all points connected with the laws.

"Mahomed Bauker rides? Surely that is not the style for a horse "to go in who carries a grave Moollah."—"Your majesty will, I "am assured," said the Shaikh, "forgive the horse, when you reflect "on the just right he has to be proud of his rider." The monarch bent his head forward on his saddle, and returned thanks to the Almighty for the singular blessing he had bestowed upon his reign, of two wise and pious men; who, though living at a court, had minds untainted by envy and hatred*.

Remarkable for his toleration, particularly of Christians.

The preference which this ruler showed for his own faith, did not prevent his tolerating others. To the Christians in his dominions he was particularly favourable. This feeling was, in a great degree, excited by his hatred of the Turks, and his desire to negotiate, with the potentates of Europe, a combination against the Emperor of Constantinople. Sir Robert Sherley, who had been left by his brother Sir Anthony in Persia, became a great favourite at court. His house was the asylum for Christians of all nations, and he was long the channel through which their complaints were brought to the ears of Abbas. That monarch bestowed a beautiful Circassian lady on Sir Robert, as his wife: and we are told by an authority† we cannot doubt, that the Mahomedan king stood godfather to the first-born of the English knight. We need not desire further proof than what this anecdote affords of the nature of that toleration which Christians enjoyed during this monarch's reign.

* Persian MSS. Moolah Sâduck.

† Preacher's Travels.—Harleian Voyages, Vol. I. page 738. The traveller was himself the guest of Sir R. Sherley when he enjoyed the favour of Abbas.

CHAP. XIV.

Abbas's conduct to his own family.

In his conduct to his own family the character of Abbas appears in so horrid a light, that we can hardly permit our minds to indulge in that admiration which the other measures of his reign are calculated to inspire: but we must consider, that one of the most terrible conditions on which human beings hold absolute power, is the necessity of viewing those who are nearest in blood as the enemies that are most to be dreaded. The next heir to a despot must always be an object of his jealousy, and that will generally increase in proportion to the qualities and popularity of the destined successor. This certainly was the case with the great Abbas, who had four sons, whom he beheld with delight until they attained manhood, and began to display those noble qualities which he must, as a father, have desired them to possess: but when the wishes of his heart seemed fulfilled, he could not bear that the eyes of his subjects should be directed for a moment to any object but himself*. Those who served his sons with zeal and attachment he considered his enemies; and the courtiers near his person laboured to aggravate feelings by which they hoped to destroy rivals who they conceived were eager for the enjoyment of their high stations. A want of confidence in the king produced alarm in his sons. They saw themselves objects of a restless jealousy, that misinterpreted all their actions. We may believe, that when they found that their loyalty could not preserve them from danger, they

Chardin refers the murder of his eldest son to the circumstance of Abbas having perceived, as he came out of his inner apartments, that the eyes of his nobles were turned with delight towards that promising prince. — CHARDIN, Vol. III. page 314.

listened to those counsellors who pointed out a direct, though dangerous path to safety.

Abbas was led to believe that Suffee Meerza, his eldest son, who was a youth as remarkable for valour as generosity, had formed a design against his life, in consequence of his having put to death the nobleman who was the friend and favourite of that prince. Under this impression he forgot that he was a father. We are told, that he first applied to Kârâchee Khan, the brave general who had defeated the Turks at Shiblee, to become the executioner of Suffee. The veteran leader threw himself upon the ground, and entreated his sovereign to deprive him of life rather than render his existence hateful by compelling him to become the murderer of a gallant prince. Abbas did not urge him further; but he soon found a willing instrument in Beh-bood Khan. That noble, on the pretext of revenging a private injury, stabbed the prince as he was riding to the court, and took refuge at the stable of the king; who, pretending to respect an usage which renders that asylum sacred, refrained from the execution of the assassin *. Such an act would, he said, bring suspicion in an affair

Who is stabbed by Beh-bood Khan.

* The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh tries to palliate this murder, by describing it as an act of personal revenge of Beh-bood Khan. In the Aulum-aurah the following account is given of it. "Suffee Meerza was the son of Shah Abbas: the father and "son had long been on indifferent terms, and numbers wished to persuade the king "that his son sought his life." But the king would never believe this: he, however, put to death two of the prince's servants, who, he was persuaded, endeavoured to mislead him. Beh-bood Khan, this writer adds, was one of the king's favourite gholams, who, "satisfied that Suffee Meerza wanted to kill the king, stabbed him, "and took refuge in the royal stable," which is in Persia the most sacred of asylums.

CHAP. XIV.

that required deliberation, and he should therefore defer all proceedings till the infant son of Suffee Meerza was of age, and able to demand vengeance for the blood of his father. But even this thin veil was soon cast aside, and Beh-bood Khan was not only permitted to quit his asylum, but promoted to high stations*. It is, however, consolatory to know that this wretch ultimately met with a fate suited to his crime. Abbas, who from the moment this rash act was committed became a prey to remorse, had taken an opportunity of putting to death† every one of those courtiers who had poisoned his mind against a son whom he is said to have sincerely mourned‡: but for Beh-bood Khan he reserved a more inhuman punishment: he commanded that obsequious lord to bring him the head of his own son. The devoted slave obeyed. As he presented the head of the youth, Abbas demanded, with a smile of bitter scorn, how he felt. "I am miserable," was the reply. "You should be happy, Beh-bood," said Abbas, "for you "are ambitious, and in your feelings you are at this moment "the equal of your sovereign||."

Soon after the death of Suffee Meerza, the two remaining sons§ of Abbas were both deprived of sight by the cruel suspicions of

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† Ambassador's Travels.

‡ Abbas, we are told, shut himself up in his palace for a month, covered his eyes for ten days, and wore mourning for a year. He ever afterwards wore the plainest clothes, and made the place where the prince died a sanctuary for criminals.

|| That death which the cruelty of Abbas refused to Beh-bood was soon afterwards given him by one of his slaves; who, to save himself from punishment, stabbed him while he lay senseless from intoxication.

§ The second son of Abbas, whose name was Tâmâsp Meerza, died before he had put the eldest to death.

their unnatural parent. The fate of one of these princes was (if we can credit the testimony of a cotemporary writer* of our own nation,) attended with circumstances of the most tragical nature. This youth, whose name was Khodâh-bundâh †, was as much distinguished for his courage and talents as his elder brother; but he was more cautious to avoid that attention which he feared would rouse the jealousy of his father, and he not only kept flatterers at a distance, but hated to hear those just praises which his actions obtained him. This conduct only added to that fame which constituted his danger. The first act by which Abbas showed his suspicion, was in ordering the tutor and attached friend of his son to be put to death ‡.

Abbas's cruel treatment of his son Khodâh-bundâh.

* Sir Thomas Herbert. His account differs from that of Olearus, but the former is entitled to credit. The Zubd-ul-Tuarikh states, that the name of the prince murdered by Beh-bood was Suffee Meerza, and that of the one whose eyes were put out was Khodâh-bundâh; and this is confirmed by the following passage of a letter from Mr. Edward Monnox, agent for the India Company, dated Isfahan, 1621:

"The king, (Shah Abbas,) before he came to Isfahan, caused the eyes of his present "eldest son, *Goda-bunda* Meerza, to be put out, and then confined him. His son "Emanullah also confined, but not yet blinded. King means, they think, to leave "the throne to his grandchild (then ten or twelve years of age). This grandson "is the son of Sooffee Mirza, the eldest son of Abbas, who, five years ago, the "king caused to be slain, which was treacherously done as he came out of a *Bannyo*, "or hot-house. They may say of the king what was once spoken of Herod, 'It "is better to be his swine than his son.' Albeit that beast is very hateful to his "profession."—*Public Records, India House.*

† He was also called Rezâ Meerza. — *Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

‡ The name of this person was, according to Sir T. Herbert, Mazar; but his deplorable ignorance of the Persian language renders him liable to frequent and gross errors, particularly in proper names.

CHAP. XIV. Conscious that the only crime of this officer was too great a regard for his master, the prince hastened to court, and in giving vent to the honest indignation which the conduct of Abbas had kindled, he lost all consideration for his own safety. We are told, that he was provoked to madness, and in the presence of his father and sovereign drew his sword. The fatal signal for his death was given: but Abbas relented so far, as only to deprive him of sight. Shut out from the light of day, the prince became gloomy and desperate; nothing could give him pleasure; and his life passed in venting curses and brooding over plans of vengeance against the author of his being and of his misery. He had two children, of whom the eldest, Fatimah, a lovely girl, was a great favourite of her grandfather, over whose mind she had acquired the most astonishing influence. Abbas appeared miserable when little Fatimah was not near him, and her voice alone could soothe him when ruffled by those violent passions to which he every day became more subject. The prince learnt, with savage delight, how essential his daughter had become to the happiness of his father, and seizing her, as she one day came to fondle upon his bosom, with all the fury of a maniac, he in an instant deprived her of life. The astonished mother shrieked, and told him it was his darling daughter that he was destroying. Instead of attending to her, his next effort was to seize his infant son, that he might vent his fury upon him. The child was borne from him by the distracted princess, who sent immediately to inform Abbas of what had occurred. The rage and despair into which the sovereign was thrown gave a momentary joy to his son; who, glutted with his terrible vengeance, concluded the scene by swallowing a

dose of poison, which in a moment terminated his miserable life *. Such were the scenes which marked the last days of Abbas, who, worn out with affliction of mind, and the pain of a disease which his intemperate habits had increased, died in his favourite palace at Ferrâhâbâd, in Mazenderan, at the age of seventy. He had been a nominal ruler almost from his birth, and had been sovereign of all Persia forty-three years.

Death of Abbas. A. D. 1628. A. H. 1037. 23d Jumadee-ul-awul.

Shah Abbas had a fine face, of which the most remarkable features were a high nose, and a keen and piercing eye. He wore no beard, but had large mustachios, or whiskers. In his stature he was rather low, but must have been uncommonly robust and active, as he was throughout life celebrated for the power of bearing fatigue, and to the last indulged in his favourite amusement of hunting.

Description of Abbas.

The faults of this king, or rather his crimes, have been already stated. They were of a very deep dye: but we must be better acquainted than we are at present with his history, before we can pronounce upon the exact degree of their turpitude. We know that all the ties of nature were broken asunder; and that scenes of blood were acted beyond what even tragedies have portrayed: but we cannot tell how far this apparent cruelty tended to preserve the peace and tranquillity of an immense empire. It is possible that

His character and government.

* Sir Thomas Herbert. This account is confirmed by a letter from Mr. Burt, dated Gombroon, 6th February, 1627. He observes, " This king hath added to " the numberless terrors of his conscience the death of his own and only son, " causing his eyes to be cut forth with a razor; whose own child was a spectator " of his father's misery, whom in his rage he bereaved of life, as afterwards did " unto himself by poisonous pills." — *Public Records, India House.*

CHAP. XIV. innumerable lives might have been preserved by a father consenting to be the executioner of an ambitious son. It is not meant to palliate the guilt of Abbas, but to show that the perpetration of such crimes as he committed, is too often the dreadful obligation of that absolute power to which he was born; and it is, therefore, the character of the government, more than that of the despot, which merits our abhorrence. There have been few sovereigns in the universe who have done more substantial good to their country than Abbas the Great. He established an internal tranquillity throughout Persia, that had been unknown for centuries. He put an end to the annual ravages of the Usbegs, and confined these plunderers to their own dominions. He completely expelled the Turks from his native territories, of which they held some of the finest provinces when he ascended the throne. Justice was in general administered according to the laws of religion; and the king seldom interfered, except to support the law, or to punish those who thought themselves above it. Though possessed of great means, and distinguished as a military leader, he deemed the improvement of his own wide possessions a nobler object than the pursuit of conquest: he attended to the cultivation and commerce of Persia beyond all former monarchs, and his plans for effecting his objects were almost all of a nature that showed the greatness of his mind. The bridges, caravansaries, and other useful public buildings, that he erected, were without number. The impression which his noble munificence made upon the minds of his subjects has descended to their children. The modern traveller, who inquires the name of the founder of any ancient building in Persia, receives the ready answer, "Shah Abbas the Great;" which is given, not from an

exact knowledge that he was the founder, but from the habit of considering him as the author of all improvement. We cannot suppose that a prince of this character could delight in cruelty: and to whatever actions the stern dictates of policy, the jealousy of power, the infirmity of age, or the artful intrigues of base flatterers, may have led Abbas in his latter years, we must not hastily consign to execration the memory of a monarch, who restored Persia to a condition of greatness beyond what that country had known for ages; who was brave, generous, and wise; and who, during a reign protracted to near half a century, seemed to have no object but that of rendering his kingdom flourishing, and his subjects happy. An eminent and impartial writer* has, in stating one historical fact, furnished us with the noblest eulogy upon the character of Abbas. "When "this great prince," he observes, "ceased to live, Persia ceased to "prosper!"

* Chardin, Vol. III. page 12.

CHAPTER XV.

From the Death of Shah Abbas the Great, till the Conquest of Persia by the Affghans, and the Abdication of Shah Sultan Hussein.

CHAP. XV. THE kingdom of Persia had, at different periods, attained more extensive limits, but perhaps was never more prosperous and powerful, than during the latter years of the reign of Abbas the Great. The history of that monarch, and his predecessors, are related by many writers; but we lose these guides a short time after his decease. The author of the work* which I have chiefly followed in the account of this family, lived in the time of Abbas the Second, and closes his Memoirs about the middle of that sovereign's reign; and there are but few Persian histories which give any particular and authentic accounts of the events which took place from that period, till the elevation of Nadir Shah. The causes which have occasioned this chasm in the annals of that country, are obvious. We can hardly imagine an era more unfavourable for a national historian. A period of nearly a century elapsed without the occurrence of any one political event of magnitude; and yet this extraordinary calm was productive of no advantage to Persia. The princes, nobles, and high officers of that kingdom, were, it is true,

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

exempt from the dangers of foreign or internal war; but their property, and their lives, were the sport of a succession of weak, cruel, and debauched monarchs. The lower orders were exposed to fewer evils than the higher, but they became every day more unwarlike; and what they gained by that tranquillity which the state enjoyed, lost almost all its value when they ceased to be able to defend it. This period was distinguished by no glorious achievements. No characters arose on which the historian could dwell with delight. The nation may be said to have existed upon the reputation which it had before acquired till all it possessed was gone, and till it became, from the slow but certain progress of a gradual and vicious decay, incapable of one effort to avert that dreadful misery and ruin in which it was involved, by the invasion of a few Affghan tribes; whose conquest of Persia affixed so indelible a disgrace upon that country, that we cannot be surprised that its historians have shrunk from the painful and degrading narration.

The task which Persian authors have left undone, has, perhaps, been better executed by foreign writers. The liberal policy of Abbas the Great attracted many Europeans to his dominions. He gave equal encouragement to all classes: and before his death there were, in Persia, political envoys, soldiers, merchants, and missionaries, from almost every country in Christendom. The causes which produced this encouragement were, jealousy and hatred of the Turks, a desire of improvement in military tactics, a wish to increase the commerce of the country, and a spirit of religious toleration. These motives continued to operate after this monarch's death; and the most debased and cruel of his successors were kind and generous to the Europeans in their dominions. The consequence

CHAP. XV.

was, that numbers flocked to Persia; and among these were some men eminent for science and learning. In their page, we have an ample detail of the events of this period, which is one that should not be passed in silence; for it is more useful to contemplate despotism in its naked deformity, than when half concealed by a veil of glory. The picture may disgust; but that sensation proves that the lesson is conveyed: and the English historian of a nation like Persia, can have no nobler object, than that of giving a faithful representation of scenes, which must, by the contrast they exhibit in the condition of a great community, render those who live under a just and free government, still more sensible to the value of the greatest of all human blessings.

A. D. 1627. A. H. 1037. 4th Jumadee-ul-âkhur. Sâm Meerza succeeds Shah Abbas.

Sâm Meerza succeeded his grandfather, Shah Abbas. When that monarch was asked, immediately before his death, who should be his successor, he named this prince, who was the son of the murdered Suffee Meerza. He was informed, that the astrologers had foretold, that the reign of Sâm Meerza, if he ascended the throne, would be of short duration. "It is my desire," said Abbas, with great impatience, "that you place upon his head that crown, which "was the right of his unfortunate father*." The nobles respected the last command of their sovereign, and hastened to Isfahan, where the destined heir, then seventeen years of age, was taken from the haram, and proclaimed King of Persia, before it was publicly known that his grandfather was no more.

Takes the name of Shah Suffee.

This prince, who took the name of Shah Suffee when he ascended the throne, reigned fourteen years. He was a capricious tyrant; and

* Introduction to Krusinski's Memoirs, page 29.

every year of his rule presented the same horrid and disgusting scene of barbarous cruelty. All the princes of the blood royal, and almost every minister*, or general of family or character, were either put to death, or deprived of their eyes, by command of this monarch; and the dreadful list of his victims was swelled by a great number of females, some of whom were of the first rank in the kingdom†. Among those who were slain by this cruel prince, the fate of Imaum Kooli Khan, and his family, excited the most general sympathy. That chief was the son of Aly-verdi Beg, the renowned general of Abbas, and he fully equalled his father in fame. He had subdued the whole of the province of Lâr, and, aided by the English, had taken Ormus from the Portuguese. He had been, for a number of years, the chosen instrument of Abbas for improving the southern part of his dominions; and had founded, under the auspices of that monarch, a college at Shiraz, and built

Character and fate of Imaum Kooli Khan.

* The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh gives a list of the princes and nobles that were either put to death or deprived of sight, which appears to include every officer that enjoyed rank and office under Abbas, and every male that was in the most distant degree related to the royal family.

† The daughter of Abbas, who had married Isâk Khan, was among these victims: and several authors assert, that his own mother, who had enraged him by some free remonstrances on his conduct, shared the fate of all those who attempted to give him counsel. When he was one day excessively intoxicated, he stabbed his favourite queen: and we are informed by an European traveller[32], that when he recovered his senses, and found what he had done, he gave way to the most violent grief, and issued orders to destroy every wine flask in his kingdom.

[32] Tavernier, Vol. II. page 208.

CHAP. XV.

several caravansaries and bridges in the province of Fars. Such employment was congenial to this generous nobleman, whose mind was as liberal as that of his sovereign. His personal fortune, which was great, sunk under his munificence. We may judge of the style in which he lived, by a speech made to him by Abbas. "I request, "Imaum Kooli," said that prince, "that you will spend one dirhem "less per day, that there may exist some slight difference between "the disbursements of a khan and a king*." This nobleman was summoned to the Court of Shah Suffee: his friends warned him of his danger; but he deemed it impossible that a person, who had rendered such services, and whose allegiance was so decided, could incur a risk †. He went; was murdered; and his sons shared his fate, lest they should revenge their father ‡.

The Usbegs unsuccessful in an invasion of Khorassan.

The Usbegs, encouraged by the death of Abbas, invaded Khorassan; but they were attacked and defeated by the Persian army stationed in that quarter. Candahar, however, was lost. Suffee had directed the governor ‖ of that fortress to repair to his presence; but that chief, deeming himself marked for destruction, made over the fort he commanded to the troops of the Emperor of India, and sought protection for himself at the Court of Delhi. The Turks were encouraged by the state of Persia to attack that kingdom §. Though at first repulsed, they succeeded in taking Bagdad; after which the Emperor Moorâd advanced into Aderbijan at the head of a large army, and took possession of Tabreez; but he was compelled, by the approach of winter, and a scarcity of supplies, to retreat, and his

Candahar given over to the Emperor of India.

A. D. 1634. A. H. 1044. Sultan Moorâd advances into Persia, but is compelled to retreat.

* Persian MSS. † Tavernier. Olearius. ‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‖ The name of this nobleman was Aly Murdân Khan. § Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

army was greatly harassed by the Persian horse. Shah Suffee was successful in suppressing a rebellion in Ghilan; and he took the Fortress of Erivân, after a long siege; during which, his flatterers have asserted that he displayed great personal valour: but he only expressed a determination to storm that fort, and either to conquer or die in the breach. The solicitude of his ladies and ministers prevented this resolution being carried into immediate effect*; the seasonable fall of Erivân † did away the necessity of its revival, and left the world in doubt whether this detestable tyrant was even possessed of the common quality of courage.

Shah Suffee suppresses a rebellion in Ghilan, and takes Erivân.

The Persian authors who have written the life of this prince, have tried to veil his crimes, and exalt his virtues. One cotemporary writer, who was a celebrated astrologer, ascribes the death of several of the chief nobles to their unfortunate horoscope; and, on this reasoning, deems the monarch who destroyed them perfectly guiltless. He informs us, that the king, when encamped near the mountain of Sahund, in Aderbijan, was one day fishing for trout‡: he caught five hundred, and being particularly pleased with several noblemen of high rank, who had shared in his day's amusement, he gave them rich dresses of honour: but, unfortunately for these nobles, our

Government and character of Shah Suffee.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† "This city is situated on the banks of the River Zengui, and is defended by a "fortress, of an elliptical form, upwards of six thousand yards in circumference. The "north-west side of the town is built on a precipice, impending over the river one "hundred toises in height; but is commanded by the fort, which is surrounded by "two strong walls, flanked with towers."—KINNIER's *Memoir of Persia*, page 325.

‡ This is the only stream in Persia in which I ever heard that this fish was found. I encamped near it in 1810, and tasted some very good.

CHAP. XV.

author very gravely adds, the moon was in the constellation of Leo when they received these marks of favour*. The consequence of this inauspicious circumstance was, that they were all, a few days afterwards, put to death† by the king, on the occurrence of a trifling affray, caused by intoxication; a prevalent vice, which Suffee encouraged by his example. It is pleasing to be able to record one good action of this monarch‡: he restored about three hundred wretched Armenians to their native country, who were all that remained of a colony of seven thousand which Abbas had planted at Ashraff, in Mazenderan||.

An eminent traveller§ has, in his treatise on the government of

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† The principal of these chiefs were Agerloo Khan, commander of the guards, and Hussein Beg, a lord in waiting. ‡ Modern Universal History, Vol. V. page 148.

|| Suffee was, in general, kind to Christians; though the first and only European ever publicly executed in Persia was in his reign. A watch-maker, called Rodolph Stadler, a native of Zorikh, had accompanied the mission from the Duke of Holstein to Persia, and became watch-maker to Suffee. Rodolph slew a Persian, whom he found in his house, and suspected of being too intimate with his wife. He applied to the king, who at first pardoned him, but was afterwards persuaded by his ministers to recall this pardon, unless Rodolph became a Mahomedan. The king was very desirous to effect this object, and, in the most earnest manner, offered Rodolph, if he changed his religion, a fortune of ten thousand tomans, and a beautiful wife: but all was in vain, Rodolph would not give up his faith, and the king was reluctantly compelled to let the law have its course. The firm Christian was given over, agreeably to the usage in such cases, to the relations of the man he had slain. They struck off his head, on the last day of October, 1637. His body was, by the king's command, given to the Armenians, who interred it as the corpse of a martyr; and the priests reported, that angels were seen, the night of its interment, hovering round the tomb.—TAVERNIER, Vol. II. page 239.

§ Chardin.

Persia, ascribed the cruelties which this prince committed to systematic policy; and he informs us, that Suffee, by putting to death the chief military nobles of the country, finished what his grandfather, the great Abbas, had begun; and that the desire of both, was to introduce captives and slaves into high offices, in order that they might better reduce and degrade an aristocracy, which had become too powerful to admit of their exercising an uncontrolled and absolute power*. This general observation only appears true in a very modified sense. Abbas made many changes in the system of the government, but he only sought to render himself independent of the powerful khans, or feudal lords, of Persia. Their destruction was not his object: on the contrary, he preserved them in great strength, and always deemed them the best defence of his kingdom. He punished and rewarded these nobles, like his other subjects, without fear, and without suspicion. His courage, while it repressed turbulence, inspired attachment. The character of his unworthy grandson was exactly opposite. All his motives were of the basest order. His actions were always to be referred either to his anger, his avarice, his caprice, his jealousy, or his fears. Yet this tyrant, who was despised even more than he was dreaded, reigned in peace: but there can be no doubt that he was more indebted for his personal safety, during the few years he occupied the throne of Persia, to the reverence in which his family was held, and to the fame and wisdom of his great predecessor, than to the terror which was inspired by his cruelty and oppression.

* Tavernier also states, that Abbas had left a secret order to put certain great khans to death, but gives us no authority for this improbable assertion.

CHAP. XV.

His death.
A. D. 1641.
A. H. 1051.
12th Suffer.

This prince died at Kashan, and was interred at Koom*. He had, we are informed, a countenance which was remarkable for its soft and pleasing expression; and his natural disposition might have been good, as it is probable his character was formed by his education. Persian princes had been brought up as soldiers till the period of Shah Abbas. The sense which that sovereign appears to have entertained of the danger of that system, led him to direct a change; and subsequent to the death of his sons (whose fate has been related) the princes of the Suffavean dynasty were immured in the haram, and saw only women and eunuchs. A monarch, who was never permitted to leave this prison till he ascended the throne, was likely to be effeminate and inefficient. It was hardly possible that he could resist the intoxication of absolute power. The unlimited indulgence of his passions seemed almost the certain consequence

* "The City of Koom was built in the year of the Hejirah 203, from the ruins of "seven towns, which had composed a small sovereignty, under Abdalrahman, an "Arabian prince. But this person having been overthrown by his enemies, and his "country ruined, the inhabitants of the seven towns founded the City of Koom, which "was divided into seven departments, each assuming the name of one of the towns "which had been destroyed. It afterwards became one of the first cities in Persia, "and was long celebrated for its manufacture of silks. It stands in an extensive plain, "and on the banks of a small river, which rises at no great distance, and is lost in the "great Salt Desert. Latitude 34° 45′ N., longitude 50° 29′ E. Koom was taken by "the Affghans, when they invaded Persia in 1722, and completely destroyed. Part of "it has since been rebuilt, but it still has the appearance of a vast ruin. There is a "very beautiful college, with a celebrated mosque and sanctuary, erected to the "memory of Fatima, the daughter of the Imaum Reza. In the mosque are to be seen "the tombs of Sefi the First and Shah Abbas the Second. The dome is lofty, and has "been gilded at the expense of the king."—KINNIER's *Memoir of Persia*, page 116.

of his former privations, and his entire want of experience. Suffee, who trusted all public affairs to his ministers, and who revelled in every sensual gratification, was, perhaps, as prone to cruelty from cowardice as from inhumanity. He gave a ready ear to every informer, and was alike prompt to execute all whom his ministers denounced as dangerous to his power, as he was to destroy those ministers, when their enemies instilled into his weak mind the slightest doubt of their fidelity.

Abbas the Second succeeds to the throne. A. D. 1641†. A. H. 1051.

This monarch was succeeded by his son, Abbas the Second, who was not ten* years of age when he ascended the throne. He fell, of course, entirely into the hands of his ministers, who are represented as persons of very religious and austere habits‡. They made an attempt not only to reform the manners of the court, but of the nation. Those who were not devout were compelled to appear so; and we are told, that at the capital, men feared to listen to any thing but prayers‖. Orders were given to prohibit the use of wine. Drunkards were removed from office, and a strict sobriety and attention to the outward forms of religion were the only recommendations to high station. One author§ states, that

The religious character of his ministers.

They prohibit the use of wine.

* We are told by the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh, who was an officer of this prince's court, that he was born on Friday, the 18th of Jumadee-ul-Soonnee, in the year of the Hejirah 1043, and ascended the throne on Friday, the 26th of Suffer, 1052, when he was nine years, eight months, and twenty-eight days old.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.*

† According to the Modern Universal History, Abbas the Second ascended the throne A. D. 1642. This mistake has probably arisen from a miscalculation of the Hejirah and Christian era.

‡ The first minister, or Itûmâd-u-dowlah, was Meerza Tuckee, who was afterwards murdered by a conspiracy of nobles, all of whom the king punished with death.—*Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.* ‖ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh. § Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XV.

the inhabitants of the Town of Erivan, in Armenia, alarmed at the abstemious and pious character of a governor who was appointed to rule them, actually petitioned the king not to send him. Their frailty, they said, led them to dread a "water drinker*." The fact was, the Christians of this city were remarkable for their indulgence in the use of liquor, and they were justly alarmed at the prospect of being governed by a religious bigot; who would, they knew, consider even the moderate use of wine as a just ground for plundering them of their property, if he did not deprive them of life. The king was advised to attend to this petition. His reply stated, that the drunkards of Erivan were quite unworthy of the holy man† whom he had appointed to rule them; and he, therefore, had nominated one (whose character was more suited to such sinners) to that station‡.

The manners of his court change.

The manners of the court altered as the king advanced in years: and the severe restraint in which Abbas the Second was kept by his ministers was probably one of the causes that led that monarch, when he threw off their trammels, to indulge in excesses which disgraced a reign, otherwise happy and prosperous: for this monarch committed few cruelties, except when intoxicated: but he appears, on such occasions, to have equally departed from the natural humanity of his character, and from the dignity of his high station. All Europeans, whether travellers, merchants, monks, or artificers, were admitted to share his orgies. These have furnished us with a disgusting detail of the freaks of a drunken king; and, by showing

His excesses.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† The name of this devotee was Mahomed Kooli Khan.

‡ He appointed Khoosroo Beg Cherkus to be their governor.

us that slaves were ready to execute the most cruel mandates, which a tyrant, almost insensible from liquor, chanced to give, have presented us with a picture of human nature in its most degraded state. Persian writers, however, affirm, that the royal feasts were frequently enlivened by wit, and that the king sometimes condescended to smile at the occasional sallies of his companions. He happened to observe, at one of his entertainments, that he had sent an ambassador to India, who had met with so many delays, that he believed he would never come back. "Let us all agree "to sit here till he returns," was the reply of the son of a judge, who made one of the assembly*. Though the youth, warm with wine, had forgotten what the laws of prudence demanded, Abbas, we are told, was delighted with a sally which showed so extraordinary an enjoyment of his society. But different scenes were often exhibited, and the most dissipated nobles dreaded an invitation to drink with their monarch, who was as solicitous to make them exceed, as he was prompt to punish any act of disrespect, which the effects of excess led them to commit.

Candahar recovered. A. D. 1648. A. H. 1058.

Candahar, which had been lost by his father, was recovered by this prince, who had the glory of making the conquest in person before he was sixteen years of age†. We discover, in the account of this expedition, that the ministers who governed the councils of the young monarch were not merely pretenders to virtue and religion ‡; the officers charged with the collection of supplies for the army had

* Persian MSS.

† Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

‡ The respectable Kulliffâ Sultan was, at this time, prime minister. This old man had, in addition to a proclamation he issued against wine, made one against female dancers.

CHAP. XV.

the strictest orders to pay in money for every article which they received from the inhabitants of the country; and all ranks were conciliated by the conduct of the court. The Emperor Shah Jehan made many efforts to recover this city, but with no success. The author of the work* which has been generally followed in the history of the preceding reigns, states, that he was honoured with the double appointment of physician and astrologer to this important fortress. He gives a minute detail of the attacks and failures of the Indian army; and on one occasion he assumes great personal merit in having withheld the Persian commander from venturing on a general action when the planet Mars† was in the south: a circumstance which, he assures us, would have rendered defeat certain.

Shah Jehan in vain attempts to reconquer it.

An Usbeg prince takes refuge in Persia.

During the reign of Abbas the Second great divisions took place among the Usbegs. A prince‡ of that country had been compelled to fly his dominions, and to seek refuge in Persia. He was received by Abbas with the most splendid hospitality. Fifteen thousand horse accompanied him from Kashan to the capital‖, and when he approached Isfahan, the king and all his nobles went seven miles to meet him§. The whole road into that city was covered with rich silks, over which the two sovereigns rode; and the Usbeg prince was treated in the same royal style as long

His reception at the capital.

* Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

† The author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh informs us, that as Mars was in the south on Wednesday, and likely to be in the west on Sunday, he advised delay. It appears that, to *insure* good fortune when you engage, this planet should be to your right; but defeat is certain if it be in front.

‡ The name of this prince was Imaum Kooli Khan.

‖ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh. § Tavernier.

A. D. 1642. A. H. 1052. Another ruler of the Usbegs seeks refuge in Persia.

as he remained in the Persian dominions. Nadir Mahomed, another ruler of the Usbegs, had, through the intrigues and arms of the Emperor Shah Jehan, been forced to fly from Bulkh. He sought aid and protection from the King of Persia; and his treatment was, if possible, more noble than that of his predecessor. A large force was ordered from Khorassan to support him, and he recovered his possessions without an action *. But this prince was obliged, by reverses, to throw himself a second time on the friendship of Abbas, and he was again received with kindness and honour. He died in Persia: and Abbas not only attended to his last request, which was, that he should be buried at Mushed, but directed a large sum to be disbursed in charity at the period of his interment †. He did more; he commanded that every article of his property, and the money that he possessed at his death, which exceeded one hundred thousand tomans, should be sent to his son, Abdûl Azeez, whose gratitude and friendship were the reward that Abbas desired and obtained by his generous and royal conduct.

A. D. 1645. A. H. 1055. Recovers his dominions.

A. D. 1650. A. H. 1060. Is again compelled to abandon them. His death.

Peace with Turkey maintained during the reign of Abbas the Second.

The peace that had been established with Turkey remained undisturbed throughout the reign of Abbas the Second; and we may conclude that there were few questions of consequence agitated between the two states, when informed that two of the envoys from Constantinople who came to Isfahan during this monarch's reign, had no object but that of obtaining an elephant for their emperor's amusement ‡.

* The army of the Emperor of Delhi evacuated Bulkh at the approach of Nadir Mahomed and his Persian allies.

† History of Sultan Mahomed Meerza.

‡ Zubd-ul-Tuarikh.

CHAP. XV.

The vanity of Abbas the Second was gratified by embassies from almost all the nations in Europe, as well as from India, and the remotest regions of Tartary. His country enjoyed complete tranquillity; commerce flourished; and his kindness and attention to strangers attracted vast numbers to his dominions.

A. D. 1659. A. H. 1070.

We have a remarkable instance of the generous clemency of Abbas in his conduct to Tâhmûrâs Khan, Prince of Georgia, whose life had passed in hostility to him; but who was, when made captive by one of his generals, not only forgiven, but loaded with favours: and the interference of the Persian monarch obtained the release of the grandson of the Georgian ruler, who was a prisoner or hostage with the Emperor of Russia *.

A. D. 1666. A. H. 1077. Death and character of Abbas the Second.

Abbas the Second died at the early age of thirty-four†, after a reign of nearly twenty-five years. Some authors have attributed his death to an inflammation in the throat‡, caused by excessive drinking; others to a loathsome disease‖, the consequence of another vice, to which he was equally addicted. The love of wine, in which this prince often indulged to excess, was the cause of all the evils of his reign. It was in his moments of intoxication alone that he was capricious, cruel, and unjust§: but the danger

* History of Sultan Mahomed Meerza.

† He died in his palace at a village called Khoosroo-abad, near Damaghan.

‡ Chardin states, that he was thirty-eight years of age when he died: but the date of his birth, as stated by the author of the Zubd-ul-Tuarikh, contradicts this fact, and makes him only thirty-four.

‖ The pain, it is said, caused by his disease, was so excruciating, that this prince died in the conviction that he was poisoned.

§ Both Chardin and Tavernier give us some dreadful instances of his cruelty: but almost all his crimes appear to have been committed when in a state of inebriety.

from these excesses was in a great degree limited to the circle of his court; the country at large only knew this prince as one of the most generous and just rulers that ever reigned in Persia. To the public officers of government he was severe, but to the poor mild and lenient; and the lives and property of his subjects were efficiently protected. He was as tolerant to all religions as his great ancestor, whose name he had taken. To Christians, indeed, he always showed the most marked favour. He used often to declare the principle by which his conduct on this point was regulated. "It is for "God," (Abbas was wont to observe,) "not for me, to judge of "men's consciences; and I will never interfere with what belongs to "the tribunal of the great Creator and Lord of the Universe *."

Suffee †, the eldest son of Abbas the Second, was twenty years of age when his father died. He had only one brother, Humzâ Meerza,

This accounts for the contradictory statements which are given of his character: but this degrading vice, instead of palliating, aggravates his guilt. * Du Cerceau.

† The Persian Manuscript, that has been chiefly followed in the preceding history of the monarchs of the Suffavean dynasty, terminates fourteen years before the death of Abbas the Second; and we meet with no authentic Persian history that details the latter events of this dynasty of monarchs. I obtained a work written by an exiled prince of this family, called Sultan Mahomed Meerza; who, when living in retirement at Lucknow, composed a volume, which professes to be a history of his ancestors: but this work is evidently not very correct; and as it was written more from what its author had heard, than what he knew, it cannot be much depended upon. I deemed myself more fortunate in possessing a small manuscript upon the Affghan invasion of Persia, by Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen, a man of singular piety and learning, who was in Isfahan during the siege, and was an eye-witness of all he describes. He afterwards became a voluntary exile from his country, and died in India, at the City of Benares, where his memory is still generally respected.

CHAP. XV.

who was an infant* at that period. This child had accompanied the court, while Suffee had been left at Isfahan, where he was kept close prisoner in the haram; and a report was now spread, and believed, that he had been deprived of sight, and was consequently incompetent to reign. It was under the pretext of crediting this rumour, that the chief officers of government determined, at a general council, which was held on the death of Abbas, to elevate Humzâ Meerza to the throne †. It is probable, that their real motive in this proceeding was, to preserve (by giving the crown to a minor) the power in their own hands, and to escape the danger which threatened them, from the elevation of a prince who had been long rigorously confined, and who, it was likely, would resent the severity with which he had been treated, on all who shared his father's regard and confidence.

Determination to set aside Suffee, the eldest son of Abbas.

The prime minister had apparently convinced all the council, by the specious arguments he used, of the expediency and wisdom of this measure; and they were on the point of concerting the mode of carrying their resolution into effect, when their plans were completely defeated by the firm loyalty and courageous justice of a man, who, the moment before he opened his lips, was an object of pity and contempt to the whole assembly ‡.

Aga Moobâruk, a confidential eunuch, was intrusted with the education of Humzâ Meerza, and he would, it was concluded, hear with delight of a measure that was to place his charge upon the

* Humzâ Meerza was only seven years of age.

† Chardin. This eminent traveller has given us a full and authentic detail of all the events of this period, and there can be no better authority. He lived in Persia during almost the whole reign of Solimân.

‡ Chardin, Vol. IV. page 226.

throne, and consequently to make him one of the first men in the empire: but the eunuchs of the palace had long been remarkable for their fidelity and strict sense of duty, and it was reserved for Aga Moobâruk to raise still higher the character of this despised race. He waited till all the ministers had delivered their sentiments; and when he saw that they were unanimous in their determination to set aside Suffee, and to elevate his younger brother, he addressed them as follows: — CHAP. XV.

Speech of Aga Moobâruk.

" I must believe, most noble lords, that the resolution you have " adopted is the result of a sudden impulse, and not of your mature " deliberation. You can never, if you reflect, commit an act so con- " trary to justice, and the laws of our holy prophet, as that you have " proposed. But you have hitherto only listened to the specious " reasons for this act. Why has the true motive been concealed? " Is not the real object to obtain the government of this kingdom? " That is the cause why you desire to raise a child to the throne! " You say that his elder brother is, perhaps, dead, or at all events " deprived of sight. He is neither: he lives, he sees. My head shall " answer for the truth of this assertion. Had it been otherwise, the " event could not have been concealed from me: besides, would not " the deceased king, had he ever intended Humzâ Meerza for his suc- " cessor, have increased his establishment? Should I, who have the " sole charge of that prince, and his dignified mother, have been " excluded from this important secret? But he never, for one " moment, cherished this intention: and if you invest the younger " brother with the rights of the elder, you will commit at once " injustice and treason. If there must be a sacrifice to preserve the " peace of the state, let it be the younger. Do you not perceive

CHAP. XV.

" that you will throw the kingdom into confusion? Do you expect " that the other nobles of Persia have as little consideration for law " and justice as you have? Will the people at large consent to " share the great crime which you commit; which they must do, if " they grant you their support? All will abhor you: and Humzâ " Meerza will one day consider you as men, who elevated him only " to serve the purposes of your own ambition; and who, to forward " that object, were false to your king, to your prophet, and your " God*." Here he stopped for a moment; and then, with increased agitation, exclaimed, " Humzâ Meerza! Humzâ Meerza! to what " an extremity am I reduced! Do you, great lords of this empire, " desire that I should strangle that innocent prince with these hands " that have reared him? Is it your wish that I should bring his " corpse to your assembly? I have the power to commit this act of " horror; and it appears the only means by which I can compel you " to do justice. You will then be forced to carry the crown to him " to whom it belongs: judge how he will reward you, when he learns " the dreadful extreme by which you were reduced to the necessity " of placing him upon the throne†!"

He quitted the assembly at the same moment that he finished his speech; and, retiring to the interior of the palace, left the first nobles of the empire looking at each other with surprise and horror. They could not divine the motive by which Aga Moobâruk was actuated. They knew that he doated on Humzâ Meerza, and that he had every thing to expect from that prince's advancement; while he could entertain no hopes from the elevation of

* Chardin, Vol. IV. page 226, 227.

† Chardin, Vol. IV. page 227.

Suffee Meerza, with whom he was not connected by any ties whatever. It could, therefore, be only a high sense of loyalty, a regard for justice, and a desire to promote the welfare of his country, which had inspired him with such eloquence and resolution. A conviction of the exalted nature of his motives aided the impression which the truth and justice of his sentiments had made upon the minds of all present: and, after a long silence, the prime minister observed, that as Aga Moobâruk had assured them the Prince Suffee was alive, and had not been deprived of sight, it would certainly be proper to raise him to the throne*. The others assented: and Suffee, who on his accession to the throne took the title of Solimân, owed his crown and life to the fidelity and virtue of an eunuch, whom he early rewarded with marks of signal favour. He desired, it is said, to promote him to high employ, but Aga Moobâruk declined the distinction. Though educated in a seraglio, he possessed courage and virtue, and was exempt from avarice and ambition.

Suffee Meerza is elevated to the throne, and takes the title of Shah Solimân. A. D. 1666. A. H. 1077.

The reign of Solimân, though long, is unmarked by any event of consequence. He was a weak, unwarlike, and dissolute prince, whose time was divided between his haram and the pleasures of the table. The Usbegs renewed their annual invasions of Khorassan. The shores of the Caspian suffered by the predatory incursions of the Tartars of Kapchack; and one of the principal islands† in the Gulf was seized by the Dutch. The pusillanimity with which Solimân suffered these attacks, not only met with advocates among flatterers of his own country, but is praised by a learned and respect-

His character, and government.

* Chardin, Vol. IV. page 228.

† The Island of Kishmâh.

CHAP. XV.

able European traveller*, who was in Persia when this prince sat upon the throne, and who ascribes the conduct of Solimân to wisdom and good policy. If such forbearance is entitled to the meed of glory, no person was ever more deserving of it than this weak and tyrannical prince, who was an object of dread to none but the slaves of his power.

One of the greatest favourites of Solimân was a chief called Aly Kooli Khan, who was brave and generous, but volatile and imprudent. He had, during the reign of Abbas, been generally in prison, unless when his services were required against the enemies of his country†. This had acquired him the name of "the Lion of Persia;" as men said, that he was always chained, except when wanted to fight. The moment this chief learned that Solimân had succeeded to the throne, he contrived to make his escape from confinement, and presented himself at court; where, by the aid of some friends, he rose rapidly into power; and, from his gay humour, and love of dissipation, soon became the declared favourite of the young monarch. The terms upon which Aly Kooli lived with his sovereign, may be conceived by the following anecdote. Solimân happened one day to observe, that he had heard there were persons who rejoiced at the death of his father; and added, that if he could discover them, they should be punished most severely. The favourite replied, laughing, "I know none that have the least cause to rejoice at that melancholy "event, except your mother and me. We certainly have, for we "were prisoners, and now enjoy the government of Persia." The king smiled at this sally, and, pretending to reprove his folly, called

* Kempfer.

† Tavernier, Vol. II. page 287.

him a madman. This humorous lord was, however, neither destitute of humanity nor sense, and in many instances his influence over his master was exerted for good purposes: but his expenditure always far exceeded his income; and he was, in consequence, both venal and rapacious.

A minister of the highest character had, at one period, by his knowledge of public affairs, and his great respectability, obtained the confidence, if not the favour of Solimân: but the virtuous and religious Shaikh Aly Khan* was, perhaps, more employed from necessity than choice. His severe integrity, and unbending austerity, continually reproached the prince for his intemperance†. Solimân one day, when he was enjoying himself in a convivial party, sent for his minister, and plainly told him, that he could no longer suffer his extreme prudence and sobriety. "You must relax sometimes," said he, "or we can never agree." The minister replied, that he lived as became his age and character. "Very true," said Solimân; "but "your conduct is my reproach, and I can no longer endure it. You "must get drunk with us immediately, either with wine, or a pre-

* This minister was of the tribe of Zungânah. Some of his lineal descendants are living at Kermanshah. One of them was governor of that town and province a few years ago.

† The agent of the Company at Isfahan, in his letters to his employers, frequently complains of the moroseness and severity of Shaikh Aly Khan, who, he says, hated Christians: but Chardin, at the same time that he informs us that he dreaded the restoration of this minister to power, because he had a prejudice against Christians, and might, he feared, prevent Solimân from purchasing the jewels which he had brought from Europe, by the desire of his father, Abbas the Second, observes, "that Shaikh "Aly Khan was inaccessible to recommendation and presents, having nothing at heart "but the care and increase of the royal treasury."—CHARDIN, Vol. I. page 306.

CHAP. XV.

" paration of opium. Choose which you like best: but the dose " must be swallowed. It is the command of your king, who will " be obeyed." Remonstrances were in vain. Shaikh Aly Khan swallowed a preparation of opium, and soon fell down senseless from intoxication*. The triumph of the king over the virtue of his minister knew no bounds. The expression of his joy was extravagant: he called all his court to view the grave, the sober Shaikh Aly Khan extended upon the ground: and, to complete the scene, he ordered the old man's beard to be shaved, and then sent him to his home. The public officers went next morning to tell Shaikh Aly Khan that the court was assembled; but the minister, enraged at the affront which had been offered him, bade them go and say, he considered himself as disgraced, and would not attend. The king tried, but in vain, to alter his resolution; and it is to the honour of his understanding, that every day made him more sensible of the loss he had sustained. About four months afterwards, Solimân had, in a fit of inebriety, commanded that the hands of a musician should be cut off. A favourite officer†, to whom this order was given, ventured to disobey it, in the belief that it was the mere effect of excessive drunkenness. This monarch had fallen asleep; but when he awoke, and found the same musician playing, he became furious, and directed that not only his hands and feet, but those of the favourite, by whose disobedience he had been saved, should be taken off. The interference of one of the principal officers of the court, only caused his being included in the same terrible sentence; the execution of which was on the point of commencing, when

* Chardin, Vol. I. page 307. † Nasser Aly Beg, son of the Governor of Erivan.

Shaikh Aly Khan rushed forward, and, throwing himself at the feet of the king, begged for mercy*. "You are very bold," said Solimân; "you continue to slight my earnest entreaties that you should "again serve me, and yet you intercede for others."—"I am your "slave," said the minister, "and ready to obey all your com- "mands."—"Very well," said Solimân, "I forgive them all on "your account. Resume your office, and I will promise, in future "to respect both you and myself more than I have done." It is even stated that the king vowed to abandon wine: but his resolution, if he ever took it, was soon broken, and he returned to his former habits. CHAP. XV.

We may form a judgment of the habits of this prince, by the expressions used by the East India Company's agent at Isfahan. "The king," this gentleman observes, in a letter to his employers, "still continues his excess in wine, which makes me fear, when I "next address myself to him, he will command me to play the "good fellow, and very probably be desirous of proving our "European wine, which, if it be good, may be acceptable to "him; therefore, request the supplying me with three chests; "one sack, one claret, one rhenish, of the very best, to present "him†." Gifts like these were calculated to secure to European traders the favour of a monarch like Solimân.

A. D. 1694. A. H. 1106. Death of Shah Solimân.

We proceed with satisfaction to the close of the life of this prince. He died in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign. He had been long afflicted by illness: but though he was. at one period, many years without coming out of

* Chardin, Vol. I. page 307.

† Gombroon Records, 27th Nov. 1672.

CHAP. XV.

his haram *, the country remained in as great tranquillity as if it had been ruled by an active and energetic monarch. This weak and dissipated prince appears to have always placed implicit confidence in the favourite of the moment: and his confinement, during the latter years of his rule, in the haram, where he could only see women and eunuchs, enabled the latter to obtain a complete influence over his mind, which they exercised in a manner that disgusted all the high nobles and chief officers of the government: but those classes of the inhabitants of Persia who were unconnected with an effeminate and cruel court, were subject to no particular evils during this reign; and though the general spirit of the nation declined, it was in a manner too gradual to be perceived, or to produce any effect on the public tranquillity.

Splendour of his court.

The splendour of Solimân's † court equalled that of the most magnificent of his predecessors. Strangers were encouraged and protected; and foreigners‡ from every quarter of the globe, but particularly Europe, resorted to Persia. It has been before stated, that it is chiefly to these we are indebted for the facts which we possess relative to this period of Persian history. All the important events

* MSS. Sultan Mahomed Meerza.

† This monarch is always called Solimân, and it is the name by which he is known in Persian history; but he first ascended the throne under the name of Suffee. A violent indisposition was imputed to his having been crowned in an inauspicious hour, and when a second coronation took place his name was changed to Solimân.

‡ Among these were several ambassadors from foreign states. One of the most splendid missions was from France, which reached Isfahan in 1673. Monsieur Gillone, who conducted it, styled himself "general and ambassador from the great king of "Europe."

which occurred in the reign of his son, Shah Sultan Hussein, have been minutely recorded by a Polish missionary* of learning and observation, who was at Isfahan during the greater part of the time of which he writes, and who had the best opportunities of obtaining the most accurate information. The Memoir of this author is corroborated by a valuable Persian manuscript†; and it has received additional authenticity from being adopted as a correct narration of facts, by an English traveller‡, who visited

* The name of this missionary was Father Krusinski. He was procurator to the Jesuits, and associated in a negotiation at the Court of Persia with the Bishop of Isfahan, who was accredited by the pope, and had letters from several princes of Europe. Krusinski was at Isfahan twenty years, and resided there till the year 1725.

† Manuscript of Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hazeen.

‡ Jonas Hanway, the author to whom I allude, was born in 1712. He became a partner in a commercial house at Petersburgh, and went from that into Persia: the loss of some goods led him to the Court of Nadir Shah, with whose history and character he became intimately acquainted. He also made himself master of all the events that had preceded that tyrant's usurpation. In 1753, when he retired to England, he published his Travels. He was the author of several other works. Both his writings and his actions show that he was a man of extraordinary activity of mind, and of the most singular virtue and benevolence. He was the chief founder of the Marine Society. The Magdalen Charity, which was projected by his partner, Mr. Dingley, was principally indebted to his active virtue for its establishment. To him may be traced many of our best parish regulations that relate to the care of children; and the first establishment of Sunday schools originated with Jonas Hanway. His efforts to do good were eminently successful, because all his projects were practical, and every class of his poor countrymen were objects of his benevolence. He endeavoured to alleviate the condition of chimney-sweepers, a race too generally despised. It is to the honour of the merchants of London, that they evinced their respect and veneration for this excellent man, by the most uncommon mark of attention. We are told by the writer of his life, that " his fellow citizens entertained such a sense of his merits, that,

CHAP. XV. Persia a few years afterwards, and who must have known many of the actors in those extraordinary scenes which the missionary describes. The latter writer was fully competent to judge of the fidelity of this work; and he would never have given the authority of his name to falsehood, or misrepresentation; for he was alike distinguished by a spirit of useful enterprise, a regard for religion, a love of truth, and an extensive knowledge of the manners and history of the various countries through which he travelled.

We are told, that when Solimân was dying, he said to those by whom he was surrounded *, "If you desire ease, elevate Hussein "Meerza. If the glory of your country be the object of your "wishes, raise Abbas Meerza to the throne †." The eunuchs whom he had exalted to all the first offices of the state, had no wish but to preserve their own power, and they chose a prince, who, from his weak and indolent character, appeared unlikely to interfere with the affairs of government. Sultan Hussein had neither the violence nor cruelty of his father; but his meekness and bigotry proved more destructive to his country, than the vices of Solimân. So great was

Sultan Hussein is elevated to the throne.

"in Lord Bute's administration, a deputation of the principal merchants of London "waited upon him, with a request that some public favour might be conferred on a "man, who had done so much service to the community at the expense of his private "fortune. Hanway was, in consequence, made a commissioner of the navy, which "post he held above twenty years; and when he resigned it, the salary was continued "to him for life. He died in 1786, and a monument was raised to his memory by "subscription."—PUGH's *Life of* HANWAY.

* MSS. of Sultan Mahomed Meerza.

† In the statement of this fact, as well as others, I find a very exact agreement between the Persian manuscripts in my possession, and the Memoir of Father Krusinski.

His religious character.

his pious zeal, that none but Moollahs, or holy Syuds, were appointed to high stations: and his veneration for religion was carried so far, that every college was made a sanctuary, even for murderers. The king acted, on all these points, at the suggestion of one of the principal Mahomedan priests*, of whose character we may judge, when informed† that he persuaded his sovereign to issue an order, (a few days after he ascended the throne,) not only to cast away all the wine and the rose water which his father possessed, but to break the polluted vessels which had contained these forbidden and luxurious liquids. He also prevailed upon Hussein to persecute all sectaries: and among these the principal were the Sooffees, a class of philosophical Deists‡, to which several of his ancestors had belonged.

The measures of Hussein were calculated to destroy what little spirit remained in the nation. High nobles gave place, with feelings of resentment, to eunuchs and priests: but their discontent was only vented in complaints; and it was, perhaps, one of the most dangerous symptoms of the condition of Persia, that the conduct of its weak and superstitious monarch provoked neither opposition nor revolt. The first twenty years of his reign passed in that deep lull which often precedes a storm. This passive and timid

* The name of this bigot was Moollah Mahomed Bauker Mujûlusce.

† Letter from the English agent at Gombroon, dated Oct. 12, 1694.

‡ This sect had erected a conventicle, called Touheed Khânâh, or "house of unity," where they met once a week, to pour out their rhapsodies on the unity and greatness of God. This building was destroyed, and the leading Sooffees banished from Isfahan. Among these, the most celebrated was Shaikh Mahomed Aly, who went afterwards to India, and died at Benares.—*MSS. of Sultan Mahomed Meerza.*

CHAP. XV.

prince desired only to be undisturbed; and a peace of a century had made the inhabitants of his kingdom as insensible to the approach of danger, as they were incapable of meeting it. But it is time to give some account of that race, who throwing off the shackles in which they had been long bound, awoke Persia from a fatal dream of security, and retorted upon that nation all the injuries which they had sustained from the tyranny of its oppressive governors.

Origin and early history of the Affghan tribes.

The origin of the Affghan tribes *, who inhabit the mountainous tract between Khorassan and the Indus, is variously traced, by different historians. Some assert, that this people are lineally descended from the Jewish tribes, made prisoners by Nebuchadnezzar †; and the principal chiefs are said to trace their families

* The author of a manuscript History of the Affghans, in my possession, observes, that some derive the name Affghan from the Persian signification of that term, which means "lamentation." It was applied because these tribes bewailed their banishment from Judea. Others say that Affghan was the grandson of Saul, and was employed by Solomon in building the temple. This author refers to two histories of this nation; the Tarikh Affghanah, and the Tarikh Ghour; i. e. the History of the Affghans, and the History of Ghour. It appears, he says, from these works, that the Affghans consider themselves as partly descended from the Copts of Egypt, and partly from the Israelites; but no facts are adduced to support this assertion.

† We are told by one of these writers, that Nebuchadnezzar, after putting to death many of the prisoners, banished them into the mountains of Ghour, where they multiplied greatly, and soon became masters of the country into which they had been sent. They maintained a correspondence with the Jews in Arabia; and when those changed their religion for that of Mahomed, a letter was received from a converted Jew, called Khâlud, informing them of the appearance of a new prophet, and invoking them to join his holy standard. Several Affghan nobles went to Arabia; the principal was Keis, who, we are informed by Affghan authors, traced his descent through forty-seven

to David, and to Saul*. Though their right to this proud descent is very doubtful, it is evident, from their personal appearance, and many of their usages, that they are quite a distinct race from the Persians, Tartars, and Indians; and this circumstance alone seems to give some appearance of credibility to a statement, which is contradicted by many strong facts†, and of which no direct proof has yet been produced.

generations to Saul, and in fifty-five to Abraham. This chief, with others, was introduced by Khâlud to the prophet, who condescended to treat them (but particularly Keis,) with great favour: he bestowed on that chief the title of "Abdool Rusheed," and that of Malik, or "ruler," a name to which Mahomed said he was fully entitled, as the descendant of the ruler of Israel. These chiefs, after they became Mahomedans, accompanied the prophet to the attack of Mecca, and were distinguished by their zeal and valour. Keis, after this, returned to his native country, blessed with the prayers of the prophet, and accompanied by some inhabitants of Medina, who were meant to aid him in propagating the faith he had learnt in Arabia, to the mountaineers of Ghour. His success was so great, that before his death, which occurred in the fortieth year of the Hejirah, all his subjects were converts. This chief died at the age of eighty-seven, leaving three sons, to whom much of his power and influence descended. His memory is still revered. Every modern chief of Affghanistan endeavours to trace his descent to the illustrious Keis.—*History of the Affghans, Persian MSS.*

* Almost all Mahomedan writers claim this descent for the Affghans; and I possessed, for some time, a genealogical table, in which an attempt was made to prove all the principal families of Affghanistan direct descendants of the kings of Israel.

† There is no affinity whatever to be traced between the Hebrew tongue and the Pushtoo, or modern language of the Affghans; and there have been no inscriptions discovered which tend to support a belief of their being of Jewish extraction. Their own vague traditions of their origin cannot be admitted as conclusive facts upon such a subject.

CHAP. XV.

There is no doubt that the Affghan tribes were converted at a very early date to the Mahomedan religion. Their condition, from the first periods of which we have any authentic records of their history, has undergone very little change. Their chiefs have always been more anxious for personal independence than for the strength of the government under which they lived; and their followers have enjoyed a savage freedom, which made them hostile to every effort to reduce the clans into one mass, which it was obvious could never be effected without a subversion of that order of society in which they were born, and in which they gloried. It cannot be surprising that a nation so constituted should have been unable to resist any formidable attack; and we find that the Affghans made hardly any opposition to Mahmood of Ghizni, to Chenghiz, or Timour, and that their country was long divided between the monarchs of India and Persia, but they were always turbulent and dangerous subjects. They had triumphed over the ruins of the noble City of Ghizni, and a family of their chiefs had sat upon the throne of Delhi *. The next country doomed to fall by their arms was Persia: but, before their conquest of that country is described, a few words will be necessary to explain the causes which produced so extraordinary an event.

The tribes of Ghiljee and Abdâllee become subjects of Persia.

The Affghans of the tribe of Ghiljee and Abdâllee became subjects of Persia when Abbas the Great took possession of Candahar. They had been much oppressed by the Persian governor appointed to rule them, and all their efforts to obtain redress were

* Vide Vol. I. p. 346.

in vain, till Seedoo*, of the tribe of Abdâllee†, and his brother Ahmed, were sent to Isfahan. The eloquent remonstrances of the CHAP. XV.

* In a small MS. written by Meerza Syud Mahomed, of Isfahan, (late ambassador from Scind to the Governor-General of India,) there is the following passage regarding the Seedoozehis:

"In the time of the Suffavean kings of Persia the Affghans were often oppressed; "and on one occasion they were so discontented with their Persian governor, that "they sent a secret deputation to Isfahan to solicit his removal, and the appointment "of one of their own tribe. Their request was granted; and two of the tribe of "Abdâllee were raised to the office of Reish Suffeed, or Kut-khodah of the tribes, "and their authority was confirmed by a royal patent. The name of these two "persons was Seedoo, of the family of Bâmeezehi, from whom Ahmed Shah, the "founder of the present royal family of Cabul, is lineally descended. The name "of the other was Ahmed, of the family of Bâreekzehi, from whom the present "Affghan chiefs, Serafraz Khan and Futteh Khan, are descended. The Affghans "were delighted with this arrangement, and granted their entire and respectful "obedience to the chief appointed by the Persian government. Time has con-"firmed this respect; and the superiority of the chiefs so selected has become an "inheritance to their family. The race of Seedoo obtained sovereignty, while that "of Ahmed has only gained high station and command. The Seedoozehis (or "descendants of Seedoo,) are held in such veneration, that if one of them was "to attempt the murder of an ameer, or lord of another tribe, it would be con-"sidered wrong to obtain safety by assaulting the Seedoozehis. If an Affghan "acted otherwise, he would be deemed an outcast in his own class or tribe. "There is, however, an exception to this rule in favour of the descendants of "Ahmed; and the Ahmedzehis may, without sacrilege, slay a Seedoozehi: but a "great number of the Affghans deny this privilege even to the Ahmedzehis. Seedoo "and Ahmed (this author adds,) were raised to rank by Shah Abbas the Great, "and derived their fortunes from that fountain of dignity and splendour."

† At present this tribe is called Doorânee, a name given to it by Ahmed Shah; who, in consequence of the dream of a saint, assumed the title of Douree Dooran, which may be translated, "The age of fortune," and called his tribe Doorânee.

CHAP. XV.

Seedoo, of the tribe of Abdâllee, attains great power.

former were heard; and he rose so high in the estimation of Abbas, that he not only granted his request, but nominated him elder*, or magistrate, of his tribe; and by a written mandate ordained that his person should be held sacred, and his authority respected†. The gratitude of his countrymen gave full effect to the intentions of the king; and that respect and obedience which was granted to Seedoo became the inheritance of his direct descendants. These

His descendants are called Seedoozehi.

are called Seedoozehi, or sons of Seedoo, and are considered by all the Affghans as a sacred branch of the tribe of Abdâllee, against whom it is impious to lift a sword, and on whom retaliation even for murder is not lawful‡.

The tranquillity which the liberal policy of Abbas had established was of short duration, and his successors were engaged in constant disputes and wars with the sovereigns of India about the possession of Affghanistan. The rude tribes of that mountainous region, though they were of the Soonee persuasion, are said to have preferred submission to the Sheah monarchs of Persia, to dependence on the proud and luxurious Court of Delhi. The reason of this preference (if it existed,) must have been the comparative laxity of the Persian sway. But the fact is, the Affghan tribes were generally able to maintain a considerable degree of independence by balancing between these two powerful states.

* The terms used by the Persian authors are Reish Suffeed and Kut-khodah. The former means elder; the latter, magistrate. The title of Reish Suffeed, or elder, exclusively belongs to those who preside over branches of tribes. Kut-khodah is the common appellation for the magistrate of a ward in a city, or the head of a small town or village.

† MSS. of Meerza Syud Mahomed.

‡ Some deviations from this superstitious respect to the Seedoozehis have recently occurred, but they are regarded with horror by the whole nation.

The Ghiljee Affghans*, who had long been settled in the vicinity of Candahar, had often shown a disposition to revolt; and it was believed that at this period the Court of Delhi cherished hopes to regain, through their means, possession of the country they inhabited. The ministers of Sultan Hussein were at a loss what step they should take to check this spirit of insurrection, but at last resolved on the expedient of appointing Goorgeen Khan, the Waly or Prince of Georgia, to the government of Candahar; and they at the same time determined not only to give him ample means of suppressing domestic rebellion, but to meet any foreign danger which might threaten that quarter of Persia†. This prince was justly deemed one of the ablest and bravest military leaders in Persia‡.

Goorgeen Khan appointed to the government of Candahar, to check the insurrection of the tribe of Ghiljee.

Goorgeen Khan marched to take possession of his government with an army composed of twenty thousand Persians, and a select body of his own countrymen. The intelligence of his approach at the head of so large a force, put an end to every appearance of revolt. But he was not satisfied with this submission, and

He marches with an army of twenty thousand men

* All we know of the early history of the Ghiljee tribe is, that they ventured to plunder part of the baggage of the army of Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, and were almost wholly extirpated by that powerful monarch. They are again mentioned during the reign of Timour, and appear to have then regained some strength: and when Shah Sultan Hussein ascended the Throne of Persia, they were the most formidable of all the tribes of western Affghans. They lived in tents, and almost all their pasture lands were in the vicinity of Candahar.

† Krusinski's Memoir, page 151.

‡ Goorgeen Khan had attempted to establish an independent power in Georgia, but was forced to submit; and Sultan Hussein pardoned him, on the ground of his having renounced the Christian for the Mahomedan religion.

CHAP. XV.

His severe treatment of the Affghans.

proceeded to punish the Affghans as severely as if they had carried their designs into execution. The Persian troops were allowed to treat them as a conquered enemy; and neither rank, age, nor sex, was a protection from their violence*. The cruel oppression under which they suffered, led them to send several secret missions to Isfahan, to complain of the new governor: but they found it difficult to obtain access to the king: and when their petition for redress was at last presented, the friends of Goorgeen Khan succeeded in persuading Sultan Hussein that they were malecontents who merited no attention. A harsh answer was given: and the disappointed deputies returned to their native province, where they imparted the indignation, which the conduct of the weak monarch had kindled in their breasts, to those of their countrymen.

They apply for his removal.

But are unsuccessful.

Goorgeen Khan shows his resentment.

The Georgian prince, who was well informed of all these proceedings, took the first opportunity of showing his resentment. Among the nobles of the tribe of Ghiljee who had signed the petition to the king, Meer Vais was the most powerful†. He added to the station he had enjoyed from birth, (that of chief of a large branch of the tribe,) the high office of Kalanter, or principal magistrate of the City of Candahar; and his power and influence were increased by his character, which was very popular, on account of his gracious and winning manners, and his extraordinary liberality. This nobleman, Goorgeen concluded, (and probably with truth,) had been the principal mover of all the representations to the king. He selected him, therefore, as a proper example;

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 102.

† The Ghiljee are subdivided into several branches, from five to ten thousand each branch.

and on some slight pretext he made him prisoner, and sent him to Isfahan*. He wrote at the same time to the ministers, to inform them that the future peace of Candahar depended upon their keeping in confinement this powerful and ambitious leader. But he should have known the court he served better than to have trusted within its precincts so dangerous a character as Meer Vais. That artful and able chief soon became acquainted with the weakness of Sultan Hussein, and the corruption of his divided counsellors, and he intrigued with such success, that his cause was taken up by the enemies of Goorgeen Khan, and the most favourable opportunities afforded him of stating all his personal grievances, as well as those of his tribe†. His cunning and eloquence overcame the judgment of the monarch, while his wealth enabled him to bribe the ministers: and the degraded captive was suddenly elevated into a court favourite. He might at this period, (if that had been his sole object,) have returned with honour to his native country; but he had seen enough of Persia to make him cherish greater designs. The chief obstacle to the plans of Meer Vais was the character of Goorgeen Khan: he could expect no success while that brave and experienced ruler held his command. To subvert him, therefore, all his efforts were directed; and he succeeded so far, as to create the most alarming jealousy of the designs of that nobleman. But Meer Vais had too much prudence to precipitate his measures. He was desirous that every suspicion of his real motives should pass away, that he might more safely execute his purpose; and, with this view, he requested leave to make a pilgrimage

Meer Vais is taken, and sent to Isfahan

His intrigues at court.

Where he becomes a favourite.

* Krusinski's Memoir, page 154.

† Hanway, Vol. II. page 105.

CHAP. XV.

Proceeds to Mecca.

Mecca, where he secretly obtained Fetwâhs, or religious decrees, from the principal Soonee doctors at that holy shrine, declaring, that it was lawful and pious to make war upon and to destroy all Sheahs; a sect, whom these orthodox priests had long deemed the worst of infidels*. It was the future exposition of these decrees which developed all the plans that he had formed at the period of his confinement in Persia.

Returns to court.

Its weak and credulous character.

A. D. 1708.
A. H. 1120.

When Meer Vais returned from Mecca, his designs were promoted by a very extraordinary occurrence, which peculiarly illustrates the weak and credulous character of the Court of Persia. The Emperor of Russia had appointed an adventurer of the name of Israel Orii, ambassador to the King of Persia. This person, who was an Armenian, and had recommended himself by a knowledge of the oriental languages, and some diplomatic services in Turkey, had solicited and obtained, from Peter the Great, the conduct of an embassy to Persia. This was granted as a reward for past services, and included many privileges; among which was, a remission of customs upon all articles of merchandise carried by the ambassador, and by those in his train†. Orii, who considered this privilege as one by which he might enrich himself and his friends, admitted into his train several hundred followers, many of whom were his countrymen: and a motive of idle vanity, connected with a desire to increase his personal importance, led him, when he entered Persia, to spread a report that he was descended from the ancient kings of Armenia‡. This boasted descent, his numerous attendants, and the character

* Krusinski's Memoir, page 172.

† Krusinski's Memoir, page 174.

‡ Hanway, Vol. II. page 107.

of the Emperor of Russia, gave Meer Vais an opportunity of alarming the courtiers*, and through them, their weak monarch. He artfully hinted at a great combination of Christians to seize Armenia and Georgia. Goorgeen Khan was always described as the heart and soul of this plan; and his great power, and personal character, gave a colour to these representations.

Though nothing could be more absurd than the alarm which the Court of Persia had taken, it operated as the Affghan chief had foreseen. It instilled a settled jealousy of the Georgian prince, and fear alone prevented his immediate removal from Candahar: but the advisers of Hussein, who dreaded an act of open hostility against a leader of his rank and reputation, had recourse to the expedient of restoring Meer Vais to all his former situations†, that he might be a check on his ambition. The indignant governor, though he permitted the Affghan lord to resume his former stations, resolved to show that he defied the power of those by whom his slanderer had been protected; and he was, upon this occasion, led by the violence of his temper to a course more dangerous to himself, than any other he could have adopted. Report spoke highly of the beauty of the daughter of Meer Vais. Goorgeen Khan had listened to her praises, and he deemed the opportunity at once favourable to gratify his passion, and to

Meer Vais is restored to his former situations.

A. D. 1708. A. H. 1120.

* The French agent at Isfahan desired the Russian mission should not be received; and a French anagram, which rendered the name of Israel Orii into *Il sera Roi,* was explained as a prophecy to the Persians, and actually produced some effect. But though Sultan Hussein was alarmed at the embassy, he was more alarmed at Peter, and dared not refuse to receive his mission.—HANWAY, Vol. II. page 107.

† Krusinski's Memoir, page 182.

CHAP. XV.

Goorgeen Khan demands his daughter.

humble a proud enemy. He sent an abrupt message to that chief, demanding this lady. The mandate was conveyed in terms which showed he was resolved to be obeyed*. Meer Vais, the moment he received it, communicated with the heads of his tribe.

Meer Vais communicates with the heads of his tribe.

The Affghans are peculiarly jealous of their honour, as connected with the females of their family; and a general sentiment of indignation pervaded all. They entreated Meer Vais, by the oppressions they suffered, by his own wrongs, and by the inexpiable insult which he had received, to stand forth as the avenger of his tribe, and swore that all would sacrifice their lives to support him. That chief heard them with inward joy, but implored them to have patience. "It is "better," said he, "to strike the lion sleeping than awake. Be "secret, and faithful; trust your cause to me, and be assured I "will take a terrible vengeance on our enemies." They promised implicit obedience, and all present took a solemn oath, by the bread and salt which they ate, by the sabres with which they fought, and by the sacred koran in which they believed, to be secret and faithful. They added a ceremony still more binding. They pronounced their wives to be divorced† when they proved false to the engagement into which they had entered.

All of whom entreat him to be its avenger.

Deception practised by Meer Vais.

Meer Vais, willing to dissemble, but not to sacrifice the honour of his family, instructed a young girl, of handsome appearance, who had been brought up in his house, to personate his daughter, and sent

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 111.

† This is not an uncommon usage among Mahomedans when they undertake any desperate enterprise. They pronounce this conditional divorce with every solemnity; and they cannot give a more sacred pledge of their determined resolution in the cause in which they engage.

her to Goorgeen Khan; who, completely deceived by this act of apparent submission, began to treat him with great kindness. The artful Affghan pretended to have forgotten all that had passed; and in a few months Goorgeen Khan placed such confidence in his former enemy, that he accepted an invitation to a sumptuous entertainment, which Meer Vais had prepared for him at a garden-house, situated at some distance from the city. The impatient chief had long desired revenge; and his injuries were deemed sufficient to justify the breach of every bond of hospitality, as well as of faith. The governor, and all his attendants, were murdered at this feast: and the Affghans, clothed in their garments, and led by their daring leader, who was attired in the robes and mounted on the horse of Goorgeen Khan, moved in a slow procession towards the Fort of Candahar*. It was dark before they reached that fortress; and the deception was not discovered till they were within the town, and had commenced a furious attack upon the garrison. The surprise was complete; and victory was rendered secure, by the rise of the Affghans within the fort, and the arrival of parties which had been stationed near it. The inhabitants were told, that if they remained within their houses, and permitted no Persian soldiers to enter them, their lives and property should be preserved. By this means, the troops of Goorgeen Khan, who had no retreat, were almost all put to the sword.

CHAP. XV.

Who invites Goorgeen Khan to an entertainment

At which he and all his attendants are murdered. A. D. 1709. A. H. 1121.

Meer Vais enters and attacks the garrison of Candahar.

A party of six hundred Georgian horse, who had accompanied their prince from his native province, happened, when this event occurred, to be absent on an expedition. Three days afterwards

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 113.

CHAP. XV.

they returned, laden with booty, and were on the point of entering Candahar, when a discharge of cannon and musquetry from the walls of the city apprised them that it had changed masters. Meer Vais sallied out, at the head of five thousand horse, to attack them: but that chief was soon taught the difference between his new levies and old soldiers. The Georgians repulsed all his attacks; and though these were continued for many days, this brave band of warriors, after suffering the greatest hardships, and performing almost incredible deeds of valour*, effected their retreat into Khorassan. Their arrival, and the reports propagated of the numbers and ferocity of the Affghans, increased the dismay which the revolution of Candahar had spread over Persia.

Meer Vais took every step that a wise man could to establish himself firmly in that power which he had usurped. He called on his own tribe to show, by their valour and good order, that they were worthy of that freedom which they had obtained. He not only promised, but gave the most efficient protection to all the other inhabitants of the city and province of Candahar; and while he invited them to join him in the attempt to throw off the yoke of an

* Hanway gives several particulars of the conduct of this gallant body of Georgians; who, he asserts, slew two thousand of their pursuers. As an instance of the resolution by which the whole party were animated, he states, that one Georgian, who was dismounted, and had been left on the banks of a river, over which his friends had swam their horses, on the enemy coming near him, held out the hilt of his sabre to the leading man, as if he meant to surrender; but when the Affghan was in the act of taking him prisoner, he shot him dead with a pistol, sprung upon his horse, plunged into the stream, and, though fired at by the whole party, succeeded in rejoining his companions. — HANWAY, Vol. II. page 114.

oppressive and effeminate nation, he denounced the Persians as heretics, and published those anathemas against Sheahs which he had brought from Mecca. He further proclaimed, that all who were insensible to the benefits that awaited them from the establishment of national independence, might depart, and seek that tyranny to which they were devoted.

The Court of Persia deputes an ambassador to Meer Vais.

The weak Court of Isfahan, instead of sending an army to subdue this dangerous insurgent, deputed an ambassador to persuade him to submission. But Mahomed Jâmee Khan, who was employed on this occasion, was stopt short in his pompous harangue by the Affghan chief. "Dost thou imagine," exclaimed Meer Vais, "that wisdom "dwells only with effeminacy, and hath never passed the rugged "mountains with which this kingdom is surrounded? Let thy king "raise or let fall his arm as he pleases, if he were as formidable as "thou sayest he is, it would be with deeds, not empty words, he "would oppose our just designs." After this speech he ordered the ambassador to be put in prison, with the twofold view of preventing his intrigues, and of making an irreconcileable breach between his tribe and the government of Persia*.

The ambassador is imprisoned.

Another ambassador is sent to Meer Vais.

The despicable ministers of Hussein were not roused even by this insult into a sense of the necessity of more spirited measures. They commanded Mahomed Khan, the Governor of Herat, who had been the companion of Meer Vais in his pilgrimage to Mecca, to proceed on a mission to that chief. They weakly thought friendship might lead the stern Affghan to attend to this envoy; but they knew little of his character. "Thou mayest thank thy God," said

His reception

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 116.

CHAP. XV.

Meer Vais to his former friend, "for the claims which old acquaintance has given thee upon my hospitality, or thou shouldest suffer for insulting us with proposals to become slaves, after we have once burst our chains. But be assured," he continued, "the hour of vengeance is at hand; and the brave Affghans are the chosen instruments of God for the punishment of the heretic Persians. Our swords are now drawn, and shall never be sheathed, till your king is dethroned, and your country subdued." Mahomed Khan, though well treated, was detained a prisoner; and the Persian government at last saw that there was no alternative but war*. Orders were first given to the governors in Khorassan to commence hostilities; but a series of defeats, which the Persian generals sustained, emboldened the enemy, spread dismay over the kingdom, and convinced even a vain and indolent court that the whole force of the empire was necessary to meet a danger, which its irresolution and weakness had allowed to attain so alarming a magnitude. A strong army was, after much delay, assembled, and the command given to Khoosroo Khan, the Waly of Georgia; who appeared, from his character and birth, the fittest person that could be chosen to vindicate the honour of government, and to avenge the blood of his uncle, Goorgeen Khan. This chief advanced against Meer Vais, defeated his army, and invested Candahar. The Affghans intrusted with the defence of that fortress offered to capitulate if a general pardon was proclaimed, and their lives and property secured: but the feelings of Khoosroo Khan overcame his prudence, and he insisted upon their submitting at discretion. This was too

Persia declares war against the Affghans. A. D. 1710. A. H. 1122.

Khoosroo Khan is appointed to the command of an army.

He defeats the Affghans, and invests Candahar.

* Hanway, Vol II. page 117.

plain an indication that no mercy would be shown; and the garrison, rendered brave by despair, repulsed the Persians in every attack. In the mean-time Meer Vais, who had recruited his forces, began to harass the besiegers; whose leader was compelled, by a total failure of supplies, to raise the siege, and to lead his reduced and dispirited army to a second battle*. They were defeated, and their gallant, though imprudent general, rushed, with a corps of his Georgians, upon the centre of the Affghans, and found, amid heaps of his slaughtered enemies, that death which he had no desire to avoid†. Another army‡ was immediately raised, and the command given to Mahomed Roostum Khan: but this general was not more successful than his predecessor: he was defeated by Meer Vais; who, by his victories, now became the undisputed master of all the province of Candahar, which he constituted into an independent kingdom. This bold chief cherished hopes of attaining greater power, but he died before he could carry his plans into execution. On his character, both friends and foes are agreed. Though brave and daring, he was still more distinguished for his extraordinary art and prudence, than for his courage.

A. D. 1719. A. H. 1125.

The Persians are defeated, and their leader slain.

Another army is raised.

Which is also defeated.

Death of Meer Vais.

This prince left two sons, the eldest of whom was only eighteen when their father died; and, in consequence of their youth, the government devolved upon his brother, Meer Abdûllah, whose timid and inefficient character soon excited a very general discontent among the Affghans. We may, indeed, suppose that a race of men,

Is succeeded by his brother, Meer Abdûllah.

A. D. 1715. A. H. 1127-8.

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 119.

† This action was very bloody: out of twenty-five thousand Persians, seven hundred only are said to have returned to their own country.

‡ Hanway, Vol. II. page 119.

CHAP. XV.

who had just emancipated themselves from oppression, and tasted of the sweets of power, must have heard with indignation the brother of their great deliverer recommend, that a peace with Persia should be purchased by the surrender of their independence. Violent remonstrances were made against this proposal. "Let us," said some of the chiefs, "if you do not mean to pursue the glorious "plans of your brother by attacking Persia, enjoy that freedom "and tranquillity which our valour has obtained. Do not court "our enemies to return to us those shackles which it is our glory to "have cast off: wait, at least, till the hour of necessity arrives, and "do not, by a voluntary submission, show that we are unworthy "of any other condition, but that of the most degraded servitude*."

Who sends deputies to conclude a peace with Persia.

These arguments had no effect upon Meer Abdûllah, who, aided by a few congenial counsellors, employed his short rule in giving shape to the plan he proposed, for an accommodation with the Court of Isfahan. The instructions to the deputies which he sent to Shah Hussein to negotiate this settlement bade them insist upon three conditions, as the price of the future allegiance of the Ghiljee Affghans. The first, that the tribute they had formerly paid should be taken off. The second, that no foreign troops should be sent into the province. And the third, that the government of Candahar should be made hereditary in the family of Meer Abdûllah†. When

The Affghan chiefs are discontented.

the particulars of this negotiation became known, nothing could exceed the indignation of the most powerful of the Affghan chiefs, who considered, and with justice, that whatever substantial benefits this compact might seem to procure, their return to even nominal

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 122.

† Krusinski's Memoir, page 204.

dependence would destroy that proud spirit, which formed the only shield with which the Affghans could permanently defend themselves from tyranny and oppression.

Mahmood, the eldest son of Meer Vais, though quite a youth, was distinguished for that openness of heart and fierce spirit which always recommends a leader to barbarians. He soon discovered that the hatred which he cherished against his uncle, whom he deemed an usurper of his birthright, had (from what had passed since the latter was raised to power,) become a very general sentiment among his countrymen. Trusting to the operation of this feeling for a justification of the deed he purposed, he selected forty friends, and having seized the palace, entered the chamber of Meer Abdûllah, and with his own hand put an end to the existence of that ruler. His friends immediately hailed him as king*. The royal music sounded†, and the assembled chiefs of the tribe, after deliberating upon the conduct of the deceased, (all of whose papers respecting the treaty with the Court of Isfahan were laid before them,) assented to the justice of his fate, and proclaimed Mahmood sovereign of Candahar.

A. D. 1717. A. H. 1130.

Meer Abdûllah is put to death.

Mahmood proclaimed sovereign of Candahar.

A. D. 1717. A. H. 1130.

The troubles which afflicted the empire of Persia at this period, gave Mahmood ample leisure, not only to secure himself in power, but to mature the plans of his father, whose successful efforts had

State of the Empire of Persia.

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 123.

† The right of having certain kinds of music is, in almost all Asiatic countries, carefully preserved; and different high ranks are designated by the kind of instruments, and the numbers of musicians they are permitted to have. A royal band is peculiar, and it sounds on all great occasions. The loss of an instrument belonging to such a band, in battle, is considered of as much importance as the loss of a royal standard would be in Europe.

CHAP. XV.

encouraged a general spirit of insubordination, and excited a strong religious feeling among all Soonees against the Sheahs of Persia. The tribes of Kurdistan, who profess the former faith, had carried their predatory ravages as far as the walls of Isfahan. The Usbegs invaded Khorassan, and having combined with Azâdûllâh, the chief of the Abdâllee Affghans*, subdued and plundered almost the whole of that province. Azâdûllâh had before taken Herat, and throwing off all allegiance to the Persians, had declared that city and its surrounding territories an independent principality.

Amid these dangers, the Court of Isfahan appeared doubtful which was first to be encountered: but the invasion of the Usbegs and Abdâllees being deemed the most alarming, an army of thirty thousand men was sent under Suffee Kooli Khan to attack them. When that chief was advancing towards Herat, he fell in with twelve thousand Usbegs, whom he attacked and routed. This success led the Persians to anticipate an easy triumph; but their hopes were disappointed. Azâdûllâh met them with fifteen thousand of his tribe, and did not hesitate to come to action†. Victory was most fiercely contested. The battle, which had commenced at sunrise, raged with violence till past noon,

An army is sent against the Usbegs and Affghans.

The Usbegs are routed.

A. D. 1719.
A. H. 1132.

An action with the Affghans.

* Azâdûllâh was chief of the Abdâllee Affghans who inhabited the country of Hazara. They had been placed under their own chiefs by Abbas the Great, but his successors had appointed Persian lords to rule them. They were generally under the Governor of Herat. Mahomed Zemaun Khan, who held that station at this period, had offered a shameful and inexpiable insult to Azâdûllâh. This brutal lord had been encouraged by the base father of the young chief; and even Persian authors deem Azâdûllâh justified, by his wrongs, in the crimes of parricide and rebellion.

† Hanway, Vol. II. p. 127.

and was then only decided by one of those fatal accidents on which the fate of war often depends. The Persian army had a park of artillery in which there was but little order or discipline. In the confusion of the battle, the gunners mistook a body of their own cavalry for the enemy. Those on whom they fired knew the Affghans had no cannon, and imputed to treachery what was the effect of error. This event not only checked their career, but caused a confusion in their ranks, which the enemy took advantage of to make a general and successful charge. The Persians fled in every direction, and were pursued to a great distance. They lost their general, his son, eight thousand men, twenty pieces of cannon, and all their baggage. This great advantage was dearly gained; for Azâdûllâh left three thousand of the bravest of his tribe upon the field: but the success fixed his power and independence; and the Abdâllee Affghans of Herat became almost as formidable to the power of Sultan Hussein, as the Ghiljees of Candahar.

The Persians are defeated.

While these dangers threatened the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom, it had become necessary to collect a force in the southern provinces to endeavour to recover the islands in the Gulf, of which the Arabian ruler of Muscat had made himself master. The alliance of the Portuguese government of Goa had been courted to effect this object: but their fleet, formerly accustomed only to triumph, had been defeated by the Arabs: and the Persian general, Lootf Aly Khan, disappointed of the aid of a naval equipment, remained near Bunder Abbas, which, with all the coast of Persia, it had become necessary to defend with strong garrisons against the attacks of the freebooters of the opposite shore, whom success had rendered bold and enterprising.

A. D. 1720. A. H. 1133.

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1720.
A. H. 1133.

Mahmood determines on the invasion of Persia.

It was at this period of general weakness and misfortune that Mahmood determined upon the invasion of Persia. He resolved to penetrate that country by the province of Kerman, preferring a march over the desert of Seistan to the obstacles which presented themselves in every other direction. Though he took every precaution to surmount the difficulties of this march, he lost many men and horses: but his appearance was so unexpected, and his force so considerable, that the city and province of Kerman immediately submitted to his arms*. This ready acknowledgment of his authority did not save the inhabitants from suffering the most intolerable oppression: and it was with joy they learnt that Lootf Aly Khan had left the sea coast and was hastening to their relief. That chief, who had collected a considerable force, attacked and defeated the Affghan prince, and compelled him to fly to Candahar. Kerman, however, was only exposed, by this victory, to a repetition of what it had before suffered; and when Lootf Aly Khan marched from that province, it was difficult to say whether the invasion of the Affghans, or the advance of the Persian army to their relief, had been most ruinous to its inhabitants.

Kerman submits to him.

Mahmood is defeated, and obliged to fly.

Lootf Aly Khan, who expected that Mahmood would return, adopted every measure to oppose him. He assembled a very strong and well equipped army at Shiraz. But the excesses in which either laxity of discipline, or necessity, had led him to indulge his troops, and the heavy contributions of cattle and provisions which he was compelled to make, raised a host of enemies against him. Their representations and intrigues succeeded: an order was sent to

* Hanway, Vol. II. p. 129.

remove him from his command: and his dismissal* was the signal for the dispersion of his army. CHAP. XV.

* The disgrace of Lootf Aly Khan was connected with that of his brother, Futteh Aly Khan, the prime vizier, which merits mention, as it is characteristic of the wretched Court of Isfahan and its weak monarch. The plot against this minister was formed and executed by the principal Moollah, or high priest of the empire, and chief physician, who broke upon the slumbers of the king at the dead of night, and told him there was a conspiracy against his life. They showed him a forged letter with the royal seal upon it, which, they pretended, was from Futteh Aly Khan to the Waly of Kurdistan; and the contents of which proved a design to subvert the government next day. Hussein was not merely alarmed; his fears, for a period, deprived him of reason: when he came to himself, he ordered the minister to be slain; but those who seized him, commenced by depriving him of sight, and were, we are told, inflicting tortures upon him in order to make him discover his treasures when the day broke, but without discovering one of the three thousand Kurds, who were, agreeably to the forged letter, to have attacked Teheran before sunrise. Shah Hussein, to whom this circumstance was made known, began to suspect he had been deceived, and gave orders to save the life and heal the wounds of Futteh Aly Khan, whose trial, he directed, should be immediately entered upon: and a general council of all the nobles of the court was assembled for the purpose. The charges were three:—That he had invited the Kurds to seize the king; that he had held a secret communication with the Lesghees, to whom, as a Soonee, he was attached; and that he had been heard to declare, when standing near the tomb of Shah Solimân, that he would revenge the death of his father, whom that prince had slain, by the death of Shah Hussein, his son, and all the royal family. This minister, who boasted a descent from the ancient kings of Dâghestan, made an able defence. The loss of sight, which rendered him indifferent to life, gave a boldness that added to his eloquence; and he not only fully acquitted himself, but retorted upon his enemies in a way that satisfied the king of the vile manner in which his confidence had been abused: but all the justice which the weak Hussein had the courage to show his minister, was to weep over his misfortunes.—HANWAY, Vol. II. page 133.

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1721; A. H. 1134. Arrival of an ambassador from Constantinople.

The year ensuing that on which this general was disgraced, was marked by events which spread a general gloom over the whole kingdom. An ambassador had arrived from Constantinople; and, before the purport of his mission was known, all was consternation. It was concluded that he came to demand some fragment of the falling state: and the court showed a joy, on finding this suspicion groundless, which testified the extent of their weakness and alarm *. The Lesghees, who had been saved, by the impolitic lenity of the king, from the fury of the Waly † of Georgia, whose hostility they had provoked, attacked Shirwan, and, after ravaging the open country, took the Town of Shâmâkee, put a great number of the inhabitants to death, and plundered the remainder. The Abdâllees had made themselves masters of almost all Khorassan, and threatened Mushed; and the City of Tabreez was completely destroyed by an earthquake, by which a great proportion of its inhabitants lost their lives ‡.

A. D. 1721. A. H. 1134. Tabreez destroyed by an earthquake.

In addition to these misfortunes, superstition converted an unusual denseness of the atmosphere ‖, and an extraordinary redness

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 143.

† The name of the Waly was Vâctângâh. Hanway asserts, that this prince was so enraged at the conduct of Sultan Hussein upon this occasion, that he made a solemn vow never to draw his sword again in that monarch's service. The Lesghees had, during the exile of this prince, plundered Georgia; and he was on the point of taking ample revenge when arrested by an order, which his enemies had prevailed on the weak Hussein to issue.

‡ According to one author, nearly eighty thousand persons perished.—KRUSINSKI's *Memoir*, page 186.

‖ The author of one Persian MS. says, the sun was veiled for ten days, and the

in the appearance of the sun, into symbols of divine wrath. The astrologers were assembled, and they all agreed that the angry complexion of the skies portended the destruction of Isfahan by fire, or by an earthquake*. This prediction obtained full credit; and Shah Hussein, with his chief officers, eunuchs, and ladies, moved out of the city, and encamped in tents pitched in its vicinity. Every measure that fanaticism could suggest to superstitious minds, was adopted to avert the portentous threatening of the heavens†. Harlots were expelled the city; liquor of all kinds was strictly prohibited; and priests were seen in every direction, exhorting the people to repent of their sins, as the only means by which they could escape divine vengeance. The effect of these measures was to depress the spirits of all. It appeared as if a great nation was preparing for death: and when intelligence was brought that Mahmood, with an army, increased by the junction of some auxiliaries‡, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, had entered Persia, it was deemed the certain presage of that destruction which their fears anticipated.

The astrologers predict the destruction of Isfahan.

Shah Hussein and his officers march out of the city.
A. D. 1721.
A. H. 1134.

Intelligence is received of the advance of Mahmood.
A. D. 1721.
A. H. 1134.

The Affghan prince left Candahar early in January, and again crossed the desert of Seistan to Kerman. He soon made himself master of the town; but the citadel resisted all his attacks, and

A. D. 1722.
A. H. 1135.
Mahmood takes the Town of Kerman.

horizon had, during that time, a red or bloody appearance. Father Krusinski observes, that in the summer of 1721, the clouds being denser than usual, the sun had a red or blood appearance, which continued for nearly two months. He adds, "That the astrologers declared it portended a great effusion of blood: and this prediction augmented the general consternation."—KRUSINSKI's *Memoir*, page 186.

* Persian MS.

† Hanway, Vol. II. page 147.

‡ These auxiliaries were principally from the Province of Baloochistan.

CHAP. XV.

he gladly accepted a small sum of money* from the governor, which gave him a pretext for raising the siege without disgrace, and enabled him to advance into the interior of Persia. Instead of proceeding towards Isfahan by the road of Shiraz, which lies through a plentiful country, he went from Kerman, over a desert and uncultivated tract, to Yezd, which he attempted to take by assault, but was repulsed. He instantly resumed his march for the capital: and when within a short distance of it, he was met by two deputies† from Shah Hussein, who offered a sum of fifteen thousand tomâns‡ if he would consent to retreat without committing any further depredations in the Persian dominions: but Mahmood, satisfied of the extent of weakness and terror which had dictated this overture, declined giving any answer to the mission, and continued his march till he reached Goolnâbâd, a village only nine miles from Isfahan: and conceiving it certain that the Persians would engage him in this position, he threw up a slight entrenchment to defend his camp.

Proceeds to Yezd, and is repulsed. Resumes his march for the capital.

Reaches Goolnâbâd.

The Affghan army is said at this period not to have amounted to more than twenty thousand men‖. It had suffered some losses in crossing the desert, and in the unsuccessful attacks upon the Citadel of Kerman and the Town of Yezd; and the only recruits which had joined it, were some Guebers, who had been persuaded to fight

Description and number of his army.

* Two thousand five hundred tomâns. The tomân of that period appears to have been double the value of the present, which is about one pound sterling.

† The deputies met him four days' journey from Isfahan; about one hundred miles.

‡ Thirty thousand pounds.

‖ There is a great difference in the statements of their numbers: according to some authorities, they were nearer forty than twenty thousand.

under the banners of Mahmood, in the hope that his success might alleviate that oppression to which they had been so long exposed. This army had no cannon; but it was furnished with a description of ordnance, or swivels, called zumbooruk*, which were mounted on camels. These, though often useful in action, could make no impression on the slightest walls, and were therefore not likely to be of any service in the great siege he proposed undertaking with this inadequate force.

Description of the City of Isfahan, and its suburbs.

Isfahan stands upon the northern bank of the river Zainderood. It is encompassed by a wall, and is defended toward the south by the river, which in the spring, the period at which Mahmood advanced, is not fordable. To this city (which contained nearly six hundred thousand inhabitants,) the approach is over bridges, the principal of which has thirty-three arches, is flanked by four round towers, and has a covered gallery on each side. A great causeway and avenue, three thousand paces in length, seventy in breadth, and planted with a double row of lofty plane trees, approaches both ends of this bridge with a gentle declivity. This avenue, which is called the Châr-Bâgh, or "Four Gardens," is ornamented with a number of royal palaces and gardens on the right and left. On one side of that part of the avenue which lies to the south of the river, stands the beautiful suburb of Abbas-abad; on the other, that of Julfâ, the residence of an Armenian colony, which was protected by a high but thin wall. The army assembled at the capital was at least double the number of the Affghans; and it seemed evident, that, should the rash invaders even succeed in obtaining possession of the suburbs, Julfâ, and

* The zumbooruk carries a ball from one to nearly two pounds weight.

CHAP. XV.

Abbas-abad, they could hardly hope, without cannon, to force the bridges by which they must approach the city itself. Under these circumstances, it required that all the terrors of superstitious weakness should combine with imprudence and cowardice, before an empire could be conquered by an enemy so weak in number, so inefficient in resources, and so far removed from every prospect of aid or support.

Sultan Hussein, distracted by alarm, threw himself entirely upon his nobles: these were completely divided in their opinions regarding the measures proper to be pursued. Mahomed Kooli Khan, the prime minister, wisely suggested, that they should act upon the defensive. The repulses which the Affghans had experienced at Kerman and Yezd, showed, he argued, that they were unskilled in sieges, and only formidable in the field, where their valour and experience must give them a great advantage over new levies, chiefly composed of the unwarlike populace of a luxurious capital. This sensible opinion met with some attention; but it was overruled by that of an omrah called the Waly of Arabia, from being chief of the tribes of that nation, who were subject to Persia. This nobleman inveighed with great virulence against what he termed the cowardice of the counsel given by the prime minister. "If," said he, a "plunderer, like Mahmood, at the head of a few despicable Affghans, is "to insult the majesty of the throne of Persia, by besieging the "capital, and we are to remain trembling within our walls, we had "better at once give him possession of that kingdom which we have "not spirit to maintain. Let us do this, or march out instantly and "vindicate our honour by the destruction of these vile enemies, who "owe every moment of their existence to our disgraceful prudence." The Persian character, throughout all its shades, has one predominant

feature: an over-weening vanity distinguishes the whole nation. The speech of the waly was calculated to rouse this feeling: and even the timid king, who had at first approved of the advice of his prime minister, declared his opinion that an action should be fought. But at the very moment he took this resolution, he adopted a measure which made success almost impossible. The command of the forces of the kingdom was divided between the two nobles, whose opinions regarding its defence had been so directly opposite.

Appearance of the Persian and Affghan armies.

The royal army, when it marched out of Isfahan, consisted of more than fifty thousand men. It was attended by a train of twenty-four pieces of cannon. When it reached Goolnâbâd, nothing could be more striking than the contrast between its appearance and that of the enemy. The Persian soldiers looked fresh and showy, and all their equipments, from the tents in which they reposed, and the dresses they wore, to the gold and enamelled furniture of the sleek horses upon which they rode, were rich and splendid. The Affghans had hardly a tent to cover them, their horses were lean from fatigue, the men were clothed in tatters, and tanned by the rays of the sun; and, throughout their whole camp, it was emphatically observed, nothing glittered "but their swords and lances."

A. D. 1722. A. H. 1135.

The right wing of the Persians was commanded by Roostum Khan, general of the royal guards, and brother to the Prince of Georgia: the left was under the prime minister. The Waly of Arabia joined his Arabs to the right wing, and the Waly of Laristan* reinforced the left with a corps of five hundred of his followers. These two wings were entirely of horse, and their numbers were

* Aly Murdân Khan.

CHAP. XV. about thirty thousand men: the infantry and artillery were near twenty thousand. They were stationed in the rear, and formed a separate line, the front of which faced the open space between the two wings.

Mahmood had drawn up his small army in four divisions. That on the right was under Amân-ûllâh Khan. He led the next, which formed the centre, in person, and was supported by a corps of select warriors; while his left was covered by a division of new levies, principally Guebers, under a chief* of that religion. The Affghans had, as has been before stated, no cannon: but one hundred zumbooruks, or camel swivels, more than supplied this want. These were, at the commencement of the action, kept in the rear of the right wing. Mahmood rode through his ranks, mounted on an elephant, and called upon his followers by their former fame, and by all their future hopes of wealth and glory, to strive for victory. "The plunder "of Isfahan," exclaimed the prince, "is your reward, if you con-"quer; and if you are defeated, you have no retreat, and you must "then meet death, embittered by disgrace†." He exhorted the Guebers to remember their ancestors, and their wrongs, and to seize the opportunity he had offered them of glory and revenge.

An action. A. D. 1722. A. H. 1135. The action was commenced by the right wing of the Persians, who threw the left of the enemy into some confusion: while the Waly of Arabia, making a rapid circuit with his own corps, turned their

* He is called Nasser-ûllah, which is a Mahomedan name: and we should be inclined to conclude, that this leader had adopted the faith of those whose standard he had joined. Hanway, however, always calls him a Parsee, or Gueber.

† Hanway, Vol. II. page 153.

flank, and fell upon their camp, where his followers were so occupied with plunder, that they made no further effort; and this chief, perhaps, saw with satisfaction the left wing, under his rival the prime minister, thrown into disorder. This corps had charged the right wing of the Affghans, which was commanded by Amân-ûllâh Khan, an experienced soldier, who, when it came near him, pretended to fly. The exulting Persians pursued, till the opening ranks of the enemy displayed a line of one hundred kneeling camels, with a swivel on the back of each. These were levelled with so deliberate an aim, that all the front rank of the charging column fell; and, before the Persians had recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown by this unexpected volley, they were attacked by the Affghan horse, and completely routed. Amân-ûllâh pursued them some distance; and then wheeling, came upon the rear of the Persian cannon*, which he found unprotected; and having cut down the gunners, he ordered his men to point them at the line of infantry that occupied the centre. The Persians were so panic-struck and astonished at a discharge from their own artillery, that they fled from the field in confusion. The route soon became general; and many of the chiefs, as is usual in armies so composed, returned to their native provinces†, with all the followers they could collect. The actual

The Persians are completely routed.

* We are told in one account, that twenty-five pieces of cannon were taken which had not been once discharged.—KRUSINSKI's *Memoir*, page 204.

† The Waly of Arabia has been accused of acting treacherously on this unfortunate day. This is the only point on which there appears an essential difference between the account given by Krusinski and Hanway of this battle. The latter assumes, that the Waly of Arabia acted the part of a traitor: while Krusinski positively asserts, that the calumnies which went forth against this officer, regarding his conduct in this action,

CHAP. XV.

loss of the Persian army did not exceed two thousand men killed; that of the enemy was fully as great. The Affghans, we are informed *, feared to pursue them, dreading some stratagem: but it is probable they were occupied in plundering the rich camp which the Persians had abandoned.

Conduct pursued by the king after this action.

The terror into which Isfahan was thrown by this defeat cannot be described. The weak king had recourse to his usual expedient of assembling his nobles, and demanding their advice. His own opinion was, that he should leave his capital, and draw together the forces of his dominion. This step would, he conceived, be even conducive to the safety of Isfahan, as the removal of the court, and the treasures of the empire, would make that cease to be an object of importance to the Affghans; while these invaders would be harassed and distressed by the operations of the royal army collected in the field. This opinion, which appeared very reasonable, was supported by the prime minister, and several other nobles: but the Waly of Arabia argued, that the evacuation of his capital would be deemed a disgraceful flight; and that a monarch, who showed he had not fortitude to bear up against so trifling a reverse as he had experienced, would soon find himself abandoned by all, and would discover, too late, that he had, by being the first to desert his post, set the example to his subjects to forsake theirs. These arguments prevailed; and preparations were made for defending the capital. The walls were repaired, new batteries erected, and the bridges fortified.

The walls and batteries of Isfahan are repaired, and the bridges fortified.

are false; and he expressly states, "that if the Persian general had done his duty as "well as the Waly at Goolnâbâd, the Affghans would not have conquered Persia.—KRUSINSKI's *Memoir*, page 204.

* Krusinski's Memoir, page 205.

Prosperity of the Armenians in the reign of Abbas.

The Armenians of Julfâ had received every indulgence from Abbas the Great that could promote their prosperity. He had not only exempted them from servitude, but had allowed them a kâlânter, or chief magistrate, of their own nation, to whom a respectable rank was assigned at court. He had also lent the most industrious merchants of this tribe large sums from the royal treasury, to enable them to carry on an extensive trade; and, in order to secure them from the injustice of his subjects, he had declared them entitled to the protection of the law of retaliation. His liberal policy had produced the end he expected; and this colony began, even in his lifetime, to flourish in a manner equal to his most sanguine hopes. It attained still greater prosperity under his immediate successors: but from the very commencement of Shah Hussein's reign, a great change took place in their condition. That good-natured, but contemptible prince, could protect no class of his people; and the Armenians became, from their wealth and religion, an object of attack to the rapacious ministers and bigoted priests of his court. They were not only plundered of their property, but their right to the law of retaliation was denied; and more than one decree sanctioned a law, which ordained that a Mahomedan who killed a Christian should not lose his life, but only pay a certain quantity of grain to the family of the deceased *. These open attacks upon their privileges degraded this race in the estimation of the citizens of Isfahan; and they were consequently exposed to scoffs and insults, which were more calculated to alienate their minds from the government under which they lived, than the most serious oppression. We can hardly be surprised, there-

Their condition altered in the reign of Shah Hussein.

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 161.

CHAP. XV.

fore, that a weak and timid court should fear to confide in a community which it had so deeply injured: and the cruelty of suspicion, at such a moment, was aggravated by the mode in which it was displayed.

They are called upon to form a band to guard the royal person.

The king was made to declare that he had more reliance on the valour and loyalty of the Armenians than on any other of his subjects; and he called upon them to form a band for the defence of the royal person. Flattered by so distinguished a mark of regard, all that were able to equip themselves paraded next day at the palace: but, instead of being employed, their arms were taken from them, they were informed that they were not trusted, and that a party of Persian militia would be sent, for the double purpose of defending Julfâ against the enemy, and of guarding against those dangers that might arise from their want of attachment to the state*. Neither insult nor injury, however, could force the Armenians to that treason of which they were suspected: for though they could not but hate and despise the tyranny under which they lived, they trembled to think of the consequences which would result from the success of the Affghans. They, therefore, offered to pay and subsist any troops that were sent to defend their town: and when they found the numbers of these inadequate, they prepared all the means they had left to supply the deficiency.

Their arms are treacherously taken from them.

Mahmood, after his victory, is undecided in his plans.

Mahmood appears, for some time after his victory at Goolnâbâd, to have been quite undecided as to his future operations. He had gained a great battle, with the loss of but a few men; and though the Arabs had plundered his camp, the spoil he obtained in that of the Persians far exceeded all he had lost. The result of his

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 161.

measures had hitherto been more fortunate than the most sanguine imagination could have hoped; yet, as if alarmed at his own success*, he withdrew into his intrenchments, and actually permitted the Persians to return, and draw off some of the cannon they had left upon the field of battle. He did not awake from this trance of inaction till the return of his spies satisfied him of the extent of the confusion and terror that reigned in Isfahan, when the hope of benefiting by these impressions appears to have dissipated all his apprehensions. His first step was to take possession of Ferrâhâbâd, a royal palace, situated within three miles of the city, which Shah Hussein had built, and surrounded with a strong wall, defended by bastions. Had this post been maintained, it might have stopped the progress of the enemy for many days; but the garrison were commanded to retreat, and their fears rendered that so precipitate, that the cannon by which it was defended were abandoned to the enemy. After seizing Ferrâhâbâd, Mahmood advanced to Julfâ, and immediately assaulted that suburb: but he only succeeded, after an attack of two hours, in gaining a small outwork. The Armenians, who displayed great valour on this occasion, applied to the Waly of Arabia, who had been appointed commander of the army, for fire-arms and assistance. They offered, we are told, to attack the Affghans, and drive them from the post they occupied. This nobleman, however, refused to support them, and actually forbade the Prince, Suffee Meerza, to march, with a body of horse, to make a diversion in their favour, by attack-

Takes possession of the Palace of Ferrâhâbâd.

Advances to Julfâ.

The Armenians apply for fire-arms to attack the Affghans, but are refused.

* Krusinski assures us, that he entertained, at this period, a design of retreating to Kerman, which was only prevented by the premature offer of a large sum of money by Shah Sultan Hussein.

CHAP. XV.

ing one of the enemy's flanks*. This conduct, combined with the former measure of disarming the Armenians, led many to think that it was designed to sacrifice Julfâ for the safety of the capital: it being imagined that the Affghans would, in the enjoyment of the wealth of its inhabitants, lose much of their savage ardour. Others accuse the Waly of Arabia of maintaining a secret intercourse with the enemy, while many of the Armenians themselves believed that the bigots who surrounded Hussein were not sorry to see a flourishing colony of Christians involved in ruin. But it is ever the fate of weakness and folly to have its motives of action mistaken; and that proceeding, which was ascribed by the feelings of different classes of men to policy, treachery, or fanaticism, had, in all probability, its source in that consternation and irresolution which such scenes always produce in timid and undecided minds.

On the night following that on which the enemy had carried the outwork, a small aperture was made on the lofty, but thin mud wall, which surrounded Julfâ†. An elephant was conducted to the spot; and the animal, we are told, soon widened it into a practicable breach, which the Affghans took possession of, with a resolution to storm the town at day-break: but the Armenians, who foresaw their intention, offered to capitulate. The terms were soon settled. The inhabitants agreed to pay a contribution of seventy thousand tomâns, to save themselves from being plundered. To this severe imposition, one of a more ignominious and cruel nature was added by Mahmood, who demanded that fifty of the best born and most beautiful virgins of Julfâ should be immediately brought to

The Armenians capitulate, and offer to pay seventy thousand tomâns.

Mahmood demands fifty virgins in addition to the contribution.

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 162.

† Hanway, Vol. II. page 163.

him*. The victims were selected, and sent, in their richest clothes, to the Palace of Ferrâhâbâd, where the Affghan prince resided. He chose a few of them for his own harami, and distributed the rest among his principal commanders. The Armenians, living in the midst of a sensual nation, had been accustomed to regard the honour of their families with the most jealous care, and nothing could exceed the horror and dismay which this flagrant act of violence excited. The men appeared absorbed in silent grief: mothers shrieked with frantic wildness over their disgraced daughters: and the sad victims themselves gave loose to a despair, which rescued many of them from their fate by terminating their existence†. The Affghans (savage as they were) could not witness such a scene unmoved: many generously restored the afflicted maidens, and others accepted of a small ransom, so that but a very few of the original number remained unreleased; and even those were, after a lapse of time, restored to their distracted parents. The contribution of money was levied with the greatest rigour; and a delay in its payment not only led to the seizure of all the merchandise in Julfâ, but occasioned several of the principal inhabitants being put to the most cruel torture.

The horror and dismay of the Armenians.

The Affghans are moved with their condition, and restore some of the virgins.

No effort was made by the Persians to disturb the Affghans in these proceedings; and Mahmood, encouraged by this inactivity, called his soldiers to a more important conquest. His army occupied the whole of the southern bank of the river from Julfâ to Abbas-abad. The royal edifices and beautiful gardens with which Shah Abbas the Great and his successors had decorated this quarter of their capital, at once furnished quarters for the barbarians, and

* Krusinski's Memoir, page 222.

† Hanway, Vol. II. page 163.

CHAP. XV.

stables for their horses; and the labours of an age fell to ruin at the touch of a savage race, who beheld these magnificent abodes of luxury with a mixed feeling of contempt and indifference.

Mahmood commences his attacks on the outworks of Isfahan. A. D. 1722. A. H. 1135.

The centre of the position which the Affghans now occupied was the grand avenue of the four gardens, which has already been described. Mahmood immediately commenced his operations against the city. In his first assault of the outworks his troops were repulsed: but alarmed lest he should lose, by this affair, the advantage of that impression of terror on which he so much relied, he two days afterwards (on the twenty-third of March) headed a party of his bravest men in an attack on one of the principal bridges. The charge they made was so desperate, that Isfahan would have been carried, but for the valour of Ahmed Aga, a white eunuch, who, after a very severe contest, forced the Affghans to fall back to their intrenchments*. Mahmood was so discouraged at this failure, that he made overtures for a peace†. He required that the provinces of Candahar, Khorassan, and Kerman, should be granted to him and his heirs in independent sovereignty; and that the king should give him one of his daughters in marriage, with a portion of fifty thousand tomâns‡. These proposals were rejected: and the Affghan prince, changing his plan, determined, as the first step towards reducing the capital, to ravage and destroy the country in its vicinity. The districts immediately surrounding Isfahan were, perhaps, the most fruitful in the world, and art had done her utmost to assist nature in

Is repulsed.

Makes an attack on one of the principal bridges.

Is forced to fall back, and makes overtures to the Persians, which are rejected.

Mahmood resolves to ravage and destroy the country in the vicinity of Isfahan.

* Krusinski's Memoir, page 229.

† Krusinski states, that this negotiation had been opened before he took Julfâ, and that he only, on this occasion, repeated his former offers.—KRUSINSKI's *Memoir*, page 230.

‡ One hundred thousand pounds.

improving this charming country. The pure waters of the Zainderood, carried through innumerable canals, fertilized every field, and watered every garden. Not a spot was uncultivated, except what was occupied with towns and villages, or with seats of noblemen, which vied in splendour with the palaces of their monarch. This fair region, so favoured by nature, by art, and by fortune, was doomed by Mahmood to complete ruin. The task occupied his army more than a month; but the lapse of nearly a century has not repaired what their barbarity effected in that period; and the fragments of broken canals, sterile fields, and mounds of ruins, still mark the zeal with which they laboured in this great work of destruction.

After supplying his camp with an ample store of forage and provisions, Mahmood directed the remainder that was found in the districts he had plundered to be burnt. This compelled the inhabitants of the country to fly to the capital, into which they were incautiously admitted by a weak government, which mistook numbers for strength: but though this had the effect of producing some scarcity, it was obvious that Isfahan could never be reduced to extreme distress as long as it was only partially invested. An attack, therefore, was made on another of the bridges, which proved more successful than the first. The party of Georgians to whom its defence was intrusted, are described as having been, from intoxication, incapable of resistance; and before any reinforcement could be sent, the Affghans were in possession of the bridge, and a considerable part of their army had passed, and spread themselves round the town. This event, which diminished their hopes of future supply, rendered the inhabitants of Isfahan quite despe-

Makes a successful attack on one of the bridges.

And enters the city.

CHAP. XV.

rate: they clamorously demanded to be led to the attack of the enemy; but no advantage was taken of their ardour*: and this inactivity, with the loss of two convoys of provisions, one of which was advancing under the chief of the Bukhteeâree tribe, and the other in charge of the troops of the Waly of Laristan, sunk the whole city into the most gloomy horror. The success of Amân-ûllâh Khan †, who commanded a select corps of Affghan horse, which covered the siege, in intercepting these convoys, and defeating the troops by which they were accompanied, seemed to have decided the fate of Isfahan, when an event occurred, that gave a gleam of hope to the most desponding.

The inhabitants of Ben-Isfahan make an attack on the Affghans.

A small fortified village, called Ben-Isfahan ‡, stands on the declivity of a low hill, within three miles of the capital: a number of the inhabitants of the surrounding country had taken shelter within its walls, and their strength encouraged them to frequent attacks upon straggling parties of the Affghans. Upon the return of Amân-ûllâh, after the capture of the convoy under the brother of the Waly of Laristan, the men of Ben-Isfahan sallied upon his corps, who were scattered, and loaded with spoil, slew a number of them, and retook a great part of their plunder. Mahmood, who saw this attack, galloped with a body of horse to the relief of his soldiers: but the brave peasants did not hesitate to meet his charge ||, and the

Mahmood attacks the inhabitants of Ben-Isfahan.

* Hanway ascribes this to the treachery of the Waly of Arabia; others to timid prudence: but it probably originated in a natural fear of trusting in action a tumultuous and unwarlike populace.

† Hanway, Vol. II. page 169.

‡ This term literally signifies "the child of Isfahan." This village is now better known by the name of Isfahanuk, or "Little Isfahan."

|| Hanway, Vol. II. page 172.

proud Affghan was forced to retreat, after suffering a heavy loss. Many of his men fell, and more were made prisoners: among the latter, were his uncle, his brother, and two cousins. Though he felt the disgrace his arms had sustained most poignantly, his solicitude for the safety of his relations overcame, at the moment, every other consideration; and he sent a mission into Isfahan, to request Shah Hussein would interfere to save their lives. That weak but humane monarch immediately deputed a confidential officer* to Ben-Isfahan, with a command that the Affghan prisoners should be spared: but the messenger was too late. He remonstrated, (when he saw their mangled bodies,) on the precipitation of the act, but was told, that it was one of necessary and just retaliation on an enemy who had massacred, in cold blood, every man whom they had taken with the convoys of provisions.

Is forced to retreat with great loss.

His relations made captive, and put to death.

When intelligence of the fate of his relations was carried to Mahmood, it threw him into a paroxysm of rage: he ordered all the captives in his camp to be slain, and commanded that his troops should in future give no quarter. But this fit of passion soon gave way to one of despondency†; and after strengthening his post at the bridge of Abbas-abad, and such others as appeared of most consequence, he retired with the main body of his army to Ferrâhâbâd. It was imagined by all, that he entertained, at this moment, the design of raising the siege; and it was evident that his army became every day more discontented, and less sanguine in their hopes of success. Under these circumstances, the inhabitants of Isfahan looked with anxiety to their monarch; and their

He orders all the Persian captives in his camp to be slain.

Strengthens the posts, and retires to Ferrâhâbâd.

* The name of this officer was Meerza Rahim.

† Hanway, Vol. II. page 170.

CHAP. XV.

hopes were raised to the highest pitch, when they understood that there was a plan in contemplation for attacking all the posts occupied by the Affghans. The king appeared resolved upon this, and he was encouraged by a proposal from the Armenians, who offered to rise upon the garrison of Julfâ * the moment the Persians commenced the attack. All these fair hopes, however, were destroyed by the fears or treachery of the waly, who, seeing he could only repress this general ardour by pretending to encourage it, marched out of the city with a declared intention of fighting; but, under various pretexts, he delayed coming to action; and the hopes, which had been raised so high, were sunk lower than ever by the intelligence that Mahmood had captured another large convoy of provisions.

Captures another convoy of provisions.

The fate of the capital seemed now certain. Vâctângâh, the Prince of Georgia, whose aid had been most earnestly solicited, appeared to be the only person that could relieve it; and the intelligence that he continued, with a stubborn adherence to his vow, to refuse to serve his sovereign, was received as the final doom of Isfahan, and of the empire. The king, who had proclaimed his fourth son, Tâmâsp Meerza, his heir †, commanded that prince to endeavour, with a small body of select horse, to effect his escape to the provinces. He succeeded in forcing his way past a body of Affghans, and hastened to Kazveen, where he exerted himself

Tâmâsp Meerza, the heir to the crown, effects his escape.

* Krusinski's Memoir, page 239.

† The princes of the blood who were senior to Tâmâsp were shut up in the seraglio. Hanway states, that Sultan Hussein had fourteen sons and four daughters: the eldest of whom, Abbas Meerza, he describes as a prince at whom, on account of his high-spirited character, the court favourites had taken great alarm.—HANWAY, Vol. II. page 172.

to the utmost to raise troops for the relief of his father, but without success; for even the chiefs of the tribe of Shah-Sevund, who were peculiarly bound to defend the Suffavean dynasty, pretended that unless the king summoned them in person, it was not their duty to attend; and Tâmâsp was reduced to the necessity of informing his unfortunate father, that all his efforts to collect a force had completely failed.

Reaches Kazveen, and makes an unsuccessful attempt to raise troops.

The famine in Isfahan, which had commenced soon after the siege began, increased every day, and the populace became at last quite furious, and unmanageable: but still, we are told, that their desire was not to surrender, but to be led against the enemy. In the beginning of July affairs drew to a crisis. A convoy approached, which it was evident must be cut off, unless an attempt was made to protect it. The inhabitants of the city surrounded the haram, in which Hussein was immured, and insisted upon his coming forth, and leading them to battle. He commanded his officers to inform them that they should have an answer next day; but they persisted in their demand, and did not disperse, till the eunuchs, who guarded the palace, had fired several volleys of musquetry upon them. A general insurrection seemed likely to be the result of this extraordinary proceeding, had not the gallant Ahmed Aga, who has been before mentioned, saved his sovereign, by directing the fury of the mob* against the enemy. He placed himself with a small corps of veterans at their head, and made so impetuous an attack upon the Affghans, that he gained possession of some of their principal posts, and would have maintained them,

The famine in Isfahan increased.

The inhabitants insist upon the king leading them to battle.

He evades compliance.

Ahmed Aga directs the fury of the mob against the Affghans.

* In Persia every man is armed with a sword and dagger, and many have fire-arms.

CHAP. XV.

But fails, from not being supported.

if he had received support from the troops under the more immediate command of the waly*: but he was basely deserted: and when he came before the king to represent what had occurred, he found the royal ear had been filled with calumnies against himself. He was accused of rashness, and of interfering with affairs, the conduct of which belonged to another. The brave eunuch listened with patience to the accusations of his monarch; but he told him, before he retired, that he was the dupe of a treacherous noble, who abused the confidence he reposed in him. Having performed this last duty to his unworthy master, Ahmed Aga went to his home. He was found next morning dead in his bed, and it was universally believed that he had taken poison. His death† caused a joy in the camp of the Affghans that was equal to the consternation it created in the

Death of Ahmed Aga.

* According to Hanway, Ahmed was so enraged at the conduct of the immediate corps of the Waly of Arabia upon this occasion, that he ordered the troops under his command to fire at them. The confusion which this created was soon perceived by the Affghans, who, being reinforced from their lines, succeeded in driving back the Persians with great loss into the town. The weak king, the same author states, attended as usual only to the representations of the artful waly; and not only censured Ahmed Aga for his rashness in attacking the enemy, but, on account of his having fired on the Arabs, removed him from his high command of governor of the town. He adds, that the eunuch only survived his disgrace two days, and it was generally believed that he swallowed poison.

† This event is said to have opened the eyes of Hussein to the real character of the Waly of Arabia, and he anxiously desired to deprive that nobleman of his high office, but in the extreme to which affairs were reduced he could find no person to accept the charge. Looft Aly Khan, (the brother of his former prime minister,) who had been disgraced at Shiraz, was solicited by his monarch to assume the command of the army, but refused the dangerous dignity.

city, and all agreed that Hussein had lost the only man whose experience and valour could have saved the empire.

Shah Hussein offers to accept the terms he before rejected, but Mahmood refuses them.

Soon after this event, the king sent a deputation to Mahmood, offering to accept the terms which he had before rejected. "The "monarch of Persia," said the proud Affghan, "offers me nothing "that is in his disposal. Himself, and all his family, are within "my power. He is not now master of the three provinces he so "generously desires to bestow upon me: but if he were, the question "now at issue between us is not regarding them, but his whole "kingdom." When this negotiation was pending, intelligence was received, that Malik Mahmood, the Governor of Seistan, with a well-appointed force, was marching to the relief of the capital: and the news of his having encamped, with ten thousand men, at Goolnâbâd, led the inhabitants of Isfahan to believe their miseries were at an end: but their joy completely vanished, when they learnt that the Affghan prince had succeeded in forming a friendship with the chief from whom they so anxiously looked for support. Some rich presents, and a grant of the province of Khorassan, which, with that of Seistan, were to form a large independent kingdom, to be enjoyed by him and his successors, were the bribes which overcame the virtue and loyalty of this chief, who, having accepted the alliance of the Affghans, immediately marched to take possession of his new dominions. The despair of the Persians at his retreat, was even greater than the joy which they had felt at his advance. Their condition appeared quite hopeless. The spirit of the people and the army was entirely gone. The royal treasures were exhausted. The sums borrowed from the wealthy inhabitants* were expended; and all

Approach of Malik Mahmood to the relief of Isfahan.

Mahmood enters into an alliance with him.

The hopeless state of the Persians.

* The Dutch alone lent him three hundred and forty thousand crowns.

CHAP. XV.

the vessels of gold and silver which the king possessed had been melted down, and the produce disposed of. The troops had neither pay nor provisions*: and the inhabitants, whose condition had, throughout, been worse than that of the soldiers, perished every day in thousands. Cotemporary writers inform us, that the Affghan prince, who was satisfied, from the moment the chief of Seistan retreated, that he could dictate what terms he chose, was led by an inhuman policy to procrastinate the siege. His army did not amount to twenty thousand men; he expected no immediate reinforcement; and though confident of success in an attack, he dreaded any further diminution of his force: he also feared, that in the confusion of a general assault, his soldiers might possess themselves of that plunder which he wished to appropriate to himself. It is asserted by one author, that Mahmood, though desirous of reducing the number of the population of Isfahan, wished to avoid the reproach of a massacre. Swayed by these motives, he deliberately resolved on a course more terrible in its effects upon the inhabitants of that city, than the most savage violence. He protracted, under various pretexts, the negotiation for the surrender of the city for nearly two months, and, during this period, the blockade was maintained with increased vigilance. The situation to which the inhabitants of Isfahan were reduced by this delay was dreadful. The respectable author, on whose authority almost all the events of this memorable siege have been given, has described the scene of horror in glowing colours. The flesh of

Cause of Mahmood's protracting the negotiation for the surrender of the city.

* A Mahomedan author of respectability, who was in Isfahan during the siege, informs us, that a small loaf of coarse bread sold for four gold mohurs, (eight pounds,) and that the flesh of asses was esteemed a dainty.

horses, camels, and mules, was so dear*, he informs us †, that none but the king, some of the nobles, and the wealthiest citizens, could afford to purchase it. Though the Persians abhor dogs as unclean, they ate greedily of them, as well as that of other forbidden animals, as long as they were to be obtained. After these supplies were gone, they fed upon the leaves and bark of trees, and on leather, which they softened by boiling; and when this sad resource was exhausted, they began to devour human flesh. Men, with their eyes sunk, their countenances livid, and their bodies feeble and emaciated with hunger, were seen in crowds, endeavouring to protract a wretched existence by cutting pieces from the bodies of those who had just expired. In many instances the citizens slew each other; and parents murdered their children to furnish the horrid meal. Some, more virtuous, poisoned themselves and family, that they might escape the guilt of preserving life by such means. The streets, the squares, the royal gardens, were covered with carcasses; and the river Zainderood was so corrupted by dead bodies, that it was hardly possible to drink its waters.

Wretched state of the inhabitants of Isfahan:

These evils were increased by the cruelty of the Affghans, who put to death, without distinction of age or sex, all who tried to escape from this scene of calamity ‡. In a climate less pure and

Cruelty of the Affghans to such as attempted to escape.

* Towards the end of August a horse's carcass sold for one thousand crowns.

† Krusinski's Memoir, page 250. The description which this writer gives of the condition of the inhabitants of Isfahan is confirmed by several witnesses of this scene. The agent of the East India Company, who writes from the capital to his superiors at Gombroon, under date the 21st of October, states, that their situation, "between sword and famine," was horrible.—*East India Records.*

‡ Murza Mehdy, the author of the History of Nâdir Shâh, gives, in the introduction to his history, a full description of the horrors of this scene.

CHAP. XV.

salubrious than that of Isfahan, the air must have been infected, and distemper would have destroyed those whom famine had spared: but no contagion arose, and the miserable remnants of the population of the fallen capital were reserved to witness the further disgrace and humiliation of their king and country. On the twenty-first of October*, the king came out of his palace clad in deep mourning: he walked, attended by the nobles of his court, through the principal streets in Isfahan: he bewailed aloud the misfortunes of his reign; imputed them to the bad advice he had received; proclaimed his intention to abdicate his throne; and tried to console the wretched multitude, by whom he was surrounded, with the hope of more happiness under a better government than his had been. This language from a prince, whose faults (dreadful as their effects had been,) were allied to the best virtues of our nature, whose kindness of heart, weak lenity, and extreme gentleness of temper, had brought him, after a reign of twenty-eight years, to the sad and humble condition in which he then appeared, excited a strong and universal feeling of sympathy: men forgot their own sufferings in contemplating those of their sovereign. The heart of Hussein would have been wounded deeply by their reproaches; and he found, in the tears which they shed over his fate, all the consolation that his situation admitted.

A. D. 1722. A. H. 1135.

The king, clad in deep mourning, publicly bewails his misfortunes.

General sympathy for his fallen condition.

Shah Hussein abdicates his throne.

The day after that on which Hussein took this solemn leave of his subjects, he signed a capitulation, by which he resigned his crown to Mahmood; and on the twenty-third of October, leaving Isfahan,

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 179. A letter from the agent of the East India Company, dated the 21st of October, 1722, fixes the date of the surrender on the 12th of October; and the Affghans, he says, took possession next day.—*East India Records.*

attended by some of his nobles, and three hundred of his troops, he moved towards the Affghan camp. His ungenerous enemy could not refrain from insulting the fallen monarch; and the melancholy procession was commanded to halt within a short distance of the tents, on the pretext that Mahmood was asleep*. After this delay, which would have been (according to the usage of the country,) degrading to one of his subjects, he was at last permitted to proceed to the palace of Ferrâhâbâd, where he was introduced into a great hall, or saloon, in which he found his conqueror seated; and he had reached the centre of this room, before the haughty Affghan rose to receive him. Hussein immediately addressed him in the following words: "Son, since the great Sovereign of the universe does not "will that I should reign any longer, and the moment has come "which he has appointed for thy ascending the throne of Persia, "I resign the empire to thee. May thy reign be prosperous!" After this speech he took the toorâh, or royal plume of feathers, from his turban, and gave it to the vizier of Mahmood: but that prince refused to accept it from any other but the monarch to whom it belonged. The meek Hussein rose, took it from the minister, and, while his arrogant enemy remained in his seat, he placed the rich emblem of royal power in his turban, and exclaimed, "Reign in "peace!" After the usual refreshments of tea and coffee had been served, Mahmood deigned for the first time to speak to his captive. "Such," he observed, "is the instability of human grandeur. God "disposes of empires as he pleases: he takes them from one to give "to another; but I promise ever to consider you as my father, and "to undertake nothing without your advice†."

Proceeds to the residence of Mahmood.

His reception.

His speech to Mahmood.

Mahmood's speech to Shah Hussein.

* Hanway, Vol. II. page 179.

† Hanway, Vol. II. page 180.

CHAP. XV.

The degraded Hussein was compelled next day to attend another ceremony at his palace in Isfahan, where he did homage, with all his nobles, to the Affghan sovereign of Persia. After this public submission, he was confined * in a small palace, where he remained seven years; when a reverse of fortune, which threatened their own downfall, led his enemies to put an end to his existence.

Confinement of Shah Hussein, and his subsequent death.

The Suffavean dynasty may be said to have actually terminated with Hussein. His son, Tâmâsp, assumed the title of king, and struggled for a few years with his fate: but a weak, effeminate, and debauched youth, was unsuited to such times: and he only merits a place in history, as his name furnished a pretext for the celebrated Nâdir to lay the foundations of his great power.

* His confinement could not have been very severe, if we are to judge from the complaints which he made of his condition. He bewailed the cruelty of his destiny, because of all his former slaves, only five male servants, and five female favourites, were left to console his solitude.—*Persian MSS.*

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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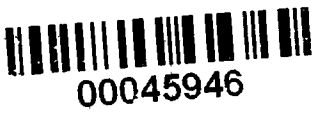
GREVILLE STREET, HATTON GARDEN, LONDON.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